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*This book belonged to the
late Hugh Edward Egerton,
Beit Professor of Colonial
History in the University of
Oxford from 1905 to 1920*

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THE
ANNUAL REGISTER,
OR A VIEW OF THE
HISTORY,
POLITICS,
AND
LITERATURE
For the YEAR 1797.

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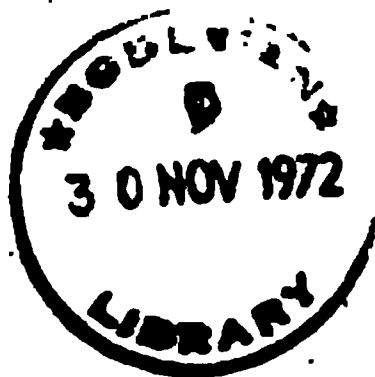
for the Proprietors of Doddsley's Annual Register,

W. OTTRIDGE AND SON; R. FAULDER; J. CUTHELL; OGILVY AND SON;

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PREFACE.

THERE is a disposition, not only in individuals, but in nations of men; to magnify all things relating to themselves beyond their just dimensions and proportions. The Chinese, in their delineations of the world, were wont* to represent their own empire as one vast square, occupying the greater part, by far, of the earth; and, all other nations as forming only insignificant specks, here and there, around it. The enlargement of knowledge is accompanied by the enlargement of candour. It is in the nature of science to quell the extravagant suggestions of vanity and self-love, to embrace a wider and wider sphere of observation, to view events in relations and

* A growing intercourse with other parts of the world, and particularly the late interferences, on the Chinese frontier, of the Russians, and our East-India Company, has begun, we presume, somewhat to abate this ridiculous prejudice.

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consequences

consequences more and more remote, and to keep an eye not only on the affairs of one society of men but also on those of others. Curiosity is in proportion to intellectual improvement.

It may, we fear, appear at first sight to our Readers, that we had lost sight of the truth of these observations, when, in drawing up the History of Europe for 1797, we devoted so large a portion of our space to the affairs of Great Britain. But it will soon be perceived, that, the British history for that year comprehends events more important to Europe, and, to the British nation, particularly, more striking and alarming than those of any year preceding it, since the commencement of the Annual Register—"without were fightings, within were fears:" Not only the British constitution trembled on the pivot of fortune, but the political balance of Europe. An extension of the British history, beyond its usual limits, was unavoidable.—To swell this part of our Work, by copious accounts of parliamentary debates, with other domestic transactions; and, on the other hand, by a proportionable reduction, to confine the history of all Europe besides, to one-fifth, or even sixth, part of our narrative, would be
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P R E F A C E.

a great saving of labour; and, indeed, an easy matter. But it is impossible, that any intelligent and liberal mind should approve of such economy. Our Readers will do us the justice to acknowledge, that our Annual volumes are not written on this plan: if, in the present, we have brought forward Great Britain, which, at all times, makes so conspicuous a figure in the circle of civilization, still more prominently than usual, this conduct, by the clouded aspect of the political horizon, in our quarter, is abundantly justified.

From a combination of causes, to which we have been, at different times, compelled to allude, the publication of the Annual Register was every year more and more protracted: and the complaint was just, that it had become extremely dilatory, if not, as was apprehended by some, uncertain. The publication of this Volume at this time, in which we have faithfully observed, and even somewhat exceeded, the engagement we came under in our Volume for 1793, will, we trust, afford to our Readers an earnest of that assiduous zeal with which we endeavour to give them satisfaction.

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1797.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Comparative View of the Confederacy and the French Republic, at the Close of 1796.—Spain, drawn into an Alliance with France, declares War against England.—Conjoined Efforts of the French, Spanish, and Dutch, Fleets, for overthrowing the naval Domination of England.—War in Italy.—Capture of Mantua.—Political Conduct and military Preparations of the Court of Rome.—Letters from Buonaparte to the Cardinal Mattæi.—The Cardinal's Answer.—The Court of Madrid refuses its Mediation, in Behalf of the Pope, with the French Republic.—Republican Party in Rome, and other Parts of the Ecclesiastical States.—Buonaparte declares War against the Pope.—A French Army enters the Papal Dominions.—The Papal Troops completely routed.—Buonaparte, by Promises and Threats, induces the Romans to submit to the French, without the Effusion of Blood.—Takes Possession of several Provinces in the Ecclesiastical States.—Advances towards Rome.—Treaty of Peace with the Pope.

THE rapid progress of the French arms, in 1796, produced different sensations on the opposite sides of the mountains. The Italian states and princes were struck with terror. But a spirit of indignation and exertion was roused in Germany; where the tide of fortune, towards the end

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of the year, was completely turned. On the termination of the armistice, between the Austrians and the French, in the month of May, in that year, the army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, penetrated into Franconia; that of the Rhine and Moselle, under Moreau, into the heart of Germany

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and seemed on a quick march to Vienna. The authority of the archduke Charles, now commander-in-chief of the Austrian armies on the Rhine, restrained dissensions and contests among general officers: his example inspired courage into every officer and soldier: and his courage, guided by cool deliberation, as well as prompt decision, in the very throat of danger and fate, was victorious.

Yet, on the whole, on weighing the prosperous against the adverse events of the year, the balance was greatly in favour of the French republic. Jourdan, though defeated in several engagements, by the young Austrian hero, had been able to effect his retreat to Düsseldorf. And Moreau, who, for want of a third French army, was exposed on his flanks, to total excision or capture, had made a masterly retreat, and conducted the main body of his army, through many dangers and conflicts, across the Rhine, into a situation of safety, within the French frontier. Thus, though the French were repulsed from Germany, the honour of their arms, even in that quarter, was unimpaired, while, in another, they were gloriously triumphant.

The policy of France was not less successful. After detaching Prussia and Spain from the confederacy, she had succeeded, through dint of artifice and intrigue, in connecting herself with both of these powers by a close alliance. The former of these had not, indeed, publicly declared in its favour, but was well understood to be so intimately connected with the republic; that, in case of absolute necessity, no doubt was entertained of its determination to assist France to the utmost of its capacity. The latter

having, in the year 1795, concluded a peace with the republic, had afterwards entered into an alliance, defensive and offensive, with it, that was explicitly levelled at Great Britain. This treaty, which took place in August, 1796, was followed, in the commencement of October, by a formal declaration of war against England, and by the preparation of a formidable naval strength, to act in conjunction with that of France. In Italy, every prince and state was either in peace or confederacy with the French, the pope alone excepted; whose situation, however, was such, that he could not long defer submission to their own terms. Germany could not be reputed hostile to France. Though certainly averse to the entrance of its armies into the empire, yet the secondary ranks of princes and states, of which it is composed, were not dissatisfied at the humiliation of Austria, of which they dreaded the power and pretensions. These were permanent, and had often endangered the liberties of Germany: whereas, the irruptions of the French could never be more than occasional and transitory. The precedents of former times had shewn, that the politics of France, which must continue the same, whether it were a monarchy or a republic, would always aim at holding the balance between the head and the members of the empire. In the north of Europe, the two kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden were too conscious of the impending power of Russia, to lend themselves to the depression of France, which they now considered as necessary to preserve the dominion of the Baltic equally divided between those three potentates.

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To all the other circumstances that tended to encourage the hopes, and inflame the ambition of the French republic, is to be added the death of the empress of Russia. Though it might seem to a sound politician, unwarp'd by prejudice or passion, that an emperor of Russia could not be other than hostile to the friends of Sweden and the Porte, and the patrons of revolution in Poland: yet there was generally in sovereign princes, as well as in prime ministers and governors of all kinds, a jealousy of the very shade, and a disposition to recede in their conduct, from the measures and maxims of their predecessors. Neither the temper and genius of Paul I. nor the terms on which he had lived with his illustrious mother, gave any reason to expect that he would strictly adhere to her plans, and adopt her intentions. In fact, he had no sooner mounted the throne of Russia, than he countermanded the orders that had been given for the march of the troops to Galicia. He entered into a negotiation for a settlement of an old debt, due by the Russian government, to the Seven United Provinces, and for the establishment of a treaty of commerce. He shew'd a disposition to become a mediator for peace, in danger of being broken, between the Austrians and Prussians, and seem'd even ambitious of being the arbiter of a general peace in Europe.

Thus Great Britain and Austria were the sole adversaries that France had now to encounter. But the successes of its arms had so completely defeated all the projects they had jointly engaged in against it, that no apprehensions were entertained of their being able to turn the scale of fortune by any subse-

quent efforts. The efficacy of these must naturally be diminished proportionably to the losses and discomfitures they had met with, and would, probably, still experience, if they were to persist in a contest, in which, being only the remainder of the coalition, they could not hope to be less unsuccessful than it had proved in the united strength of its whole power.

In addition to the maritime force of Spain, France relied with still more confidence on that of the Batavian republic. The numerous seamen, employed in its extensive commerce, had always borne the character of a brave and hardy race of men, completely skilled in their profession, and incomparably preferable, in every respect, to the Spanish mariners. That republic was now exerting itself to fit out as many ships of war as were lying in its ports, and of adding them to those of its French and Spanish confederates, in hope of depriving the English of the empire of the sea.

This hope had not been diminished by the failure of the attempt against Ireland, which the French attributed solely to the unpropitious weather, that had constantly attended the expedition. It had been planned, in their opinion, on the best of all grounds; the noted discontent of a people ill-treated, and weary of a yoke that had for centuries kept them in a state of depression. They were all ripe for a vigorous resistance, and required only a moderate assistance to deliver themselves from the tyranny of England. Though the first essay to relieve them had failed, from causes that could not, in the nature of things, be obviated, it was not to be imagined, that these would al-

ways recur. The attempt ought, therefore, to be resumed, as the opportunity still continued as inviting as ever. It was ignominious for three such powers as France, Spain, and Holland, to desist from so practicable a design, which they had every reason to prosecute, and none to abandon. The fleets of Great Britain were not superior to those of the potent confederacy, formed against it; and so many advantages would result from the accomplishment of the object proposed, that it ought, in good policy, to be persisted in, against all difficulties, and at all hazards. Such was the language of the French.

Animated by motives of this kind, the three allied powers resolved to exert themselves, without intermission, in the equipment of such a naval force, as might effectually confront the British marine, and make, at the same time, a successful impression upon that part of the empire of Great Britain, which appeared most vulnerable. Such was the plan in the contemplation of the enemies of England, and of which they formed the most sanguine expectations. Nor did the most sagacious politicians look upon it as ill-founded, though they were equally persuaded, that it would meet with every obstruction from the long noted valour and skill of their adversaries. Thus, all circumstances contributed to render the present year productive of events, not less, if not more, important and striking than those that had preceded. The eyes of all the European nations, were anxiously fixed on the vast preparations making against a power, which, if it resisted them, would become greater than ever: but of which the destiny seemed un-

certain, when the rooted hostility, and the prodigious efforts of such formidable enemies, were duly and impartially considered.

The readiness with which the French government broke off the negotiation with England, arose, in the opinion of those who were reputed the most judicious, in the firm persuasion, that the triple alliance, as it was styled, now formed against it, could hardly fail to compass the ends it proposed, by prosecuting them with the energy and perseverance, of which they were deserving.

While France was so busily intent on the means of effecting the downfall of England, it was no less occupied in preparing, as it hoped, the final destruction of the power of Austria. The spirit with which this latter sustained the successive disasters, that had befallen its repeated endeavours to maintain its ground in Italy, had kept alive the courage of its subjects and well-wishers to such a degree, that they all concurred in a resolute determination to stand by it as long as the least prospect remained of any possibility to retrieve its affairs.

The theatre, to which the attention of Europe was chiefly turned, at the end of the last and beginning of the present year, was Italy. The exploits of Buonaparte had not yet terminated, as he had long expected, and many labours awaited him before the accomplishment of that object, without which, both he and his foes well foresaw that his views would be frustrated, and the fruits of his victories lost. This was the capture of Mantua, which held out with an obstinacy that had never been exceeded in the defence of any

any place. The garrison was reduced to almost every species of hardship and distress, and yet underwent the severest duties and fatigues, with a cheerfulness and fortitude that never slackened in the multiplicity of trials that daily arose from the indefatigable activity of the besiegers.

The siege of this important fortress had now lasted seven months. Marshal Wurmser, who had as gallantly, as skillfully, forced his way to the city, through so many obstacles, had so much revived the courage of the garrison, that, under his command, they began to entertain fresh hope of a successful resistance. He was upwards of seventy: but age seemed to have had no other effect upon him, than to increase his experience. His active disposition remained unimpaired, and no officer under him exceeded the vigour and celerity of action which he displayed upon every occasion. He not only concerted, but personally conducted every plan that was executed for the preservation of Mantua. He acquired by his unremitted efforts and valour, the particular esteem of Buonaparte, who ranked him above any general with whom he had contended.

His other opponent, Alvinzi, was now unable to encounter him in the field, and had cantoned the shattered remains of his defeated army, in various positions along the northern side of the Brenta, awaiting the supplies that were collecting with all diligence in the emperor's hereditary dominions. So great were the efforts of the Austrian government, that, before the end of December, Alvinzi saw himself at the head of a complete and regular

army, the fifth that had been brought together to oppose the French, during this eventful campaign.

Buonaparte, who had calculated the surrender of Mantua, previously to the renewal of hostilities with Alvinzi, was now necessitated to resume offensive operations against him, before he could arrive at this important acquisition. He had, at the same time, other objects in contemplation; the settlement of the two republics that were forming on the north and on the south of the Po, and the suppression of the attempts making by the pope, to resist the designs formed against him by the French.

The forces which the pope had collected were not, indeed, formidable, either for military fame or numbers. It is not to be supposed, that this pontiff was so weak as to suppose that they could, of themselves, make any tolerable stand against the French; but it was possible, that his courageous example might re-animate religious zeal, and inspire resolution into the sovereigns and subjects of other states. His holiness, therefore, put his troops, such as they were, in march towards Romagna, to watch the states of Reggio, Ferrara, Bologna, and Modena, which had declared themselves independent: and also, in order to favour the escape of general Wurmser in the Ferrarese, or into the ecclesiastical states, in case of necessity, from Mantua.

But, as these appeared objects of a secondary consideration, when weighed with the former, the French commander resolved at once to take the field against the new army of Austrians, prepared to dispute once more the sovereignty of Italy, confident, that if fortune again favoured

him, it would be the last effort of Austria for the recovery of its lost dominions.

Alvinzi was now advancing from the Brenta, with the utmost expedition. His army, fifty thousand strong, was composed of the best troops that could be procured. It counted large numbers of volunteers from the best families in Vienna, most of them young men in the prime of life, and desirous of signalizing their attachment and loyalty to the emperor on this critical occasion. The intentions of the Austrian commander were, to force a passage to Mantua, where the junction of the garrison would give him a decided superiority over the French, whose strength was greatly reduced, by the numerous battles they had fought. The reinforcements, promised to Buonaparte, were not yet arrived, and the knowledge of this circumstance was an additional motive for Alvinzi to quicken his motions.

A strong division of his army attacked on the eighth of January, 1797, a French post in front of Porto Legnago, on the Adige. The French, though inferior in number, maintained their position the whole day, and retired at night in good order to this place: apprised of this attack, the whole of the French line, along that river, was obliged to concentrate itself, in hope of being able to resist the Austrians until it was relieved by the succours that had been dispatched by Buonaparte.

This general, after inspecting the posts in the vicinity of Mantua, and providing a strong reinforcement for general Augereau, who commanded the line on the Adige, hastened to Verona, where he arrived in time

to be present at the action, that took place on the twelfth, between Massena and the Austrians. These were successful on the first onset: but after an obstinate dispute were repulsed, and lost some hundreds slain or captured. The corps under the command of general Joubert, at Montebaldo, was attacked the very same day: but this also repulsed the enemy, and at night a body of Austrians, who attempted to take the citadel of Verona by surprise, were completely defeated.

In the mean time, the Austrian general had crossed the Adige; and, with the whole of his force, fallen upon Joubert, who had not half his number, and compelled him to withdraw to Rivoli, between the Adige and the lake of Garda. This happened on the thirteenth. As soon as Buonaparte was informed of what had passed, and particularly of the line of march observed by the Imperialists, which was obviously directed towards Mantua, he set out for Rivoli, where he arrived at midnight, with as powerful reinforcements as he had been able to collect in the course of the day.

Unfortunately for the Austrian general, he was totally unapprised of the arrival of Buonaparte, and of the reinforcements that accompanied him. He adhered of course to the plan of attack which he had previously projected: nor did he discover the real strength of the French, till they had commenced their attack upon the Austrians, whom they drove from a post which they had taken from them on the preceding day.

This first success was obtained early on the morning of the fourteenth. It enabled general Joubert to occupy the high grounds on
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the right banks of the Adige, and to make an impression on the left of the Austrians. But their right assailed the left wing of the French so vigorously, that it gave way, and the centre of the Austrian army bore down in compact order on the centre of the French. Auspiciously for those, Massena's division arrived at that instant, as the commander-in-chief had calculated they would, on the field of battle. Buonaparte who had succeeded in rallying his left wing, put himself in person at the head of this division. It fell with such fury on the Imperial centre, that it was instantly broken and thrown into disorder, and the left of the French, after being rallied, recovered the posts it had lost: but the Austrian centre soon rallied, and, seconded by part of their right, returned to the charge, and surrounded general Berthier's division in the centre, which stood its ground with great firmness. He was attacked, at the same time, by a strong division from their left. The conflict here was extremely obstinate; but, while the Austrians were striving to turn the centre and right of the French, who had concentrated both, to resist the weight of the enemy's charge, Buonaparte directed a large body of infantry and cavalry to take them in flank, and Joubert at the same instant, fell upon them from the heights he had occupied, with such impetuosity, that they were intirely routed and put to flight. Their centre, however, still maintained the contest, and thereby afforded time for a large column to turn the left of the French, and to cover the ground on their rear: by which their communication was cut off with Verona, and their posts on the

lake of Guarda. The republican forces were thus entirely surrounded. Wherever they cast their eyes, they beheld the enemy on every side. Buonaparte, who had fought, as well as given orders, the whole day, in every direction was now driven to the centre. He called his field officers around him, and coolly pointed out to each, what he judge to be the least perilous mode of extricating themselves from their imminent danger.

The Austrians, after a general discharge, rushed on to scale the entrenchments at Rivoli, of which they were three times in possession; but they were successively repulsed. In the mean time, a small battery, of four field-pieces, had been brought to cannonade the right wing of the Austrians, through which, it seems, Buonaparte had meditated his escape: but which he now hoped to improve into a victory. Two brigades, in three columns, under the generals Branc and Munier, were ordered to attack this wing, and dislodge it from the commanding position which it kept on the heights. This desperate service the soldiers effected, advancing, at first, in regular order, singing one of their war-hymns. But they no sooner approached within gun-shot of the enemy, than they rushed on them with desperation. The Austrians, over-whelmed and confounded by the violence of the assault, fled, panic-struck, towards the lake of Guarda; and meeting with a straggling party of light infantry, who were trying to join the surrounded French army, and whom they supposed to be a more considerable body, laid down their arms, to the number of three thousand men.

The French army was now disengaged, and the main strength of the Austrians broken: but there still remained considerable divisions, without the dispersion, or the capture of which, the victory obtained over them would not be complete, as they would either throw themselves into Mantua, join the papal forces, or retreat into the Imperial territories, where they would help to form a new army. For these reasons, as not a moment was to be lost in preventing the vanquished Austrians from effecting their retreat; on the very night of the fourteenth, as soon as the battle had terminated in favour of the French, divisions were immediately dispatched to pursue every body of Austrians that still kept together. They had not quitted a strong position at Corona, near Rivoli, where they remained in expectation of being able to collect and arrange their retreating troops: but before this could be effected, a large division of the French, after marching with all expedition during the night of the fourteenth, came upon their rear next morning, while they were attacked in front by general Joubert. They resisted vigorously at first; but were at last thrown into disorder. Those who were able to make a retreat, directed it towards the Tyrol: but no less than six thousand were so completely surrounded, that they were obliged to lay down their arms.

Buonaparte himself, with a strong division, having left the necessary orders with general Joubert, proceeded, immediately after the battle, in quest of Provera, an Austrian general, who had, on several occasions, highly distinguished himself, by the skillfulness of his ma-

nœuvres. He was at the head of ten thousand men, and had crossed the Adige, where he had forced the French, that guarded the passage, to retire, and he was now marching with all speed towards Mantua. But he was overtaken, early in the morning of the 15th, by general Augereau, who cut off the whole of his rear. He made his way, however, by a running fight, to the French lines of circumvallation at Mantua, where he arrived at noon, after losing two thousand men, and fourteen pieces of cannon. He was now reduced through this last, and the other encounters on his march, to no more than six thousand men. With this diminished force, he did not, however, hesitate to assault the entrenchments of the besiegers at the suburbs of St. George, by carrying which he would have secured his entrance into the city: but they were so strong and well defended, that he was repulsed. His situation was now such, that unless he could enter Mantua, he must yield to the enemy. To avoid this disaster, Provera made a resolute attack on the French post of La Favorita, another suburb, while a strong detachment from the garrison supported him. But this attempt, which was made in the night of the fifteenth, in hope of surprising the enemy, failed in every point. The Austrians, who had sallied out of the city, were driven back by general Victor: and general Serrurier took a position between La Favorita and St. George, which secured this latter post, and enabled the corps stationed there to join that of Serrurier. Thus reinforced, he fell upon Provera's rear, while his front was occupied in the attack
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of La Favorita, and other troops advanced upon him at the same time: he was surrounded on every side, all hope of assistance from the garrison was given over, and he was compelled to surrender himself, with his whole remaining force, consisting of seven thousand horse and foot, and twenty-two pieces of cannon, beside all the baggage and ammunition. What added considerably to the misfortune of this day was the loss of the volunteer corps of young gentlemen of Vienna, who were all either slain or made prisoners.

This day decided the fate of Mantua. Though it continued to make a courageous defence, it was evident, that being now deprived of all reasonable hope of relief, all further resistance would be fruitless, and would only add to the numbers that had fallen in this destructive siege. Every day brought fresh tidings of the losses and defeats of the Austrians, who were pursued in all directions, and totally disabled from making any effectual stand.

The battle of Arcola had destroyed the fourth, and the battle of Rivoli the fifth, army opposed to Buonaparte. He had, since the commencement of this year, been victorious in eight engagements, two of them pitched battles, wherein the loss of the Austrians amounted to twenty-five thousand prisoners, exclusive of the slain, who were calculated at six thousand. The fatigues and exertions of the French had been such, that Buonaparte, in his dispatches to the directory, asserted that they had, while fighting at intervals, occasionally measured thirty miles of ground in a day.

The Austrians were, in the mean time, retreating to their strong holds on the Brenta, which Alvinzi was employed in rendering tenable against the pursuing enemy. But the expeditious movements of the French afforded him no respite. General Augereau crossed the lower Brenta, and advanced to Citadella, a place of strength, from whence he dislodged the enemy; while Massena, passing it in front of Bassano, compelled the Austrians to evacuate it with precipitation, though they had prepared to defend it. They withdrew to Carpanedolo, higher up the river; but were followed and defeated by the French, who forced their passage over the bridge at that place, after an obstinate conflict, wherein they slew and took upwards of a thousand of the enemy: this action happened on the twenty-sixth. Fortunately for the Austrians, the heavy rains that ensued, preserved the remainder of them, who hastened, with all speed, towards the narrow passes of the entrance into the Tyrol. A division of the French, under Joubert, overtook them, however, at Avis, and a part of their rear-guard was taken. They retired to Tortola, a place advantageously situated between the lake of Garda and the Adige, where they made preparations to dispute the march of the French to Trent: but they were driven from this post, and fled to Roveredo, which they were also compelled to abandon by Joubert, who, pursuing his success, made himself master of Trent. Here two thousand sick and wounded fell into his hands, and as many more had been made prisoners in the different encounters previously to the taking of this city.

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The Austrians had now posted themselves in force at Lavis, intending to stop the progress of the French, by occupying the other side of the river Lavisio; but this intention was frustrated, by the rapid advance of Joubert, who forced them from this important position, after sustaining a great loss of their best troops, and in particular of a select corps of Hungarians. Here the division of Joubert was reinforced by that of Massena, who had been equally successful; and, in his pursuit of the Austrians, after the action at Carpanadolo, had taken several places of strength, and driven them to the other side of the Pradas, after seizing a large part of their baggage.

The Imperial armies were now totally expelled from Italy, and nothing remained to the emperor but the city of Mantua, which was so closely blockaded, and so vigorously pressed, that no supplies of provisions, or of men, could enter. The garrison, despairing of all relief, began to think it time to surrender, weakened by the great slaughter it had suffered in so many sallies, and by a contagious distemper, that committed great ravages in the city. The Austrians agreed, at length, to a capitulation, upon the second day of February. The terms were as honourable as the defence had been brave. The French general shewed a laudable propensity to pay due regard to the merit of his rival, who, notwithstanding his late ill success, was deservedly esteemed a warrior of the most distinguished rank. He granted him an escort of two hundred horse and seven hundred foot, whom he was permitted to select, together with thirty pieces of artillery: the gene-

rals, and principal officers under him, were allowed, in like manner, to accompany him on their parole; the rest of the garrison remained prisoners of war.

The northern parts of the papal territories were already in the possession of the French, and it was expected that as soon as Buonaparte was free from inquietude, on account of the Austrian armies still hovering on the borders of Germany, and had secured the capture of Mantua, he would immediately proceed to Rome itself, and dictate the conditions of a peace.

The pope, in the mean time, relied upon the exertions of the emperor, and had determined to wait the issue of the operations of his army, under Alvinzi, firmly hoping that it would be more successful than those that had preceded it. Buonaparte was sincerely desirous of a pacification with the head of the Romish church, a respectful treatment of whom would, he was conscious, be highly gratifying to all the Roman catholic states and people. Prompted by these motives, and intirely averse at coercive measures, he wrote a letter to cardinal Mattæi, prime minister to his holiness, requesting him to prevail on the pope to recommence pacific negotiations, in order to prevent the march of the French armies into his territories, and to represent to him the inutility of arming his subjects against men who had overcome so many formidable enemies, and whom his own people were wholly incapable to resist.

This letter was dated the twenty-sixth of October, 1796. Buonaparte was then preparing to march against

against Alvinzi, who was at the head of a numerous army, and had obtained some successes over the French, which had revived the hopes of the Austrians, and their adherents. But the battle of Arcola, wherein these were completely defeated, and the subsequent advantages gained by the French, made, at last, such an impression on the court of Rome, that, dreading to wait any longer for more fortunate events, the cardinal was directed to return an answer. This came to pass after the lapse of six weeks from the receipt of the general's letter. The motive for this delay being obvious, it was necessary to qualify it, so as to soften his displeasure at an answer being so long deferred. The cardinal laid before the general the anxiety of the pope to remedy the disorders that had so long distracted France, and the sacrifices he had consented to make of every worldly consideration, for the sake of restoring a good understanding between France, and the Roman see. He complained that, not satisfied with these concessions, the French government, elated with the success of its arms, had made requisitions incompatible with the dictates of his conscience, and subversive of all Christian and moral principles. Grieved at such intolerable demands, he had implored the assistance of heaven, to direct him how to act in so difficult a situation. Doubtless, said the cardinal, he was inspired, on this occasion, by that holy spirit which had animated the primitive martyrs in the cause for which they suffered. Having laboured, in vain, to bring the directory to a more equitable way of thinking, he thought it necessary to resist them by open force. He

admonished the general to reflect, that the death which awaited men in battle was the commencement of eternal life and happiness to the righteous, and of everlasting misery to the wicked. Armed with this conviction, said the cardinal, we shall oppose you with that confidence in the divine aid, which a just cause inspires. He reminded him that he was not invincible, and that though infidels, and pretended philosophers, ridiculed the idea of assistance from heaven, yet, if Providence were pleased to interpose, the French would contend in vain against the power of the Almighty. He concluded, by telling the general, that if the French were desirous of peace, the Roman see desired it still more, and was willing to subscribe to any terms, conscientious and equitable, in order to obtain it.

Such was the purport of this remarkable letter, which, to speak truth, was written at a time, when the reasonings it contained were little calculated to influence the proceedings of such a people as the French. Nor did the court of Vienna itself testify much willingness to be connected with a power whose co-operations were likely to prove so feeble. But the solicitations of the court of Rome were so pressing, that the Imperial ministers, unwilling wholly to abandon the holy see to the control of France, consented to join a body of troops to those that were now raising in every part of the papal dominions.

In this dereliction of the pope, the most fervent of his former adherents seemed, at this period, to agree without reluctance. So efficacious was either the dread, or the influence, of France over the councils

councils of Spain, that, notwithstanding the earnest supplication of the archbishop of Pigri, nuncio, at Madrid, for the interference of the Spanish monarch, in behalf of the Roman pontiff, he was answered, that the conduct of the court of Rome, respecting the French, was temporising and unsincere, and that those who were entrusted with the administration of its political concerns, had, by their imprudence, and erroneous management, brought them into so critical a situation, that it seemed adviseable, for the preservation of the personal safety of the pope, that he should resign his temporal possessions, in order to secure the rights of the church, and to prove his disinterestedness, and the fervour of his piety, by an example that would prove so edifying to all the Christian world. Such was the answer of the prince of peace, the Spanish minister's title, to the agent of a power that had formerly exercised an almost boundless influence over the minds of both the sovereign and people of the Spanish monarchy.

This taunting and disdainful reply to an humble and submissive address from a sovereign prince, who, though not powerful, still possessed a station of great dignity in Christendom, was considered equally by the Roman catholics and protestants as even more impolitic than insulting. It was disgraceful to a prince of the Romish communion, and it yielded up tamely, and without need, the dominion of a very considerable portion of Italy, to a power which all Europe was become more interested than ever, in restraining within its former limits. The period when this transaction happened, which was the close of

September, 1796, shewed, at the same time, from whence it originated. Spain had, a month before, concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, and a week after it declared war against England. But the truth was, that Spain was no longer its own mistress. It was become a dependant of France, and had so little left of its former spirit, and consequence, that it did not dare to act otherwise than by the impulse of the French, who now directed the Spanish councils with a full consciousness of unresisted sway.

The situation of the Roman see was, in the mean time, peculiarly difficult. That spiritual power, it had so long exerted over kings and nations, was totally vanished. Cunning and artifice were almost the only instruments of the smallest importance remaining to it, even among the princes and states of its own persuasion; but even this was daily lessening, from the diminution of those religious considerations on which it was founded. The principal motive, therefore, for not suffering the downfall of the pope, had no reference to his spiritual, but merely to his political, character; which rendered it highly expedient to prevent the papal territories from being made the prey of the French, or of their adherents.

The court of Rome itself relied hardly upon any other motives for the assistance it so warmly solicited from that of Vienna. This evidently appeared from a letter, written by cardinal Busca, the Roman secretary of state to the papal nuncio at Vienna, and which was intercepted, and sent by Buonaparte to the directory. Herein all the arguments

arguments and reasonings are built on maxims of policy, and those of religion appear in a collateral light, and chiefly as of an engine of state.

From this letter, which was dated the seventh of January, 1797, Buonaparte deduced, however, the propriety of proceeding immediately to action against the pope, lest the Austrian ministry should adopt the plan suggested in that letter, and send such powerful succours, over the Adriatic, to Ancona, as might enable the pope to make a vigorous resistance.

But it was not only among the French that the Roman see had enemies. In Rome itself they were numerous. Republican principles had silently, but effectually, been propagated there, and through other parts of the ecclesiastical state, and multitudes were impatiently waiting the opportunity of throwing off their subjection to the pope, and of erecting a commonwealth. Encouragements, tending to this end, were sedulously held out to the people of that capital, and of the Roman domains, by the French emissaries scattered among them. Thus the court of Rome had to guard against enemies no less hostile to it than the French themselves, and, in some respects, more dangerous, as they were domestic, and would oppose all conciliation with France, as militating directly against their own designs.

In addition to these there were many among those who continued obedient to the papal authority, and were averse to a change of government, who scrupled not, openly, to disapprove the tardiness in coming to a pacification with the French; whom it were, in their opi-

nion, absurd to oppose in the debilitated state of the papal power, and from whom friendly conditions might be obtained, if they were applied to with frankness and candour, and if the intrigues hitherto carried on with their enemies were unfeignedly laid aside.

Those who favoured this party, which was the most numerous, filled Rome with pasquinades and satires on the conduct of administration, which they represented as contrary to the true interests of the Roman see, and tending to its inevitable ruin. The present pope being the sixth of the name of Pius, they applied to him what had formerly been said of Alexander the sixth, which was, that every sovereign of Rome, who had borne the name of Sextus, had constantly occasioned its ruin. Remonstrances of the inutility and peril of encountering such formidable enemies as the French, with undisciplined troops, and inexperienced officers, were anxiously laid before the Roman government, by its most prudent well-wishers, and enforced by the ministers of those powers that were desirous of its preservation. But whether it confided in a change of fortune, in favour of its Austrian ally, or that it hoped, by assuming an appearance of resolution, and being seconded by a powerful body of auxiliaries, the French might be induced to grant better terms, it obstinately persisted in the determination to try the chance of war, rather than submit to the hard conditions prescribed by the French.

Buonaparte, who had hitherto entertained an expectation, that the terror of the French arms might at last operate a submission in the court

of Rome, now finally resolved to employ hostile measures. He ordered Caccia, the envoy of the republic at Rome, to quit that city, and issued a manifesto against the pope, wherein he charged him with the breach of the armistice that had taken place in the month of June preceding; notwithstanding which he had still persevered in acting an hostile part to France, by exciting against it the hatred of his own people, and of all over whom he possessed influence, by arming his subjects, with a professed design to commit hostilities, by negotiating with the court of Vienna, and putting his troops under the command of Austrian officers and generals, and lastly by refusing the negotiation for peace, proposed by the minister of the republic at Rome.

This manifesto was accompanied by a proclamation to the people inhabiting the papal dominions. They were informed that the French, in entering the territories of the pope, would faithfully protect religion and property, and maintain the public peace. They were warned to abstain from all acts of enmity, which would certainly draw down upon them vengeance and all the horrors of war. Every town and village that sounded the tocsin, on the approach of the French, was threatened with instant destruction. Every district, where a Frenchman was assassinated, should be declared hostile, and subjected to heavy contributions. The clergy and conventuals, who demeaned themselves peaceably, would enjoy the benefits of their present situations; but, if they acted otherwise, military law would be executed upon them, and they would be treated with more severity than others. Both of

these declarations were published on the third of February, the day after the surrender of Mantua, and had been delayed till this event, purposely to make the greater impression.

A division of the French army, commanded by general Victor, had entered the papal territories on the first. A body of the pope's troops, consisting of four thousand foot, and about a thousand horse, awaited his approach on advantageous ground. The Senio, a river that runs between Imola and Faenza, was in the front of the camp, which was strongly intrenched. Early in the morning of the second of February, the French advanced towards a bridge opposite to the centre of their front. It was the only one remaining, as they had broken down all the others, in order to have only this one to defend. But the dryness of the season had rendered that river fordable in several places, at which large detachments of the French crossed over it, and came upon their rear, while their front was vigorously attacked by the legion of Lombardy, consisting of northern Italians, whose antipathy to the southern is remarkable. They had requested to be put upon this service; and, though it was the first time they were in action, they acquitted themselves with great valour. They broke the line of the papal army, and carried the batteries opposed to them, at the point of the bayonet. Pressed in this manner, both in front and rear, the pope's troops, after a defence, by no means contemptible for men so unused to tactics, were completely routed. Five hundred were slain and wounded, and about a thousand made prisoners, and fourteen pieces of cannon taken. The

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loss of the French did not exceed one hundred.

This engagement decided the fate of Rome: the victors proceeded immediately to Faenza, the inhabitants of which attempted to make a resistance: but the gates being burst open, by cannon, the French rushed in, and the city surrendered at discretion. Buonaparte prevented all plunder and bloodshed, and dismissed fifty of his most considerable prisoners, ordering them to repair to their countrymen, and represent to them the folly of exposing themselves to certain destruction, by a fruitless resistance. He next summoned before him all the priests and monks in the neighbourhood, and laid before them the necessity of yielding to superior force, and the iniquity of exciting the animosity of the people against the French, who did not come to destroy their religion, but to compel the court of Rome to make a peace with France upon reasonable terms. He required **them**, as ministers of the gospel, to desist from preaching war, and to attend solely to the duties of their profession, which was to infuse a pacific disposition into all men. He lastly warned them to beware of participating in popular interdictions, either by heading them personally, or by giving them countenance. These were acts of criminality for which he solemnly assured them they would find no mercy. These admonitions were, by the French commander, deemed the more necessary, that several clergy-men and friars had been present at the action of the second of February, on the Senio, where they greatly contributed, by their encouragements and exhortations, to the resistance and firm behaviour of the

papal troops, and where some of them had lost their lives.

After delivering this charge to the clergy of the places in his possession, he dispatched the chiefs of the monastic orders to those towns and districts, where they had most influence, in order to prevail upon them to remain quiet, on the solemn assurance of being left to the full enjoyment of every civil and religious right; but, if refractory, on pain of being delivered up to pillage and the severest chastisement.

This charge, from a military monitor, was found more efficacious than the usual charges of bishops to the clergy. The promises and threats of Buonaparte produced the intended effect. This was to procure the submission of the subjects to the see of Rome, without effusion of blood. Being himself an Italian, he was peculiarly solicitous to obtain a character of humanity among his countrymen, and to appear, at the same time, the protector of their laws and religious establishments. He completely succeeded in both of these intentions: and though executing the orders of the directory, at the head of an army of Frenchmen, a people long odious to the Italians, he conducted himself with so much prudence and circumspection, as to command the respect and esteem of the latter, without losing any of the attachment and confidence of the former.

In the mean time, he proceeded without delay in the reduction of the papal dominions. A few days were sufficient to take possession of the provinces of Romagna, Urbino, and Ancona, the best countries remaining to the pope. The city of Ancona had made some preparations

tions for defence. A corps of near two thousand men had been posted on the high grounds that command the access to this important place, towards the land; but the French general, Victor, found means to surround them, and they surrendered without resistance.

The next place of consideration that fell into the hands of the French, was Loretto, famous for the credulity and superstition exhibited there in modern ages. The treasure contained in the church, where the donations of princes and states and the rich offerings of personages of the first rank and opulence had been so long accumulating, had been partly removed by the Austrian general, Colli, commander-in-chief of the papal forces. The French, however, found articles to the value of about a million of their money. But, to do them justice, it was not plunder nor devastation they sought in conquering the pope's dominions: for which indeed they could plead no pretence, as the inhabitants now submitted to them without opposition, and seemed, in many places, entirely disposed to fraternise with French principles.

After subduing the intermediate country, from Loretto to Macarate, Buonaparte fixed his quarters in this place on the twelfth of February. He was now within forty leagues of Rome, and it was evident that no obstacle could retard his march to that city. In order to terminate hostilities with all speed, he wrote a letter to cardinal Mattæi, wherein, after reproaching the pope for his endeavours to injure the republic, he advised him to trust to the generosity of the French, and to have immediate recourse to a pacification.

He specified that five days would be allowed him to conclude a peace, for which purpose he would meet the persons commissioned to negotiate it at a place which he appointed.

The situation of the pope, deprived of all hope of assistance from any quarter, and relinquished even by his own people, left him no other expedient to save himself, and the Roman see, from absolute ruin, than to accept of such conditions as could be obtained from an exasperated enemy, conscious that he submitted through unavoidable necessity, and would possibly observe the terms he agreed to no longer than those who imposed them were able to enforce their observance. Yielding, however reluctantly, to circumstances, he wrote a letter to Buonaparte, apprising him of his desire to treat, and requesting that he would grant just and honourable conditions. Four persons were deputed to the French general, as the papal plenipotentiaries on this occasion. Cardinal Mattæi, and duke Braschi, the pope's nephew, were the principal.

The conditions of this treaty were of the same tenour as those concluded by the French with other powers. The pope renounced his alliance with the coalition. He agreed to disband the troops he had levied against the republic, and to shut his ports against the ships of war belonging to its enemies, and not to furnish them with supplies of any kind. All the rights and privileges enjoyed by France, in the papal dominions, previously to the revolution, were confirmed. He ceded to the French, in full sovereignty, the country of Avignon, and every place in France, formerly subject

subject to the Roman see. He ceded, in like manner, the cities and territories of Bologna, Ferrara and the Romagna. He engaged to pay the sum of thirty millions of French livres to the republic, either in specie or in value, and to deliver the statues, pictures, and manuscripts, stipulated in the treaty of armistice, of which he agreed to fulfil all the

other conditions. The Batavian republic was included in this treaty: on his punctual compliance with which, the prisoners taken from him were to be set at liberty, and all the places and districts restored, that had been seized by the French, Ancona excepted, which however they were only to retain till a general peace.

C H A P. II.

Means for preventing the future Power of the Roman Pontiffs.—And that of Austria over the Countries composing the Republics on the North and South of the Po.—Moderation and Lenity of the French Republic to the Non-juring Clergy.—At the same Time that their Bigotry and Superstition are exposed to ridicule.—Excessive Rejoicings and Exultations of the French at the Successes of their Arms in Italy.—Jealousy, Envy, and Resentment, against Buonaparte.—Who uses Precautions for warding off the Effects of these, and gaining Popularity and Confidence, not only in France but Italy.—Moderation and Prudence of the Inhabitants of St. Marino.—Munificence of Buonaparte to that small Republic.—Prevalence of Republican Principles in Italy.—Honour paid there to the French and Buonaparte.—Preparations of Austria, for disputing with the French the Empire of Italy.—The Imperial Army in Italy, commanded by the Archduke Charles.—Attacked by the French, and forced to retreat.—Capture of Gradisca and Goritz.—Municipal Governments settled in both these Towns, on the Republican Plan.—The Austrians defeated with severe Loss near Tarvis.—Audacious Spirit of the French Prisoners of War.—The Insurrection of this Spirit dreaded by the Imperial Ministry.—A Division of the French Army, under Joubert, penetrates into the Tyrol.—Reduces most of the strong Forts of that Country.—And gains other signal Advantages.—The French obtain Possession of Brixen.—Proclamations of Buonaparte, addressed to the Subjects of the Emperor.—The Austrians obliged to abandon their Head-Quarters at Clagenfurth.—The French cross the Drave.—Farther Successes of the French, under Joubert, in the Tyrol.—Remarkable Engagement between the Austrians and French, in the Defiles leading to Newmarck.—The Austrians continually defeated, but not discouraged.—Consternation at Vienna.—But invincible Courage of the Austrian and Hungarian Nobles.—Interesting Letter from Buonaparte to the Archduke Charles.—And the Archduke's Answer.—Armistice between the Austrians and French.—Honours and Praises bestowed by the French Directory on the Army.—Reflections.

AFTER humbling, or rather indeed annihilating, in this manner, the powers and importance formerly annexed to the see of Rome, the political views of the republic were directed to the means

of never suffering future pontiffs to recover them. It had already made an essential progress in this business, by formally approving the confederation of Reggio, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara. To these

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it now added Romagna, for the purpose of forming a larger commonwealth, and assented to the petition of the people of the Milanese, and the other districts of Lombardy, who were eager to follow that example, by framing a republican compact on a similar plan.

The union of interests, which would, for many years, indissolubly connect these two republics, was the best security that they would make a common cause against the restoration of either the Austrian or the papal power; both which were equally inimical to their newly acquired liberties, and would neglect no opportunity of reducing them to their former yoke. The French government, having resolved to accede to no pacification that should replace these countries in the possession of two such inveterate enemies as Rome and Austria, was equally studious to enable them, by proper arrangements among themselves, to acquire a degree of strength sufficient to maintain the republican government they had erected, against the efforts which would be made to subvert it by any Italian power. The population of the countries on the north and south of the Po, that composed the two republics, was computed at upwards of four millions. This was amply adequate to their defence against their neighbours, without requiring the assistance of France, which would only be needed to protect them from the hostile designs of Austria; and in this case they would **shortly** be in a condition to co-operate effectually in resisting them. Thus the influence of France, in Italy, would henceforth be established on the surest foundation, the

necessity of adhering faithfully to it by those states that depend on it for their preservation.

In addition to these measures, others were taken, not less conducive to remove the charge of inhumanity against the French government, than to prove of utility to it in other respects among the Italians. As the laws enacted in France against the refractory clergy, though condemning them to banishment, did not forbid their residence in the countries conquered by the French, Buonaparte, who sought upon all occasions to adopt measures of lenity, availed himself of the powers with which he was invested, to issue a proclamation in favour of these exiles. Herein he granted them a formal permission to reside in those parts of the pope's dominions, that had been subdued by the armies of the republic. The French troops were strictly forbidden to ill-use, or insult them, and the inhabitants of the country of all descriptions were laid under the same restrictions. These refugees were to be provided with all the necessaries of life, at the expence of the convents appointed for their residence. They were in return enjoined to take an oath of fidelity to the French government. This permission extended not only to those emigrant clergymen who had already taken refuge in the papal territories occupied by the republic, but also to those remaining in France, that were desirous of availing themselves of the like indulgence.

This regulation was highly conciliatory to those numbers of ecclesiastics, who, though disapproving of the changes effected in political and religious affairs in France,

could not avoid feeling for their country, and being desirous of its welfare and reputation. Though it had banished them, through apprehensions of danger from their principles, yet the present measure shewed that it had not divested itself of all consideration for them. The priests did not forget the service thus rendered them. However averse to the system established in their country, they still evinced, on several occasions, an attachment to its interests, and a readiness to forward them as far as their consciences would permit.

But while Buonaparte was intent on mitigating the rigour exercised on the non-juring clergy, the French directory took no less care to lay before the inspection of the public, sundry objects of the superstitious veneration of those ignorant and credulous multitudes, over whom they still retained so much influence. Those objects were the principal relics contained in the church of Loretto. They were transmitted to France, in order to be exposed to derision, and to lessen, by their evident absurdity, the respect and credit of the Romish clergy, as abettors, either through bigotry or hypocrisy, of those equally shameful and ridiculous impositions.

In the mean time, the rejoicings and exultation of the French, at the capture of Mantua, and the continual successes of their arms in Italy, filled every part of the French republic. The speeches that were pronounced on this occasion, in the council of five hundred, and in that of the ancients, contained all the applause of their soldiers and commanders that enthusiasm could inspire, and all the reprobation of

their enemies that thirst of revenge could produce.

There was, however, a circumstance that diminished the satisfaction, enjoyed by the people, at the triumphs of the French armies. It was in the contemplation of many, to bestow upon the commander-in-chief such a remuneration, as might conspicuously perpetuate the remembrance of his victories. This was to confer upon him the title of *Italicus*, in imitation of the precedents in ancient Rome, and in some modern states. All parties agreed in acknowledging the extraordinary merit of Buonaparte, and the wonderful actions he had performed. But there was also a party, which, though it did not deny the greatness of his exploits, did not however coincide in the propriety of such a recompense. They either thought, or pretended to think, it inconsistent with those maxims of simplicity in rewards, that had hitherto distinguished the republican government. This surmise was deemed, by a great part of the public, to be founded in envy more than in truth, and proceeding from the royal rather than the republican party. The hopes of those that longed for the return of monarchy were so enfeebled by the events of the campaign of Italy, that they could not disguise their grief. It was not from them the author of these events could expect to be rewarded for what they would have been better pleased that he had never performed. Thus a distinction, which the majority of people asserted he had highly deserved, was withheld from him, through resentment and envy, by the intrigues of the enemies to the republic, under pretence of acting

ring conformably to its principles.

The indifference testified on this and on some preceding occasions, at the successes of Buonaparte and his companions in arms, produced both in him and them a suspicion, that malevolent designs were harboured against the republic; and that, notwithstanding the warmth expressed by the numerous majority in its favour, a secret party was forming that consisted of men equally artful and persevering, who would employ every possible method of depreciating the services rendered to it, and who were at the same time so thoroughly determined to effect their purposes, that no obstacles could weary out their patience in striving to compass them.

From this persuasion of their commander-in-chief and his officers, arose the repeated assurances of inviolable attachment and fidelity to the existing government. They thought them necessary to impose a restraint upon its opposers, and to deter them from the attempts they might be meditating, by letting them see how resolutely and effectually they would be resisted.

In order to conciliate the minds of all people to the republic, Buonaparte had been particularly solicitous, ever since his appointment to the supreme command of the French army in Italy, to distinguish himself by a punctual observance of all those maxims, on which the zealous and sincere republicans chiefly prided themselves. He cautiously avoided all ostentation, and in his personal demeanour readily put himself on a footing of perfect equality with all persons of decent situations in society. Hence he had made himself a number of friends, not only

among the French, but among the Italians, who had hitherto experienced little of that condescension, especially from the Germans, who seldom studied to make their authority acceptable among the natives. The French commander never omitted any opportunity of ingratiating himself either in his private or public intercourse, for either of which he was equally qualified, by his education and the politeness of his manners. The influence he had acquired, by these means, possibly was not inferior to that which he had obtained by his exploits. These made him dreaded, but the others procured him esteem and attachment. The solicitude he had manifested, in effecting and consolidating the federal union between the republics, of which he had encouraged the foundation, had, more than any other circumstance, raised his fame and credit among the Italian politicians, who had long wished for the revival of such systems in their country, recollecting how much it had formerly flourished under them.

In compliance with this disposition, which was now become very general in Italy, and to give it every possible countenance and encouragement, the French commander, while on the papal territories, availed himself of that opportunity to take respectful notice of the little but ancient commonwealth of St. Marino, situated in the duchy of Urbino. He deputed thither citizen Monge, one of the commissioners of arts, and a member of the national institute, a man of genius and knowledge. The commissioner made a speech to the people of St. Marino, which seemed to be intended as an address to all Italy, and indeed to all Europe. He observed that liberty,

which had transformed the ancient Greeks and Romans into heroes, and had, in latter ages, revived the arts and sciences in the republics of Italy, had, while nearly banished from the face of Europe, still existed in St. Marino, where, by the wisdom of the government, and the virtue of the people, it had been preserved for centuries. The French too, he said, after a whole age of knowledge, had at length perceived their own slavery, and asserted their freedom. But the powers of Europe, shutting their eyes to the interest of mankind, had confederated against the liberty of France, and thought to partition it among them. The French were assailed on all their frontiers; and what most aggravated their calamities, many of their own countrymen united with the enemy to distress them. But they stood firm in the midst of all dangers, and gradually overcame all their enemies. Some were glad to relinquish the confederacy, and others were compelled to sue for peace. Jealousy, pride, and hatred, kept together their remaining foes. The French had, in the course of the present campaign, destroyed four Austrian armies; but the enemy still rejected peace. The commissioner then assured the people of St. Marino of peace and friendship on the part of France. Were any of their possessions to be disputed, or any adjacent territory necessary to their well-being, they might freely apply to the good offices of the republic.

The answer to this address was respectful and temperate. After expressing those sentiments of admiration, at the valour and heroism of the French general and his army, to which they were justly intitled, the citizens of St. Marino modestly de-

clined those offers of addition to their small territory, which had been made by the French commissioner, telling him, that simplicity of manners, and the enjoyment of liberty, were the best inheritance transmitted to them by their ancestors; and that, content with their mediocrity, they dreaded aggrandisement, as dangerous to their freedom. The only request they would make was the protection of France.

The moderation and prudence of the inhabitants of this little republic was justly rewarded by the munificence of the French commander. He presented it with four pieces of cannon, in the name of the French republic. He exempted their possessions in the Romagna, from all contributions, and refused the tender of payment for a considerable quantity of corn, of which he generously made them a donation.

Buonaparte had not only signalled himself by feats of arms: he had equally succeeded in that object which was requisite for the complete attainment of the purposes of his expedition. These were to revolutionize the minds of the Italians, the better to fit them for those changes in their various governments, that would assimilate them to the system established in France. Republican principles had taken forcible root in many, if not of most of those places subdued by the French, or rather torn from their former owners, for the emancipation of the nations, to speak the language of these as well as of the French themselves, who boasted that, contrarily to the practice of crowned heads, they conquered for the benefit of mankind at large, and sought no other emolument from their

their victories, than the glory of delivering nations from tyranny.

These ideas had spread far and wide among the Italians, together with the hope of seeing their country re-attain its independence and ancient splendour. The remembrance of those celebrated names, that had done it so much credit of old, was now recalled with enthusiasm. Peculiar honours were paid to the spot where Virgil was born. A monument was erected to his memory, and similar memorials were intended to perpetuate the fame of other illustrious men, who had adorned their country either in former times, or in modern ages.

Numerous were the effusions and testimonials of their gratitude to the French, for reviving their expectations to recover those free governments, under which some of the Italian states had once made so flourishing a figure. While the republican army was advancing towards Rome, some of its many well-wishers in that city had already reared in their determinations a statue to its commander, with an inscription to commemorate the restitution of the senate and people to their primitive power and dignity.

At Faenza, the inhabitants actually erected a triumphal arch to the honour of the French, and of Buonaparte, specifying their victory over the papal army, and securing thereby the liberty of that city. The fact was, that the governments exercised over the different people of Italy, in the ecclesiastical state especially, were fallen so low in the estimation of the public, that a large proportion of the inhabitants were heartily desirous of a change.

The clergy in the pope's dominions engrossed all the authority, and the other countries were in the hands of foreigners. Hence the national spirit of the natives was extinct, and they felt no interest in the transactions of their rulers, looking upon themselves, as wholly unconcerned either in the good or the ill success of their measures.

While Buonaparte was putting the last hand to the settlement of differences with the court of Rome, and of the affairs of the newly constituted republics, the councils of the Imperial court, were no less busily occupied in preparing the means of disputing, once more, the empire of Italy, with this fortunate commander. The point, that seemed chiefly in contemplation, was whom to appoint successor to those generals, whom he had successively defeated. Several were proposed, and in truth, the Austrian armies were not deficient in officers of experience and reputation; but the general voice seemed to pronounce in favour of the archduke Charles. His conduct and successes, during the last campaign, had made him very conspicuous, and his closing it with the taking of Kehl, and by compelling the French to retire within their own limits, had raised him a great name in all Germany. These circumstances determined the Imperial ministry to fix upon this young prince as the fittest rival to oppose to Buonaparte.

In order to send him to the field with all the advantages that could be procured, every exertion was made throughout the Austrian dominions, to furnish him with an army fit to revive the hopes of his family and his country, both which, rightly considered the efforts that

were making for another trial of fortune, to be the last that could possibly be made. Full of this persuasion, a most formidable army was again collected, from the numerous divisions and garrisons in the Austrian service. Their patriotism and honour were equally excited by every motive that could stimulate either. To do the Austrians justice, they had displayed enough of both to preserve their character unfulfilled. But the extremity to which their sovereign and their country was now reduced evidently called for greater exertions than ever.

The archduke Charles, though a prince of high spirit, and of an enterprising disposition, was not by the public reputed an adequate match for Buonaparte. This latter, had raised himself entirely by his talents and merit; but the former owed what he was evidently to his royal birth. No expectations were formed, by those who attended to their respective characters, that he would be able to cope with the abilities of the French general.

The Austrians had been so completely defeated, at the battle of Rivoli, that they had ever since been averse to take the field against the French. They were cautiously posted on the northern side of the Piava, waiting for the reinforcements of which the Archduke's army was chiefly to consist. The French, on the south of that river, and of the Lavasio, were watchful of their motions, constantly repelling them whenever they attempted to cross either. Part of February and of March were consumed in hostilities of this nature.

As soon as the archduke had assumed the command, the French determined to march against him,

before he had received a farther addition to the strength already arrived. To this intent they advanced to the Piava, in three divisions. The first commanded by Massena, effected its passage over, near Feltri, on the tenth of March, and compelled the Austrians to withdraw to Belluno, higher up that river. The second division, under Serrurier, proceeded to Asola, in the neighbourhood of which, he also crossed on the twelfth, after putting to the rout a body of Austrians that opposed him. Several other corps were encamped near this one: but they did not venture to support it, and they all made a precipitate retreat, in apprehension of being surrounded, and cut off by the two divisions that had already crossed, and by another that was then crossing the river. It was headed by general Guiaux, who advanced that very evening to Conaglione, and, on the next day, the thirteenth, to Sacali, where he overtook the rear guard of a large division of the Austrians, and made a number of prisoners. Massena, after taking possession of Balluno, pursued the enemy that was retreating to Cadora, and took some hundreds. On the sixteenth, all the French divisions directed their march to the Tagliamento. The Austrians were intrenched on the opposite side, in hope of being more successful, in defending the passage of this river, than of the Piava. The archduke commanded them in person, and was duly sensible of the necessity of stopping the progress of the French, and that, by passing this river, they would be able to over-run a large extent of country. This action, which both he and Buonaparte considered as decisive, began at mid-day. The French

French were by this time arrived on the banks of the river, and the passage was immediately commenced. Their right and left, protected by a formidable artillery, were directed by Buonaparte, to cross the river, and to attack the enemy in flank, while the centre made its passage in their front. His orders were executed with the completest success. Both the cavalry and infantry of the Austrians were drawn up with the utmost skill, and behaved with so much firmness, in their respective positions, as for a while to balance the fortune of the day : but the passage being at length effected every where, and the repeated charges of the Austrians having failed to make that impression upon the French, which was hoped, from the bravery of the soldiers, and the judgement of those who conducted them, it was found necessary to have recourse to a retreat. The principal loss, in this affair, fell upon the officers of the Imperialists : one of their generals was slain, and several officers of rank were made prisoners, with some hundreds of men, besides those that were slain.

The defeat of the Austrians was chiefly owing to the superiority of the French artillery. It struck them with such terror, that, after quitting the field of battle, they could not be prevailed on to make a stand. The archduke had taken an advantageous post at a village, where he proposed to maintain his ground, and risk another combat, the next morning ; but the discouragement of his men, and the impetuosity with which it was assailed by the French, notwithstanding a dark and tempestuous night, compelled him to abandon his design. The Austrians were driven from their post, and it was

with difficulty, that he effected his own escape.

The passages of the Piava, and of the Tagliamento, decided the contest between the archduke and Buonaparte. The whole country to the north of these rivers now lay open to the French. The republican army spread itself immediately into every direction, the Imperial troops retiring before them with a visibly diminished resistance. These evacuated Palmanova, of which the French took possession, on the eighteenth, with immense magazines of provisions. They advanced on the nineteenth to Gradisca, a town of importance on the river Lisonzo. The Austrians were posted in force on the opposite bank : but the French having effected a passage, made themselves masters of the heights commanding the town, upon which it was obliged to surrender, and the garrison, consisting of the best troops in the archduke's army, were made prisoners of war, to the amount of three thousand. Another French division proceeding northward from the Tagliamento, drove the retreating enemy as far as Ponteba, after repeatedly defeating him, and making numbers prisoners, with vast quantities of stores.

The capture of Gradisca was followed by that of Goritz, on the twenty-first of March. The Austrians withdrew from this place in such haste, that they left fifteen hundred sick and wounded in the hospitals, with all their provisions and stores. Both these towns belonging to the emperor, the French commander settled a municipal government in them, on the republican form, declaring them in possession of all the rights and privileges they

they were intitled to claim. He treated them altogether with marked lenity, in order, doubtless, to prepare the way for a ready submission, on the part of those cities and districts, in the Imperial territories, which, in the course of hostilities, he would shortly be necessitated to reduce to his obedience.

After the reduction of these two towns, a body of French was dispatched to take possession of Trieste, the only sea port belonging to the emperor, on the Adriatic. It fell into their hands on the twenty-third of March. Here, and in its vicinity, they found an immense booty.

In the mean time, general Guieux and Massena were advancing, from the different quarters, to the borders of Carinthia. The former attacked the Austrians intrenched at Puster, a strong position at the entrance of the narrow passes of Caprak, into which he drove them with considerable loss. The latter possessed himself of Tarvis, a place on the opposite side of those passes; by which motion the Austrians, driven from Puster, were inclosed between the two French divisions. A large body of Austrians marched from Clagenfurth, in Carinthia, to their relief, and assailed Massena at Tarvis, where a most obstinate battle was fought: but the Austrians were entirely defeated. Three of their generals were taken, and a celebrated regiment of Cuirassiers, almost destroyed. General Guieux, had, in the mean while, pushed the Austrians in the defile, as far as Lachinfa, a strongly fortified post, which he carried, however, after a resolute defence. They endeavoured to make a retreat; but were inter-

rupted by the victorious division, under Massena. The loss of the Austrians on this occasion, besides the slain, amounted to five thousand prisoners, among whom were four generals, thirty pieces of cannon, and four hundred waggons with all the baggage.

This was a fatal day to the Imperial arms. It closed, in a manner, the hopes that had still remained of better fortune, under the auspices of the archduke Charles, and raised the opinion entertained of Buonaparte to the highest summit. What principally alarmed the court of Vienna was the proximity of the French army to the Hungarians, a people that had not forgotten the struggles of their forefathers, against the usurpation of the house of Austria, and the danger, lest a similar spirit of resistance should be regenerated among them, especially as they had such recent causes of discontent.

A specimen of the unconquerable, and, in truth, it may be said, insolent spirit, infused by the republican principles current among the French, had been exhibited by their prisoners in the hereditary states, during the last summer. On the tenth of August, the day whereon the unhappy Lewis the sixteenth, was dethroned, a number of them, confined at Clagenfurth, the principal town of the province of Carinthia, celebrated this event, with marked exultation, in defiance, as it were, of the Austrian government. The formalities, that accompanied the observance of this day, were all calculated to manifest their hatred of royal power, and their attachment to republicanism, and especially to that equality of rank which admitted of no distinction among men, but

but that which resulted from virtue and merit.

The French prisoners, in the Imperial dominions, were alike everywhere, in this respect, and seemed, in truth, to court the notice of the subjects of Austria, by the unrestrained liberties they assumed upon all occasions of this nature. Their speeches, their songs, their devices, all tended to shew in what contempt they held all people that submitted to the government of kings, and how firmly they were determined never again to admit them into France.

This demeanor of the French, under the very eye of the Austrian government, and in the heart of the empire, occasioned no small uneasiness to those who reflect with how much facility such notions might be propagated among the multitude, soured with the severity of their rulers, and oppressed with the manifold burdens laid upon them, for the maintenance of a war, which the majority of people disapproved in secret; though the dread of being punished, for a manifestation of their sentiments, compelled them to feign approbation.

It was now become unseasonable and dangerous to attempt the suppression of these sentiments among the great number of French dispersed in the towns on the borders of the present theatre of war. The approach of Buonaparte, and his victorious army, had filled them with additional boldness; and strong suspicions were entertained, by the Imperial ministry, that in Hungary, and in Austria itself, they had adherents to their principles, numerous enough to form themselves into a strong party, were occurrences to ~~show~~ their secret inclinations.

The uninterrupted continuance of the French commander's good fortune grew daily more alarming. That part of his army, which had penetrated into the Tyrol, had kept equal pace with that under his own inspection Joubert, who commanded it, had, with his usual activity and success, made himself master of most of the strong posts in that country; and, seconded by the many expert officers under him, had obtained some signal advantages. He surrounded a large body of Imperialists, on the Lavio, where they had taken possession of advantageous ground, with an intention to dispute the entrance of the inner country. This body was chiefly composed of Tyrolean riflemen, famous for their dexterity in that manner of fighting. The combat was long and bloody, but terminated in the total overthrow of the Imperialists: two thousand were killed, and four thousand made prisoners. The remainder withdrew higher up the river, towards Botzen. They halted at Tramin, a situation of strength, where they made a vigorous defence. But notwithstanding the bravery and conduct of general Laudohn, their commander, they were at length completely worsted, their retreat to Botzen cut off, and all that could escape, forced to take refuge in the neighbouring mountains. After securing Botzen, Joubert directed his march to Clausen, where the Austrians had assembled a great force. Here a furious conflict ensued, and success long remained doubtful, so strongly were the Imperialists posted. The centre of the French, headed by Joubert in person, succeeded at last, after repeated efforts, in breaking the enemy's line. This at once decided the

the day. The Imperial troops were wholly routed, and fifteen hundred captured, besides the slain. They fled in disorder from Clausen to Brixen, closely pursued by the French, who took possession of this important place, which the enemy abandoned with precipitation. In these several actions, particularly of Tramin, general Dumas, at the head of the French cavalry, did signal services. Here he first broke the enemy, and took six hundred prisoners, which led the way to their entire defeat.

The victories obtained by Buonaparte's generals, or those wherein he presided in person, had now brought him to the borders of Carinthia. Desirous of reconciling the inhabitants of this province to the entrance of the French, and no less in order to avail himself of the opportunity to direct an address, through them, to all the people of Germany, he issued a proclamation, wherein he disclaimed all purposes of conquest over the empire. The sole aim of the French government, he said, was to terminate this calamitous war; but the Imperial court had refused to attend to the proposals of peace offered to it. Corrupted by the gold of England, the emperor's ministers betrayed both him and his subjects, and rendered them the tools of that power. He was conscious, he said, that the war was contrary to the sense of both his German and Hungarian subjects. He, therefore, invited them to enter into terms of amity. He required no contributions: all he asked of them was, that they would furnish provisions to his army, for which they should be indemnified, by being discharged

from all the imposts they were used to pay to the emperor.

This proclamation, as well as the many others, issued occasionally by the French commander, made little impression upon those to whom they were addressed. But they served as manifestos to the politic world, and, in the opinion of many, justified the French in their endeavours to force their enemies to accede to a peace, which, had these been victorious, they would have dictated to the French, as peremptorily, at least, as these did to them.

The close of March was approaching. Since the tenth, the Austrians had not only been expelled from their posts, in the territory of Venice, but had lost the most considerable of those upon their own frontiers. The province of Carniola was nearly in the possession of the French, who had entered Carinthia, and encamped on the southern side of the Drave, at some distance from Clagenfurth, the capital of this province. General Massena's division pushed forward, on the twenty-ninth, towards that city. The main body of the Austrians was drawn up before it, to receive him; but, after a slight resistance, and the loss of some hundreds, killed and taken, it retired with all speed, and the archduke abandoned that place, which, being his head-quarters, the loss of it cast a damp on the whole Imperial army. The French now crossed the Drave, and advanced beyond it to Freisach, a post of importance. While their central division was thus gaining ground, the left, under Joubert, was making no less progress in the Tyrol. He had been reinforced by a body of cavalry, commanded by general

eral Zajouzeck, one of those Polish officers who had taken up arms with Kosciuszko, for the deliverance of their country; and, sooner than submit either to the Russians or the Austrians, had preferred a voluntary exile, and entered into the service of the French republic. The Imperialists had posted themselves in the defiles, leading to Inspruck, the capital of the Tyrol. Here they were attacked by Joubert, on the twenty-eighth of March. As they consisted of veterans, detached from the Rhine, purposely for the defence of this province, it was hoped they would have been able to guard its accesses: but the charge of the French, seconded by their artillery, was so impetuous, that the passes were forced, and the Imperial troops routed, with the loss of six hundred prisoners, exclusive of those who fell in the action, together with the whole of their baggage. The division of the right, under Bernadotte, was equally successful. It completed the reduction of the province of Carniola, by the capture of Laubach, its capital, on the first of April. This opened the way, on that side, to an entrance into the province of Stiria, contiguous to Austria itself. In these different expeditions, the French acquired an immense booty, in clothing, arms, and military stores of all descriptions, and in magazines, filled with all sorts of provisions.

On the same day, Massena's division, which, after taking possession of Clagenfurth, had penetrated into the country beyond the Drave, marched in force to attack a large body of Imperialists, posted in the defiles, leading to Neumark, and commanded by the archduke in per-

son. The encounter was obstinate; but the defiles were carried by the French, who pursued the Austrians with so much celerity, that these were compelled to halt, and form into a line of battle, for their defence. The fight was renewed, with increased fury. The archduke had brought up eight battalions of those granadiers who had served under him at Kehl, and on whom he justly relied for their valour and expertness. Massena encountered them with his own granadiers, who were also deemed the flower of his army. They formed the centre, on both sides, and charged each other with equal bravery: but the flanks of the Imperial granadiers, being suddenly assailed, by all the troops that Massena could detach for that purpose, and which came through narrow and unguarded paths, in the heat of action, they were thrown into disorder, and forced to abandon their ground, notwithstanding the formidable artillery that protected it. About six hundred of them were taken prisoners, besides a great number of slain. Night coming on, they availed themselves of it to hasten their retreat, leaving the French masters of the defile, and of all the country as far as Neumark, of which they took possession the next morning, and where they found large quantities of stores and provisions.

The archduke, having collected his retreating troops, made a stand at Hundsmark, in the vicinity of the river Murh, but, the French coming up with them, on the third, they were routed, after a short conflict; and their rear guard, consisting of four veteran regiments, from the army on the Rhine, lost near a thousand

a thousand men, killed and taken. The loss of the French, in both these engagements, was comparatively small, on a consideration of the advantages they obtained. The Austrians were now so discouraged, by their constant defeats, notwithstanding their courage, and conduct, that they seemed to have come to a determination to remain wholly on the defensive, and to venture no encounters, but for the purpose of protecting a retreat. Their present position was such, indeed, as left them little hope of contending, successfully, with the French. These had, in consequence of the late action, occupied the strongest places in Carinthia. General Spork, an Austrian officer of note, was on his march along the valley, on the southern banks of the Murh, at the head of a considerable reinforcement, for the defeated army: but the French posted themselves on his passage, in such force, that he found it impracticable to advance beyond Murau, a town upon the river Murh, where his own situation became dangerous.

It was now evident, that all expectations of an effectual opposition to the French were unfounded. The fifth army that had been levied by Austria, to encounter them, was no longer in being. In the short lapse of a month, twenty thousand men had been made prisoners, and the remainder had either fallen in battle, or taken refuge in a broken and shattered condition, among the mountains and fastnesses of the country. The recruits that were raising could not supply the place of veterans who had not themselves been able to resist the French. The archduke, on whom such confidence

had been reposed, had proved as unfortunate as his predecessors in command. The only resource left to the house of Austria, was, in all appearance, to acquiesce in the terms of pacification offered by France.

The consternation at Vienna was extreme: but the Austria nobility, warmly attached to the Imperial family, with which it participated in all the dignities of the German empire, expressed a zealous determination to share the fortune of its sovereign, and to defend his capital to the last extremity. The remains of that body of young gentlemen, who had served as volunteers, in Italy, under Alvinzi, were again completed; and, by admitting the youth of all decent classes, were augmented to eight thousand. The Hungarian nobles, and their vassals, were called upon to arm, and repair to Vienna: and all able-bodied men, in the hereditary states, were ordered to form themselves into companies in their respective districts. Out of all these a formidable mass of stout and resolute men was to be raised. This, added to the regulars, assembling from all quarters, would, it was not doubted, constitute a force, which, though it might not intimidate the victorious enemy, still might prove the means of inducing him to relax from the severity of the terms he would otherwise insist upon.

But these orders, and preparations, did not quiet the alarms of the generality. Numbers of the opulent, and even of the higher ranks, hastened to withdraw themselves, and their effects, in apprehension of a siege. The emperor, himself, signified his intention to quit

quit Vienna in such a case; and the stoppage of payment, at the bank, completed, at once, the fears and dissatisfaction of the public.

Buonaparte was, in the mean time, collecting, and concentrating his forces, in order to proceed, in a direct march, to Vienna, where he notified, to the directory, that he hoped, shortly, to plant the standard of France, if the emperor still continued averse to a peace. He now fixed his head quarters at Claganfurth, where those of the archduke had been some days before, in order to render his expulsion from this place, and his reverse of fortune, the more remarkable, through a circumstance that would not fail to attract notice from its particularity.

A gleam of returning fortune had, on the other hand, attended the Austrian arms in the Tyrol. The inhabitants of that province had risen in a mass, and joined the forces under general Laudohn. Strengthened by numbers, which, though undisciplined, were not the less brave, and enterprising, he resolved to attack the division under Joubert, who, after his successful action, on the twenty-eighth of March, had taken post at Botzen, in order to give some respite to his men, after the fatigues they had undergone. On the fourth of April they were assailed by the Austrian troops, in conjunction with the Tyrolese. Overpowered by immensity of numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retire to Brixen, which they were also obliged to abandon the following day. Here, however, the success of the Austrians terminated. Buonaparte's plan requiring the united strength of all

his forces, Joubert's division proceeded through the Tyrol to join him. Laudohn followed, but could make no impression upon Joubert, who arrived at the main army with eight thousand prisoners, and all the other captures he had made.

During these transactions, the arrangements that had been made, in the French army, had completely prepared it for the execution of the design in agitation. Hoping, however, that its formidable appearance might produce the effect thereby intended, which was to put a stop to hostilities, Buonaparte availed himself of the manifest superiority of his situation, to make overtures of peace to the archduke Charles. To this intent he wrote a letter to him, which, at the time, excited the universal attention of all Europe. Brave soldiers, he said, made war, but desired peace. The war had now lasted six years. Men enough had been slaughtered, and evils enough committed against suffering humanity. Such, he noticed, were the exclamations on all sides. Europe, which had taken up arms against the French republic, had laid them down, and Austria alone continued its enemy. Blood was still to flow, a sixth campaign was announced, and, whatever might be the result, thousands of gallant soldiers must fall a sacrifice. At some period, nevertheless, he observed, both parties must come to an understanding, since time brought all things to a conclusion, and extinguished the most inveterate resentments.

The French directory had expressed a desire to terminate this ruinous contest, but their pacific overtures were defeated by the intervention

tervention of the British ministry. Was there then, he said, no hope of accommodation? Must blood still be shed to promote the interests, or to gratify the passions, of a people far remote from the theatre of war? Are not you, addressing himself to the archduke, who are so nearly allied to the throne, and above the mean passions that usually influence ministers, desirous to merit the appellations of benefactor of the human race, and saviour of the German empire? I do not mean, added he, that your country cannot be preserved by your sword, but that however the chance of war may alter in your favour, Germany must still be a sufferer. He concluded by assuring the archduke, that as to himself, were his present application to him to be the means of saving the life of a single man, he should be prouder of the civic crown, to which he would thereby become entitled, than of the melancholy glory resulting from the most brilliant exploits in war.

This letter of Buonaparte will descend to posterity, a nobler monument of his fame than any of his victories. It breathes the sentiments of a gallant military chief; and, at the same time, the sublimest sentiments of morality. "When time shall have settled the present disputes, (as sooner or later it must,) and even extinguished the resentment of nations;"* nay, and when the whole series of his victories shall pass through the mind as a dream that has past, such sentiments, recorded in the page of every historian, will touch and engage every heart.

To this letter from Buonaparte,

which was dated the seventh Germinal (March thirty-first) the archduke replied, that he was equally desirous of peace with the French commander, but that his station not authorizing him to scrutinize, nor to terminate the differences between the belligerent powers, and not being invested with any commission for that purpose, he could not undertake a negotiation till he had received special orders.

On receiving this answer, the French troops were immediately put in motion. Their march was directed towards Murau, where general Spork was posted. The archduke, upon this intelligence, requested a suspension of arms for the space of only four hours: but as this would have enabled him to secure the junction of that officer's division with his own forces, Buonaparte sent him a denial, and proceeded on his march; resolved to carry his designs into speedy execution, unless they were prevented by complying with his offers to enter into a treaty.

He had advanced to Judenburgh, in Stiria, where he fixed his headquarters, intending by a rapid march, to transfer them into Austria itself, when he received a notification from the emperor, that he was ready to embrace the opportunity given him by the French general, of entering into negotiations for peace. This message was brought him by generals Bellegarde and Murveldt, deputed by the Imperial court to confer with him on that subject, and to obtain an armistice, the more effectually to bring matters to a peaceable conclusion.

* Expressions in his letter to the archduke.

A suspension of arms was accordingly agreed upon the seventh of April, the duration of which was limited to ten days. This, by the French commander, was deemed a space sufficient to come to a final determination, whether to accept or to refuse those terms which had been proffered to the Imperial courts, and from which it was now determined, by the French, not to recede.

In accepting the offer of an armistice, for the purpose of pacification, Buonaparte displayed equal moderation and judgement. Though the rapid career of his victories had met with little interruption, he could not but be sensible of the extreme difficulties, if not imminent dangers to which he was now exposed.

His rapid marches, across ravines and precipices, and over mountains, where no traces of roads existed, had compelled him to leave behind the greater part of his heavy artillery; while his army, from the rigours of the season, and the constant state of action in which they had been kept, had very sensibly diminished; and though the remainder preserved, to the last, the same courage and ardour, yet they were insufficient to preserve the vast extent of country which they had conquered; and the positions which he had taken, though highly favourable for farther conquest, had he been sufficiently reinforced, were no less fitted for the operations of the enemy, which he conceived he had left behind him in the states of Venice.

To reach Vienna by the speediest direction, the French army had to pass the mountains of Stiria, which rise for a long extent from the

Murh, almost within sight of this seat of empire. These mountains, easily defended by the retreating army, and the succours which were pouring in from all quarters, would have rendered the remainder of his march extremely difficult. These difficulties might have been obviated, by his taking a direction towards the Danube, by crossing over from the Murh to the Ems, along the banks of which his army would have found an easier mode of arriving at the end of their expedition; but the circuit was too long, and the army too much diminished, to suffer such a dismemberment of it as would be necessary to keep up its communication with Italy. The dangers arising, from the enemy before him, had been well weighed by Buonaparte. By daring courage, and the boldest efforts, he had, in the space of a month, led his army to conquests, which the most ardent imagination had scarce ventured to contemplate; but he had made no calculations, on the outset of his expedition, for other enemies than those with whom he was in open hostility, and therefore had not provided resources against them.

The best judges of military affairs expressed a degree of wonder, not that Buonaparte should accept the offer of an armistice, but that the Imperialists should make it. Had he advanced without a proper train of battering cannon against the works of Vienna, which might still have been defended, even after the loss of a battle in the field, the Hungarians and Austrians, collected in over-powering numbers, would have probably cut off his retreat, and his ruin would have been certain. It was not, therefore, it has been said, on very probable grounds, the ter-

[D] ror

ror of Buonaparte's arms, tremendous as he was, that moved the emperor to sue for peace; but a terror of another kind, on the one hand, and an allurement held out, on the other, by the French commander, in the preliminaries for peace. The greater portion by far of his Imperial majesty's subjects, even a great many officers in his armies, were averse to a war with France. The conduct of Buonaparte had not, on the whole, been such as to discredit his professions of a respect for private property, public credit, and the rights of men, as well as nations. This shew he had made of generosity and justice, in some instances, veiled, in a great measure, from the public eye, those contributions which he levied in others. No general, no politician of the present day, appears to be more profoundly skilled than that leader in the management of the two great springs that move the whole machinery of public affairs, the passions and finance. His conquests took property and cultivation, and the free exercise of religion under their protection; and, in directing the new governments, to be responsible for the debts of the old, he touched on a deep system of policy and revolution. The governments that had fallen before him seemed to have fallen of themselves, and without convulsion. Had the coalition, on entering France, issued a proclamation in favour of the government *de facto*, the road to Paris would have been found more practicable. The effects of Buonaparte's proclamation in Stiria, on the inhabitants of Vienna, and other cities, were dreadful, it was believed, in the Imperial palace.

In order to accelerate the nego-

ciation, Buonaparte had previously taken care that the conditions of the armistice should be entirely to the advantage of the French. The posts occupied by them, in the provinces of Carniola, Carnithia, Stiria, and the Tyrol, were to remain in their possession till a pacification had taken place. To these posts others were added of great consequence: one of them was Gratz, the capital of Stiria, a city of the first importance in the emperor's dominions, and where a numerous garrison was placed by Buonaparte.

While this fortunate commander was obtaining so many triumphs for France, the directory was unremittingly attentive in bestowing those praises upon him and his generals, which they were conscious would prove peculiarly satisfactory to the patriotic disposition, and warmth for the glory of their country, that had so remarkably characterised the French officers, since the commencement of this war.

In order to convince them how circumstantially they attended to the gallant actions they performed, the directory wrote, in its official capacity, letters of thanks to every officer deserving of such a mark of distinction. Herein they carefully specified the particular instances of his valour and conduct that had induced them to reward his merit with so honourable a notice. The publicity of the encomiums bestowed upon them excited, in a wonderful manner, the emulation of the French military. To obtain a remuneration of this kind was held the highest degree of honour and credit to which the profession could attain, as it seldom failed to be accompanied, at the same time, by promotions.

and

and other substantial encouragements.

The principal officers to whom the directory addressed letters of such a tenour at this time, were generals Joubert, Berthier, Bernadotte, Massena, Guieux, and Kellerman. They were all men of tried valour and abilities, and had proved of essential utility to Buonaparte, in his expedition to Italy and Austria. There were others also no less deserving, such as Augereau, who was styled his right hand. To these the like honours were paid verbally by the directory, and similar tokens of regard conferred upon them, on their being sent to Paris, by Buonaparte, with the standards and military trophies taken from the enemy.

It was with great reason that the French government testified so much respect for the army of Italy. It had, in the preceding and present campaign, been the principal agent and support of the republic. While its armies in Germany were compelled to retreat, this one continued to advance, and to strike terror into the councils of Vienna. Had not Buonaparte balanced, by his successes, the expulsion of the French from the empire, they would probably have been followed by the victorious Imperialists into the heart of France. It was the necessity of making head against him, that withheld five armies successively, for the preservation of Austria. Had not this immense force been necessary to prevent its total destruction, and could it have been employed in carrying the war into France, it was the opinion of Europe, that an effectual impression must have been made on the republic; and that the conditions of peace, proposed by the

British ambassador of Paris, must have been accepted by the directory.

To the extraordinary talents of Buonaparte, and to the valour of his troops, was owing therefore the superiority that France still retained over its enemies. Never had the exploits of this celebrated warrior, and of his companions in arms, been exceeded. In the course of less than a twelve month they had been victorious in no less than eighty-four engagements, fourteen of which were pitched battles. Exclusive of the slain, they had taken one hundred thousand prisoners, and between two and three thousand pieces of artillery. They had compelled five sovereign princes, two of them kings, to submit to their own terms, and had chased five Imperial armies out of Italy. They had given a new aspect to this part of Europe. They had changed the forms of its ancient republics, and had founded two new ones on the plan of their own. All this they had effected at the expence of their enemies. Instead of draining the treasures of France, by these conquests and acquisitions, they had enriched them with the surplus of what they had levied and expended for their own support.

But what the philosophical world will probably deem the most material circumstance, they carried with them the principles of that revolutionizing disposition, which had effected such changes in their own country. They propagated them widely in Italy. Whatever may be its future destiny, the seeds of that freedom of thinking, which the French planted among the people, will fructify in spite of all en-

deavours to stifle them. . The temporal and spiritual power of the clergy have both received such a blow, that neither, in all likelihood, will ever recover its former importance. The minds of a large proportion of the people are in fact so completely revolutionized, that although they may be necessitated, for their own safety, to submit for a while to the coercive law of the sword, they will embrace every opportunity of shaking off the yoke of foreign rulers, and will reiterate those attempts so frequently, that it is probable they will succeed at last, especially if the French republic should remain unshaken: as in that case they will always depend on its intervention in their favour; they will, from that motive, be ready to act with the more spirit and energy against those whom they will henceforth consider much more as their tyrants than their sovereigns.

These appear to be the current ideas of the majority of politicians. In France, and in those countries that are not averse to the interest and principles of the republican party, no doubt is entertained that if it stands its grounds, Italy will soon or late assume those forms of government which Buonaparte was so anxious to establish.

All these considerations operated strongly at the period of the negotiations, to which the court of Vienna was compelled to accede. The Imperial ministry, discouraged by the repeated inefficacy of the extraordinary exertions that had been made to resist the victorious armies of France, yielded to necessity, and subscribed to the conditions dictated by the conqueror, in hopes, however, that fortune might, at a more auspicious crisis, atone for the calamities now become unavoidable.

C H A P. III.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between the French and Austrians.—Successes of French Armies on the Rhine.—Progress of the Negotiation for Peace.—Hatred of the Venetians to the French, and partiality for the Austrians.—The French Army takes Possession of Bergamo.—Resentment, Rage, and Attempts of the Venetians at Resistance.—The French Troops over-run and reduce all the Venetian Territories.—Fall of the Venetian Republic universally deplored.—A Revolution introduced by the French into Venice.—The Austrian Troops invade Istria.—Treaty of Campo-Formio.

THE armistice, granted by Buonaparte, left the Austrian ministers no longer time, than was absolutely necessary, to make a speedy option, whether to embrace his offers, or to renew hostilities. He was so completely prepared for these, that a renewal of them was too much dreaded by the court of Vienna, to decline, any longer, to accede to his proposals.

The preliminary articles of a peace, between France and Austria, were accordingly agreed to, and signed, by both parties, on the eighteenth of April. By these preliminaries the French remained sovereign possessors of the Austrian low countries, and the establishment of the republic of Lombardy was confirmed. These were the ostensible articles, but it was universally conjectured, that the court of Vienna would not so readily have assented to concessions so advantageous to France, and detrimental to itself, without previously obtaining the promise of some indemnifications.

During these transactions, on the borders of Austria, and while Buonaparte was preparing to march into that province, the French armies, on the Rhine, had been put into motion, and obtained some signal successes. The necessity of procuring a new army, to enable the archduke to oppose Buonaparte, had obliged the court of Vienna, to recall a large proportion of its forces from the defence of that river. Little less than thirty thousand of its best veterans being thus withdrawn, the French resolved to attempt a passage. On the nineteenth of April, general Moreau effected it, after an obstinate dispute, and proceeded immediately to Kehl, of which he took possession, notwithstanding the resolute defence of the Austrian troops that occupied this advantageous post. The loss, on both sides, was very great; five French generals were wounded, and numbers of their soldiers fell; but the slain and wounded among the Austrians were much more numerous. Between

three and four thousand were made prisoners, and all their camp equipage was taken, with the military chest, and more than twenty field-pieces.

General Hoche, who commanded on the Lower Rhine, crossed that river, on the eighteenth of April, at Neuviad. General Kray, an officer of great reputation, was at the head of the Imperialists, and had made skilful dispositions to receive him. Conjecturing, however, that a suspension of arms either had, or would, shortly take place between the republic and the emperor, he proposed an armistice to the French general, but this was refused, unless such concessions were made as the Austrian general deemed unreasonable. They both, in consequence, prepared for an engagement. It began by an impetuous attack from the French, who advanced, in great force, against the Imperialists: these, who were strongly entrenched, made a vigorous resistance, and destroyed numbers with their cannon: but, after a long and bloody conflict, the French, by dint of perseverance, seconded by a formidable artillery, succeeded in their attack, and the Austrians were thrown into disorder: they rallied, however, and disputed their ground with much obstinacy; but, being charged by large bodies of cavalry, and having but few to oppose them, they, at length, gave way, leaving all their cannon, and most of their baggage, together with four thousand prisoners, besides the slain.

This action proved decisive. The Imperial army was pursued and dislodged from every post where it attempted to make a stand, and suffered extremely in the whole

course of its retreat. A French division crossed the Lahn, and pushed towards Francfort, and another followed the retiring enemy to the defiles of the Dilla, on their way to Watzlaer, killing and taking great numbers. A third division assailed their camp, near Mentz, and forced them to take shelter under its cannon. Nothing could withstand their impetuosity, and they were within a few hours march to Francfort, when intelligence arrived of the preliminaries of peace being signed. This, of course, stopped their progress, and put an end to all farther hostilities.

The opening of the campaign, upon the Rhine, in this brilliant manner, on the part of France, was an additional motive for Austria to acquiesce, the more willingly, in the suspension of arms, that freed it from the apprehensions justly entertained from Buonaparte. The councils of Vienna were now taken up in the devising of means to render the issue of the negotiations, for the definitive settlement of affairs, less hurtful to the interests of Austria than appearances seemed to threaten they must finally prove.

The French had now compassed that object, which they long had in view, to treat with Austria separately from England. Those who conducted the negotiations, on the part of Austria, were conscious how solicitous they were to conclude a peace, without the accession of England to such a treaty. On this ground they well knew that France would relax in many points, in order to bring matters to a speedy decision, lest, by throwing some unreasonable difficulty in the way, the negotiations might be retarded, and an opportunity

opportunity given to England, to interfere therein, as a party concerned. It was by observing this policy that France had broken the coalition, and induced its respective members to negotiate a part. The fact was, that England, being the power at which its resentment was chiefly pointed, and of which it sought most eagerly the depression, it would readily concede much to those of whom it principally desired to dissolve the connection with England. Actuated by this motive, the French government, though determined to keep possession of Belgium, was far from averse to make an adequate compensation to Austria for the loss of so valuable a part of its dominions, provided the country, to be given as an indemnity, should not become the means of renewing this connection. The low countries, by their proximity to Great Britain, were a natural and powerful cause of an union of interests between that power and the house of Austria, through the commercial advantages resulting from them to the former, and the facility with which the latter could derive the most essential assistance against France, from its most formidable rival. The hope and prospect of terminating a connection, so dangerous to them, were now in the contemplation of the French. To secure so desirable an end was a point of too much consequence, to refuse the grant of such conditions as might enable them, at once, to obtain it without farther difficulty, or contest, and possibly as much to the satisfaction of those to whom they granted them as to their own, especially as the power they were now treating with was notoriously disposed to make any sacrifice that

might conduce to indemnify him for his losses, at whatsoever cost the indemnification was to be purchased, whether an enemy, or a friend.

It was on this disposition the French seemed to place their expectation of framing a treaty which would satisfy both parties; nor did they shew any backwardness to make the like sacrifices on their own part. The political structure of Europe was now founded on a system of compensations and equivalent reciprocities. Modern statesmen, and politicians, have deviated from the principles of morality and religion, the solid and dignified basis on which the law of nations was originally founded, and introduced a superseding principle, called the law of political necessity, by which rapine is made to justify rapine, and a system of progressive injustice established, on a grand scale, among the rulers of nations. It is this that has divided Poland; this that threatens the division, not only of the Turkish empire, but of many Christian countries in Europe; and this, it may be added, that forms the best apology for all attempts to form popular governments.

The republic of Venice had long viewed with dissatisfaction the victorious progress of the French, in Italy. Like the other natives of that country, the Venetians harboured a dislike of the French. Difference of character and manners rendering these two nations remarkably averse to each other. But the political antipathy of the Venetians was still greater than their national dislike. The conquests of the French had rendered them the arbiters of the fate of all Italy. The former importance of the sovereignty and states of that country

had totally disappeared, and they alone gave the law. This was a situation peculiarly mortifying to a state that stood upon a footing of equality, at least, with any other in Italy; and of superiority to most. The house of Austria, though at all times formidable, had never been an object of much terror to Venice, not even when it united Spain and Germany in the same family interests, and was, at the same time, in possession of the major part of Italy. But the turbulent and restless disposition of the French, and their propensity to introduce innovations every where, alarmed the senate of Venice to such a degree, that, knowing how much the form of their government was repugnant to the principles of the French, they doubted not the readiness of these to seize the first opportunity of overturning it. Full of this conviction, they waited with anxiety for a change of fortune in favour of the Austrians, whose neighbourhood they had long experienced to be much less dangerous than that of the French. In the mean time, they rendered many good offices to the former, and clearly manifested a partiality to them, which did not escape the notice of Buonaparte, who gave sufficient indications that he would remember it in due time. Hoping, however, that the extraordinary success, which had hitherto attended him, would not last, they still continued to befriend them, by every clandestine service in their power. The resentment of the French was at last kindled, and their seizure of Bergamo, in which province an insurrection, already broken out against the French, was the first signal of their intentions towards Venice. Its complaints of

their violation of its territory were answered with reproaches of the partial conduct of the Venetian senate towards the Imperialists. Every day produced fresh occasions of discontent on each side; and it was easy to foresee that their reciprocal enmity would finally terminate in acts of violence.

Thus matters stood when the fifth army of Austria was forced to leave the territories of Venice, and take refuge in the hereditary states. As soon as the French had penetrated into these, in pursuit of the Austrians, and were engaged in the defiles and difficult passages in those mountainous countries, the Venetians began to look upon them as entangled in straights, from which they would not easily extricate themselves, and where, from their local advantages, the Imperialists would probably oppose them with success. The French were now at a considerable distance from Italy, and the small number of their troops remaining there, many of them, sick and wounded in hospitals, were incapable of resistance, and might with facility be overpowered. News, at the same time, had arrived of general Laudohn's progress in the Tyrol, which had been attended with some slight advantages over the French, and also of general Alvinzi's march into Italy, by Carinola, in the rear of Buonaparte's army. A report was universally circulated, that the French were on the point of laying down their arms, and that nothing was wanting, to render victory over them complete, but a general movement and co-operation on the part of the loyal subjects of the Venetian government. An opportunity now offered to intercept the communication between Bu-

Buonaparte and his posts in Italy. For this purpose forty thousand of the Venetian peasantry were armed, and embodied with ten regiments of Slavonians. They were posted on all the roads, and the couriers and convoys to the French army were stopped every where.

In the mean time, the hatred of the Venetians burst forth in the most outrageous manner. Those among them, who had behaved kindly to the French, were treated as enemies to the state, and put under arrest; and none but their declared adversaries entrusted with any authority. In all places of public resort, the French were insulted and reviled in the grossest terms. They were expelled from the city of Venice, and at Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, the inhabitants were ordered to take up arms against them. The officers of the Venetian military openly boasted, that the lion of St. Mark would verify the proverb, that Italy was the tomb of the French. The clergy inveighed against them in the pulpit, and the press teemed with publications to defame them. What brought these proceedings home to the government was, the notoriety that neither priests nor printers in Venice dared to preach or publish any thing not strictly conformable to the will and pleasure of the senate.

But these were only preludes to the outrages that followed. On the roads, from Mantua to Legnano, and from Cassano to Verona, upwards of two hundred French were assassinated. Two battalions, on their march to join the army under Buonaparte, were opposed by the Venetian troops, through whom they were obliged to fight their way. There were two other en-

counters of the like nature. At Verona a plot was laid to murder all the French in that city. It was carried into execution on the Tuesday after Easter. None were spared, not even those that lay sick in the hospitals. More than four hundred Frenchmen perished on this occasion. Those who garrisoned the three castles of that city were besieged by the Venetian army till they were liberated by a body of their countrymen, who routed the Venetians, and made three thousand of them prisoners, among whom were several of their generals. At sea, the Venetians took openly the Austrian vessels under their protection, and fired at the French ships in pursuit of them. At Venice itself a republican vessel was sunk, by express order of the senate, and the commander and crew slaughtered.

Such were the accounts published by the French. They were made the subject of a manifesto, issued by Buonaparte, on the third of May. Herein he directed the French resident at Venice to quit that city, and ordered the agents of the Venetian republic in Lombardy, and in its provinces on the main land, to leave them in twenty-four hours. He commanded his officers and troops to treat those of Venice as enemies, and to pull down, in every town, the lion of St. Mark, the arms of the Venetian republic.

In consequence of this manifesto, the French troops over-ran and subjugated, in a few days, all the Venetian dominions. The Veronese, whose behaviour to the French had been remarkably atrocious, were condemned to an exemplary punishment. Some thousands of the peasants, who attempted

tempted to oppose the French were put to the sword, and obliged to consult their safety in flight. The Slavonians, who had come to their assistance, were routed, and fled to a fort, filled with their powder and ammunition: but it was blown up by the cannon of the French, and they were all destroyed. Another engagement took place before the walls of Verona, and the Venetians fought with great fury; but they were defeated with vast slaughter, and the place compelled to surrender.

The Venetian senate, despairing of being able to make any effectual resistance, formally submitted to the French commander, and consented to deliver up those persons who had been instrumental in the atrocities of which the French complained. On the sixteenth of May, the French took possession of the city of Venice, where a provisional government was established on the republican plan. The press was declared free, persons and property secure, and religion left on its present footing. The only seizures, made in the name of the French government, were of the arsenal and its contents, with the shipping that belonged to the state.

Thus fell, after a splendid existence of fourteen centuries, the celebrated republic of Venice. No modern state had risen, from such small beginnings, to a situation of equal prosperity. It was with sincere regret that every nation in Europe beheld its fall. The celebrity it had long enjoyed, on a multiplicity of accounts, interested people in its preservation. Without inquiring how far the French could claim a right to doom it so unmercifully to destruction, they

only considered that it had subsisted with honour to the present period, and had maintained its reputation unimpaired amidst a variety of dangers and trials, that had reduced it sometimes to the last extremity. The political world saw with concern the fatal hour arrive, that was to deprive it of the place it had so long and so reputably held among the powers of Europe.

There was another republic, the rulers of which had grievously offended the French, by the partiality they had shewn to the Imperial interest. This was Genoa, where the nobility exercised the supreme sway, and were justly apprehensive that the French, if successful, would destroy the aristocracy, and erect a government intirely democratical. They opposed, from that motive, the projects of the French, by every clandestine impediment they could throw in their way; but the torrent of that irresistible fortune, which attended the arms of France, overwhelmed them, in common with all the rest of Italy. After the revolution at Venice, the French proceeded immediately to introduce another at Genoa. The majority of the people here were desirous of a popular government. Feuds had, of course, arisen between them and the partizans of the nobility. A desperate fray took place between both parties, shortly after the signing of the preliminaries between the emperor and the French. Elated by this event, the republican party raised a violent commotion in the city, and proceeded to open force, in support of their pretensions: but numbers of them were killed, and the insurrection was suppressed. As their principal leaders had fallen, their projects were considered as at

an end, and they were treated with excessive severity. Determined, however, not to yield, they applied to Buonaparte for his protection, against their antagonists. This was readily granted, and the French having taken possession of the city, the enemies to the aristocracy could no longer, with safety, be opposed. It was intimated to the Genoese nobles, that, after the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy, and the submission of all the principal powers in that country to the dictates of France, it were the height of temerity in them, to continue a resistance to the general will of their fellow-citizens. They yielded prudently in time, and agreed to the establishment of a commonwealth, on the principle of a perfect equality of rank and privileges among all the classes of society. The French system of legislation took place in every respect; and the territory of Genoa was distributed into communes and municipalities, in imitation of France. The discretion of Buonaparte, upon this occasion, was remarkable in two material instances. He provided for the security of all persons, by an act of amnesty; and for the maintenance of religion, by leaving it to the protection of the laws instituted for its support. It was happy, however, for Genoa, that it was situated at a distance from the domains of Austria. Had this republic, like Venice, been seated in the neighbourhood of that ambitious power, it might also have partaken of a similar destiny. It had offended in the same manner, though not to the same extent, and might have been sacrificed, with as little scruple, to the expediency of reciprocal arrangements.

In the course of the negotiations for peace, which were studiously prolonged on the part of Austria, and far from accelerated on that of France, both parties seemed to have forgotten their animosity, and to concur in the means of settling their contest, at the expence of others. Exchanges of territory were proposed, and acceded to, with that remorseless indifference, which characterizes despotic princes, transferring to each other their subjects, like cattle, without consulting any other title to act in this manner than the incapacity of the helpless people thus treated, to vindicate the rights of human nature, and to resist such arbitrary usage.

It was in virtue of such principles that a cession of part of the Venetian territories was mentioned in the very outset of the treaty, for which Venice was to be indemnified out of the Pope's dominions, newly republicanized. Here at once was a total dereliction of those maxims, on which the French chiefly founded the superiority of their system: a scrupulous regard for the dignity of man, and a reference to his will and consent, in whatever he was concerned. The partition alluded to did not indeed take place, as Venice was doomed to far worse treatment: but the principle, to the shame of the French, was clearly admitted.

The French commander was too jealous of his own character to undergo the reproach, of suffering the noble republic he had founded to be destroyed at its very birth; and it is not to be doubted, whether we contemplate the precedent or subsequent conduct of Buonaparte, that he would not have suffered this, no more than certain other

other acts of oppression, had he possessed the means of acting uniformly on his own principles. He might, indeed, have abstained from acting at all: but hampered as he was, by the directory, he could not unite a strict adherence to his principles with his views of ambition. He displayed the utmost solicitude in consolidating it, in such a manner, that no state, or sovereignty, in Italy, should exceed it in strength and importance. To this purpose, the confederations formed between the cities of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, and the provinces, comprised under the name of Lombardy, were converted into a single republic. The different arrangements that were made, to render their incorporation firm and durable, were due to the sagacity and laborious exertions of Buonaparte, who spared no pains to afford every reason, to the people of these countries, to prefer their present to their former condition; and to be convinced, that they had made an advantageous change in their circumstances, by assuming the government into their own hands, instead of leaving it to the uncontrolled exercise of absolute and arbitrary masters.

In the mean time, events were taking place, that fully demonstrated a connivance, on the part of the French, at the endeavours of the court of Vienna, to seek an indemnification for its loss of territories in those of the Venetians. It had been a current opinion, at the opening of the conferences for peace, that large portions of the Venetian territories, on the main land, would be made over to the emperor, as compensations for what had been wrested from him in the

Netherlands and Italy. Considerably to the general expectation, was not long before these were received ample confirmation. A range of coast, along the province of Dalmatia, had, ever since the downfall of Venice, excited a species of ambition in the court of Austria; that of increasing naval strength, and succeeding Venice in the dominion of the Adriatic. The idea of sharing the spoils of an unfortunate republic, whose calamities arose, in a measure, from an unsuccessful exercise of its good will, was to all those who did not think politicians had a right to exempt moral justice from their transactions. But the policy of the house of Austria had long convinced them not to attend to it, how feeble a sentiment of this nature might prove, as in truth they had experienced, whenever fortune laid before it opportunities of aggrandisement. Pursuant to the long-standing maxims of its conduct, the court of Vienna availed itself of the permission, either formerly obtained or indirectly given by the emperor of France, to make an irruption into the province of Istria, a dependency of Vienna, and reduce it to its own subjection. This happened in the month of June. The proclamation set forth in the proclamation accompanied the entrance of Austrian troops into that province, were, that a revolutionary spirit manifested itself in the Venetian territories, which threatened to extend itself to the neighbouring countries. In order therefore to protect himself from the pernicious consequences which this might produce, the emperor had thought it necessary to take possession of that province.

for the preservation of tranquillity. He alleged, at the same time, the ancient rights of his family to Venetian Istria, as formerly making part of the kingdom of Hungary. Several provinces, in the dependency of Venice, having withdrawn themselves from it, he conceived this to be a fit opportunity to assert those rights. This proclamation was dated the twenty-first of June. By this time, the conditions of the peace in agitation were well understood, by the French and Austrian negotiators: more than two months had been consumed in adjusting them, and enough had transpired to inform the public, that both parties concurred in dividing, between them, the spoils of the Venetian republic.

It was not, however, till October, that a definitive conclusion of this treaty took place. Buonaparte had now completed the settlement of every point, relating to the new founded republic, and to that of Genoa, now denominated Liguria, conformably to the disposition prevailing among the revolutionists, of reviving the ancient names of countries and nations. He returned to Udina, where he found the conferences not yet terminated, notwithstanding that he had left them, on his departure, in a state that promised a more expeditious progress, as the terms of pacification were mutually acceded to, and as the only causes of farther delay, were the endeavours of the Imperial court to procure the addition of some favourable clauses, he determined that no farther prolongation should be allowed for such purposes. He signified to the plenipotentiaries of that court, that a speedy termination of matters was necessary, and would no longer be

deferred. They knew the decisiveness of his temper, and complied in consequence with his requisition. The treaty of peace between France and Austria was accordingly signed, on the seventeenth of October, 1797, at Campo-Formio, a village in the vicinity of Udina, by Buonaparte, for the French republic, and by the marquis De Gallo, count Cobentzel, count Demeersfredt, and baron Dagelman, the Imperial plenipotentiaries. They were men of abilities, and had certainly exerted them in the course of these negotiations, as appeared by the advantages they obtained for Austria, notwithstanding the state of depression to which it had been reduced.

By this celebrated treaty, the emperor ceded, in full sovereignty, to the French republic the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and consented to their remaining in possession of the Venetian islands of Corfu, Zante, Caphalonia, and of all their other isles in the Adriatic, together with their settlements in Albania, situated to the south east of the Gulph of Lodrino. He acknowledged the republic newly constituted under the name of Cisalpine, to be an independent state. He ceded to it the sovereignty of the countries that had belonged to Austria in Lombardy, and assented to it possessing the cities and territories of Bergamo, Brescia, and others, late in the dependence of Venice, together with the duchies of Mantua and Modena, the principalities of Massa and Carrara, and the cities and territories of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, lately belonging to the pope.

The cessions of the French republic to the emperor were Istria, Dal-

Dalmatia, with all the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, lying to the north west of the Gulph of Lodrino, the city of Venice, with a large portion of the dominions of that republic, chiefly those lying between the Tyrol, the Lake of Guarda, and the Adriatic.

It was stimulated, between the contracting parties, that no individual, in the countries occupied by the French or Austrians, should be prosecuted for his opinions or conduct during the war between them.

The duke of Modena was to receive, as an indemnification for the loss of his duchy, the province of Brisgaw, in the proximity of the Rhine.

A congress should be held, at Rastadt, consisting of plenipotentiaries from France and the empire, for the negotiating of a peace.

The ceremonial and etiquette between Austria and France should remain as in times past, and the Cisalpine republic should be placed on the same footing, in this respect, as the late republic of Venice.

The provisions of this treaty extended, as far as they were applicable, to the commonwealth of Batavia.

In order to ascertain the neutrality to be observed, with regard to the belligerent powers, it was reciprocally agreed, that no assistance or protection of any kind should be given to the enemies of either of the contracting parties, and that not more than six of their ships of war, at one time, should be permitted to enter the Austrian or French harbours, during the present war.

Such were the principal articles of the treaty of Campo-Formio.

The countries given to the house of Austria, to counterbalance the acquisition of France, in the Netherlands, were allowed to be an equivalent beyond what it could have justly expected, considering the debilitated condition to which it had been brought, by the arms of the French republic, and the inveteracy expressed upon all occasions against it by the court of Vienna and its adherents.

But there were other articles in this treaty, deemed of an unostensible nature, in the actual situation of Europe, especially of the German empire, with the princes and states of which both France and Austria seemed equally inclined to act with more freedom, than they were conscious would be justifiable, or approved of by those whom their designs were to effect.

By this secret convention the emperor engaged to consent, that the Rhine should, conformably to the desire of the republic, be the boundary between France and Germany, and to use his mediation for the procuring of the like consent, on the part of the states and princes of the empire. Were they to refuse their assent, he agreed to furnish no more than his bare contingent of troops, in case hostilities resulted from this refusal. The French, in return, were to exert their influence in procuring the cession of Saltzburgh, with some considerable districts in Bavaria, to the emperor. For every acquisition made by France in the empire, it was stipulated that he should receive an equivalent; and for every one that he made, France should receive another in like manner. The republic, in order to induce the assent of the king of Prussia to those arrangements,

largements, restored his dominions on the left bank of the Rhine, and allowed a territorial indemnification to be given to the stadtholder, provided it were not in the neighbourhood of the Batavian republic. To this the emperor also consented, on condition it were not in the vicinity of his own dominions: carefully stipulating, at the same time, that Prussia should make no new acquisition. He gave his formal assent to the dispositions made in Italy by the French, of the various Imperial fiefs in favour of the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics; and

promised to concur, jointly with France, in soliciting the diet of the empire to give up its feudal sovereignty over those districts. He farther agreed to act in concert with the republic, in order to obtain the consent of the empire, that the three ecclesiastical electors, and the other princes of the empire, who suffered any loss of territory, either in consequence of this convention, or of the pacification to be concluded hereafter between France and the empire, should be proportionably indemnified in Germany.

C H A P. IV.

Principle or Spirit of the Treaty of Campo-Formio.—Strictures thereon.—Exultation of the French.—Parties in France.—Their mutual Abhorrence of each other.—Their Reciprocal Animosity, influenced by new Jealousies and Apprehensions.—Conspiracy of Loyalists discovered.—Address of Lewis, called by the Royalists the XVIII.—And resolute Exertions of his Party throughout France.—Decree, obliging the Public Functionaries to swear Hatred to Royalty.—Return of new Members to the French Republican Legislature.—French Troops sent to St. Domingo.—Excessive Profusion of the French Executive Government.—Frauds and Collusions, detrimental to the Public Revenue.—Enormous encrease of the Public Debt.—Various Mismanagements.—Strictures of many Members of both Councils, and others on the Continuance of War, and Extension of Conquests.—The Lenity and Moderation of this Party, in Favour of Peace, encourages Attempts in Favour of Peaceable Loyalists.—Severe Decrees against this Class of Loyalists, new-modelled and mitigated.

THE secrecy with which the contents of this treaty were concealed from the public, sufficiently proved how conscious the contracting powers were of the dissatisfaction they would excite when they came to be known. The disrespectful, and it may be said, the arbitrary manner in which they disposed of the interests and destiny of so many princes, who, though inferior to them in power, still were independent sovereigns, plainly shewed their total disregard for all that were not able to command it. Their considerations seemed wholly confined to themselves. Equity and decorum were entirely laid aside in this clandestine arrangement of their reciprocal concerns, or at best not farther con-

sulted than suited their convenience.

Of all the sacrifices that were made to that selfish and ambitious spirit, which dictated this private convention, the destruction of Venice gave most offence, as well as surprize, to all the people in Europe. So hard a destiny was expected neither by the Venetians nor others. They had been organized, conformably to the democratical system, and the majority of the inhabitants, throughout the dominions of Venice, were firmly attached to republican principles. The French plan of government having, at the period of their submission, been settled and acquiesced in with the evident satisfaction of all classes, but that of the

the nobles, many of whom were not averse to it, the public imagined that the only change in the state of Venice, would be from an aristocratic to a democratical republic. This alteration had also been introduced as a punishment on the nobles, who alone were represented as inimical to the French, the commonalty being reputed warmly devoted to them. By the terms of the treaty between Venice and the French, and which these agreed punctually to fulfil, though all its possessions were ceded to the French, yet part of them were to be restored on the final settlement of affairs in Italy. A large sum of money, no less than eighty millions of livres, had at the same time been paid to them, by way of atonement and compensation. These various circumstances induced the public to expect, that content with the transforming of Venice from a lordship, as it was styled, to a popular state, the French would have left it in that condition, which would have placed it on the same footing as the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics. This too was considered, by some very shrewd politicians, as the surest method of preserving Italy from the yoke of Austria, as those three republics would in all likelihood unite for their common defence against the attempts of that dangerous neighbour to recover his former domains. But all these expectations were at once frustrated, by the cession not only of several of the provinces of Venice, but of the very capital of that ancient state, to the house of Austria. This, in fact, was to annihilate all hopes that Venice would ever again resume its station in the political system of Europe:

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experience having long proved, that every country, that fell into the possession of that family, had never recovered its primitive situation, but through the most violent struggles, and the most extraordinary and unexpected events.

The friends to liberty had beheld, with marked satisfaction, the abolition of the Venetian senate, and especially of the council of ten, and of the inquisition of state. The election of fifty individuals, by the suffrages of the community, with six commissaries nominated by Buonaparte, had been greatly approved of, as a very fair and equitable government. As it had continued several months, and been exercised with moderation, an idea had naturally prevailed, that it would have remained unaltered, and the inhabitants enjoyed their new acquired freedom. It was therefore with deep regret and indignation, that these found, that they were to be stripped of what they began to consider as their constitutional rights, and delivered over to the dominion of Austria: a power of which they well knew the despotic maxims, and dreaded to become the subjects more than ever; since the introduction among them of French principles and regulations. The commonalty, which felt a particular partiality to these, bitterly complained, that they should have experienced them to no other purpose, than to grieve for their loss, when subjected to the severity of the Austrian government.

Thus ended, for the present, the contest between France and Austria, to the great satisfaction of the people of both countries. In France, the exultation was boundless. In imitation of the precedents of former

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mer times, the reign of Lewis the XIV. particularly, calculations of the number of victories and trophies won by the French armies were pompously distributed to all the members and departments of government, and published with much splendour and solemnity in all parts of the republic. In these it was stated, that the French had been victorious in two hundred and sixty engagements, thirty of them pitched battles. Of their enemies upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand had been slain, and near two hundred thousand made prisoners. About eight thousand pieces of cannon had been taken, and one hundred and eighty thousand muskets. These achievements had taken place within the space of three years and a half, commencing with September, 1793, and ending with February, 1797. Since which, upwards of twenty thousand more of the Austrians had either been killed or taken during the hostilities that preceded the armistice, and preliminary pacification, concluded in April following, between France and the emperor.

While the arms of France were obtaining so many successes abroad, the internal peace of that country was continually shaken, by the irreconcilable disposition of those who opposed the present constitution. Stung with resentment at the many disappointments they had experienced in their efforts to overturn it, these, instead of relaxing, had rather encreased their resolution to persevere, and fall in the attempt, should such a fate attend them, than desist from what they looked upon as equally a point of honour and of duty.

Such still continued to be the character of that resolute party which opposed the republic, and was determined, at all hazards, to labour for its destruction, and the restoration of monarchy. These two objects were incessantly in their contemplation. The blood that had been so profusely and vainly shed for their accomplishment was considered only a just and necessary tribute, which every loyal subject should hold himself under the most conscientious obligation to pay, when summoned to do it by those who bore the lawful commission of the sovereign, and whenever any prospect appeared of acting to advantage in his service.

These principles were strongly current among large numbers in every part of France. The persecution and sufferings which those, who professed them, were liable to undergo, did not seem to make much impression upon them: undeterred by the vigilance, with which their motions were watched, they acted together with a concert and boldness that exposed them to perpetual detection. But such was their courage and firmness, that they took little or no care to conceal their principles. Their conduct, in fact, bordered on temerity, their zeal being such as to overleap all the bounds of discretion, and to set their oppressors at defiance.

Among men of this description it was not difficult to find agents, as well as adherents, by those strenuous friends to royalty, who still abounded in France: the staunch republicans dreading the effects of this unconquerable antipathy to their cause, and alarmed by the frequent intelligence of threatened insurrections, contracting on their
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side a rancour against the royalists, and a thirst of revenge that induced them to pry into all their actions, with a suspicion that fell upon the most innocent, and that sought for plots and machinations against the established order of things, in the commonest intercourse between those individuals, who were either known or suspected to incline to what was termed royalism.

This being the relative situation of the partizans of the commonwealth and the monarchy, it was natural that they should hold each other in abhorrence. Those of the republican party, who favoured moderate measures, and who, though true to their own side, were disposed to treat their antagonists with lenity, incurred, on many occasions, the imputation of being unsteady in their principles: and yet, the only charge that could be brought against them was, that of endeavouring to mitigate the spirit of enmity that prompted men to unnecessary acts of severity, and to persuade them to rest contented with those precautions that deprived their adversaries of the means of executing their inimical intentions, without punishing them merely for entertaining sentiments contrary to their own.

The nation was deeply involved in this conflict of repugnant ideas and interests, when new jealousies and apprehensions arose, to add fresh fuel to the flame of reciprocal animosity. On the twelfth of Pluviôse, (January the thirty-first, 1797), the directory informed the council of five hundred, that a conspiracy had been carried on against the republic, by the emissaries of the late king's brother, styling himself king of France, and that four

of the principal conspirators had been arrested.

According to the report of the minister of police, there had been for a considerable time, persons in Paris, commissioned by that prince, to correspond with his partisans in all the departments, and to organize the plan of an insurrection. After preparing their own people, they next ventured to make application to some officers in the republican army, in hope of bringing them over to their party. Ramel, commander of the guards, attending the directory, was tampered with, as was also Malo, the commanding officer of a regiment of dragoons. They both feigned an approbation of the proposals made to them; but informed the minister of the police of the business in agitation. A place was appointed where he might over-hear the discourse between these officers and the royal commissioners. Thither he repaired, and they disclosed, in his hearing, the whole plan of the conspiracy, producing, at the same time, their powers, and the papers relating to it. They were immediately seized, by his orders. Their names were Duverne, Duprale, known also by the name of Dunant, and who acknowledged, upon examination, that he had assumed several others; La-ville Harmois, formerly belonging to the court of the late king; Brothier, who appeared, by papers found upon him, to be in the confidence of Lewis XVIII; and a person called baron Poly. They were accused of having endeavoured to seduce the above-mentioned officers into a conspiracy against the republic, in which they were to be assisted by England. Had their design succeeded, and a counter revo-

lution been effected in favour of Lewis, deeds of a most atrocious nature were to have ensued. That prince was, at his restoration, to have assumed the mask of clemency, and to have issued an act of oblivion: but this was to have been declared null and void by the parliament, after his power had been firmly settled, and the ancient courts of judicature re-established: other acts of perfidy were to have accompanied this one. The leading members of the present legislature were to have been taken into favour, and promoted: but condemned to punishment on the first opportunity. Other frauds and barbarities were mentioned, such as exposing La Fayette in an iron cage, and sentencing to the galleys the inferior actors in the revolution. If the strength of the royalists proved insufficient for their purposes, the jacobins and terrorists were to have been resorted to for aid, on plausible pretexts. Such were the principal charges against the four persons arrested. As their answers did not invalidate them, they were ordered, by the directory, to be tried before a military tribunal, as falling under the accusation of having levied forces to be employed against the state.

The chief agent among them appeared to be Dunant. He gave in a declaration of the proceedings relating to this conspiracy, that represented it, as well as his agency therein, in so remarkable, and, at the same time, in so strange and perplexed a light, that it excited great doubt of his veracity. He assumed the character of a man resolved to communicate all the transactions to which he was privy, and in which he had been concerned,

relating to France. He detailed, in the minutest manner, the multiplicity of intrigues carried on, at home and abroad, against the republic, specifying facts and persons with the most circumstantial accuracy. His object, by making these discoveries, was, he said, to frustrate the attempts of the enemies to the commonwealth, and to enable it the more readily to crush them, by being forewarned in time. The part that England acted in these transactions was very particularly described. According to his report, the British ministry was at the bottom of every design meditated against France, and spared no expence to forward their execution. Nothing, in short, was omitted, on the part of this ancient rival, to overturn its present, and to restore its former, government. But notwithstanding the utility, which the royal cause expected to derive from England, the king, he said, meaning Lewis XVIII. and his council, had always been of opinion, that the services of England were perfidious, and tending to no other end than the ruin of France. This declaration made much noise at the time, and gave occasion to a variety of speculations.

The detection of this conspiracy coinciding with the period immediately preceding the annual change of one-third of the legislature, awakened the suspicions of government, and induced them to imagine, that their opponents would exercise all their influence throughout the nation, to render the ensuing election of members, to replace those that vacated their seats, unfavourable to the views of the present rulers. Herein they were not deceived. Every species of opposition, violence

here alone excepted, was made, by the royal party, in favour of their friends. Nor were the republicans less earnest in opposing their adversaries, in the same manner. Reciprocal accusations of bribery, and every unfair method of carrying elections, were laid to the charge of both parties, and they criminated each other with all the virulence and animosity of men, who were eagerly seeking for means to effect their mutual destruction.

A paper, published about this time, in the name of Lewis, afforded an opportunity to the directory, not only of insisting on the reality of the recent conspiracy, but of bringing home, to the royal party, the charge of making every effort to fill the legislature with their partizans. In this paper, Lewis explicitly acknowledged, that he had agents in France, who were commissioned by him to urge every motive to induce the people to renounce their allegiance to the republican government, which he represented as a state of anarchy and of despotism, and to restore the ancient monarchy, which alone could put an end to the calamities that had afflicted France ever since it had wanted a king. After making solemn promises to rectify all abuses, and to redress all grievances, conformably to the wish and will of the nation, he directed his agents to employ themselves particularly in procuring the choice of the public in the approaching renewal of its representatives, to fall upon his own adherents. In order to obtain this end, they were to hold out rewards, proportioned to the services performed, to the military of every rank, and to every person in office, whom they could persuade to em-

brace their cause, and to come into their measures.

This address of Lewis to the French, which was dated the tenth of March, 1797, was accompanied by the resolute exertions of his party, throughout France. Government was openly attacked, both in speech and writing. Every argument was used to asperse and vilify its members: every report and anecdote was circulated, that could disparage their character, and bring them into contempt. The cause of the emigrants was boldly pleaded, and their conduct justified. The republic itself was represented as unstable and fluctuating, and the probability of its continuance denied.

But a subject of still greater alarm to government, was, that a considerable number of the public functionaries refused to take the oath of hatred to royalty. Though this refusal was grounded on their compliance with this injunction upon their entering into office, yet, their denial to comply with it, at the present juncture, could not fail to subject them to suspicions of enmity to government.

The directory, against which the attacks of opposition were chiefly levelled, resolved, on this emergency, to apply to the legislature, for its aid, in compelling the refractory to submit to a regulation, which all the friends to the republic judged indispensibly requisite to enable government to distinguish between its adherents and opponents. With this view, a message was sent by the directory to the council of five hundred, complaining of the disrespectful and audacious writings published against the constitution

and government, as well as of the refusal of persons in office to take the oaths required of them, and requesting, that a law should pass to oblige them to comply with this requisition.

This message was delivered to the council, on the fifteenth of March, and the passing of it was warmly solicited by the friends of the directory, as peculiarly necessary at the present season. The fact was, that in many parts of France, those who had been appointed electors of the members of the two councils, that composed the legislative body, were secretly royalists, and, of course, disinclined to take the oaths administered to them by the republicans, as a test of their fidelity to the present constitution. It was particularly against these, the law now proposed was aimed. But it was strongly opposed by several of the most conspicuous members of the council, who rejected it, as unnecessary and injurious to the character of the electors, whose loyalty to their country it represented as doubtful. They were answered, that testimonies of attachment to the state ought always to accompany official appointments, and that no one, who did not harbour sinister designs, would be averse to give so easy a proof of his patriotism. After violent altercations, it was decreed, at last, that every elector, previously to his entering upon his functions, should formally promise attachment and fidelity to the republic, and to the constitution of the third year, and pledge himself to defend them to the utmost of his abilities.

The enacting of this decree was considered, by the republican party,

as no little advantage gained over the royalists, who had, for some time, been remarkably successful in encreasing their strength. This, indeed, was evident, by the returns made of new members to the legislature. Among these was the prince of Conti, and some of the ancient noblesse. Several others were elected, whose principles were remarkably moderate, and by some thought inclining to royalism.

Three persons took their seats as representatives, on this occasion, who had each made a conspicuous figure in the republic. The one was Barrere, famous for his many speeches in the convention, during the time of Robespierre, and for having presided at the trial of the unfortunate Lewis. The others were general Jourdan, the first who turned the tide of fortune in favour of France, in the campaign of 1793, by the victory of Dunkirk; and general Pichegru, no less noted for his successes in Flanders and Holland, the ensuing year. Both the latter were admitted to their seats with every token of approbation and respect. But the former was rejected, as being an out-law, and incapable, as well as unworthy, of having a seat in the representation. In the directory, Latourneur went, by 1 t, out of office, and was replaced by the celebrated negociator Barthelemi, whose talents and personal character had long rendered him the favourite of the public, which expressed universal satisfaction at his promotion to that dignity.

This partial renovation of the executive and legislative bodies was accompanied with a general expectation, that it would be followed by material

material changes in the management of public affairs. The power of the directory was, by numbers, deemed too great for the administrators of the concerns of a commonwealth, and a limitation of it was judged necessary, before custom and length of time should give it a right of prescription. The council of five hundred had hitherto acted, in a remarkable degree, by the impulse of the directory. The necessity of preserving union between the different branches of a constitution, newly established, and thereby securing it respect, pointed out the propriety of such a conduct. But the lapse of a considerable space of time, filled up with continual triumphs, having conferred strength, and the prospect of stability, upon the new system, its favourers, as well as criticisers, began to examine its flaws with the more severity, that the sooner these were remedied, the less of difficulty would occur in that necessary business.

Both the councils now contained a large proportion of members determined to retain as much authority as they might be able to secure to their respective shares. They vigilantly waited an opportunity of enforcing, by actual exertion, their claim to some of those branches of power, that had been solely exercised by the directory, and either acquiesced in, or formally lodged in them by the councils.

The sessions of the new legislature commenced towards the close of May. In the beginning of June, the situation of the French islands, in the West Indies, was brought before the council of five hundred. The recall of Santhonax, the French commissioner, in St. Domingo, was moved, and carried: but

general Jourdan, apprehending that if this measure was not supported by a sufficient force, that commissioner might resist the orders of the legislature, and, sooner than submit, give up the island to the English, proposed, that a competent body of troops should be sent to enforce the decree of the council. This proposal was approved of, and passed, accordingly, to the great mortification of the directory, to whom the settlement of that affair had been committed, by the late council.

The public was not displeased at this assumption of authority, by the council. Profusions of an unsufferable nature were imputed to the managers of the L^one departments, of which the expences, in the opinion of the committee appointed for their examination, ought to be reduced from seventeen to little more than six millions. The directory was accused of conniving at these excesses, if not of expressly authorising them, to indulge their vanity, and a contemptible fondness for improper magnificence. The various palaces, inhabited by the late king, and the different branches of the royal family, occasioned an expenditure that ill accorded with the pretences of economy, so frequently in the mouth of the supporters of government. A far greater number of surveyors, architects, and workmen, were employed to keep them in order and repair, than were wanted for the purposes to which they were allotted. Several of those manufactories, stiled royal, were still preserved on their former footing, without necessity. The expences arising from the printing of public papers, and the remunerations given to the writers in them, on the side of government, were no less ex-

five. Complaints of this kind were equally made by the republicans and the royalists. The former reproached the people in office for affecting a needless pomp in their execution, and for converting to their private emolument, the sums entrusted to their hands for public uses. The latter expressed their indignation, that persons of low degree, and that had risen to power and affluence by the depression and ruin of their superiors, should riot ostentatiously in their spoils, and that after destroying monarchy, as too costly a system, and impoverishing the many for the enriching of the few, they should, in the midst of pretences to frugality, live in sumptuousness and luxury, and rival the state and splendour of kings.

In the council of five hundred, now consisting of numbers highly dissatisfied with the conduct of government, and resolved to expose it to the public, without palliation, the severest invectives took place against the superfluous multitudes of commissaries, and other attendants on the army, and of individuals employed in the official departments. It was surmised that they were maintained as retainers to those who appointed them, whose private interest and service they were thus fond to promote on all occasions. It was also insinuated, that in a matter of the highest importance to the benefit of the revenue, the sale of public lands, frauds and collusions had taken place, to the deep detriment of the revenue, notwithstanding the clamorous wants of every branch of the national expenditure.

The committee of finances, in particular, animadverted with great freedom on their administration. Through the neglect and indolence

of those who superintended them, debts and arrears, they said, had been accumulated to the amount of six hundred millions, a sum exceeding the annual income by thirty millions. The negligence or ignorance of some of the ministers, had been extreme. Provisions had been purchased by one of them, for the use of the navy, at nearly thrice their cost in the common markets, and almost as much had been paid for naval stores.

Various mismanagements of the heaviest nature, in pecuniary and other matters, were, at the same time, laid to the charge of the directory. Whether for the support of the army, or the arrangements preparatory for peace, their demands for money were, it was said, equally exorbitant. For the latter of these objects, they required no less than one hundred millions. Nor was their arrogance inferior to their profusion. They presumptuously demanded copies of the speeches relating to them, that had been made in the councils. What was this but invading the freedom of debate? Their conduct ought therefore, it was asserted, to be rigorously scrutinized, and no greater authority allowed them than the constitution had decreed. The more effectually to restrain them within their own limits, they should be debarred henceforth from the management of the national finances; and those laws that had empowered them to dispose of the public money, on various occasions and pretences, ought forthwith to be repealed.

These strictures on the directory, and the bold measures proposed in consequence of them, proceeded from Gilbert Desmoulières, a man deeply conversant in pecuniary calculations, and

and in the revenues and resources of France, and of a disposition not to be intimidated by frowns and menaces, while conscious that he stood upon the strong ground of truth and facts. He was resolutely supported throughout the animated discussions, upon these divers subjects, that took up the attention of the councils, from the commencement of June, to the twentieth. The impression made on the public, by the severe animadversions on the directory, was highly to their discredit. But they were not dismayed by this appearance of hostility to them, and prepared to meet their enemies with weapons not less offensive than those that were employed against them.

Their adversaries, in the mean while, elated with success, determined to follow it up with farther censures of the directorial body. On the twentieth of June, Pastoret, a leading member of the opposition, made a violent attack on their conduct, respecting the United States of North America. These were represented as having displayed an equivocal approbation of the proceedings of the republican party, and to have acted uniformly as the staunch friends to the revolution. It was therefore the highest degree of imprudence, in government, to afford them cause of complaint. Nothing short of manifest and avowed enmity, on the part of the Americans, could authorise the harsh measures adopted against them, and enforced by the directory with so much severity. This charge was followed by a motion to inquire into the conduct of the directory upon this occasion. The powers assumed by that body were explicitly termed unconstitutional, and transgressive of the authority lodged in them by the laws.

A charge of a more heinous nature, and involving them in a much more extensive contest, was the privilege they had arrogated, of examining the epistolary correspondence of private individuals, by breaking open letters. This was declared a scandalous violation of liberty, and evidently repugnant to the fundamental principles of the constitution. In this declaration the council was seconded by the voice of the public, over which the assumption of such a privilege held a rod of perpetual terror. It was particularly odious to the French, who, of all people, delight in a frank and unrestrained communication of sentiments upon all subjects, and are prone to give an unbounded loose to that sarcastic humour of wit and gaiety that accompanies their investigation of both public and private affairs.

The disposition to criticise the proceedings of government, that now characterized the two councils, especially that of the juniors, led them to inquire into the military transactions abroad, with more strictness than was thought necessary, even by many of their friends. The victories, obtained by their commanders and armies, were, to the generality of Frenchmen, a sufficient motive for approving the foreign politics of the directory. The glory resulting from these to the nation silenced all doubts of their propriety.

But there were numbers, both in the councils and the public at large, that did not look upon the success of the French arms, as any reason for approving the measures of those who directed them. Though warlike achievements might render the French formidable, they would also expose

expose them to the hatred of those princes and states at whose cost they were performed. France, under Lewis XIV. had deservedly incurred the odium of all Europe, on this very account. The victorious career of that monarch had lasted uninterruptedly many years: yet, notwithstanding the terror diffused by his successes, his neighbours gradually recovered from their fears, and finally brought him to the verge of ruin. In the same manner, by persisting obstinately in overrunning and subjecting every country, not able at present to resist them, the French would indispose all their neighbours. Convinced of the necessity of making it a common cause, these would silently, but firmly, frame an union of strength and interest against France, which would certainly feel the effects of it soon or late, as that ambitious monarch had done. It was rash to expect that fortune would never desert the standards of the republic. Prudence dictated the necessity of moderation, if it meant to secure the advantages it had gained. But subjugations and conquests must eventually prove its ruin, as they would require the strength of the nation to be continually on the fullest stretch. This was a situation it could not bear. Boundless exertions would, by degrees, deprive it of the means, not only of retaining the acquisitions it had made, but of preventing the reaction of the many enemies that would then be ready to avail themselves of the diminution of its force. This would infallibly result from an adherence to the present system of revolutionizing and giving laws to all its neighbours. France, in these per-

nicious attempts, had been drained of its bravest men, and though the triumphs it had obtained in the field were signal and extraordinary, yet the power thereby acquired rested on the most precarious grounds, as on the least reverse of fortune, the difficulties they would have to encounter would become greater than before, and their means to overcome them necessarily less. The external loss of men, in the prosecution of this destructive war, waged in so many countries, and with so many powerful and resolute enemies, and the torrents of blood shed in the internal feuds and commotions that had distracted the nation, had thinned its population in a degree that good policy forbade even to mention. These various considerations demanded an immediate change of conduct in those who were at the head of the republic. Instead of continuing and extending hostilities, pacific measures ought to be adopted, and the utmost solicitude prevail, to create no additional enemies, by interfering in the affairs of nations that were desirous of peace, and of settling any differences in a manner satisfactory to the interest and dignity of the republic.

Such were the opinions of a strong and numerous party in France, at this time. In pursuance of a determination, formed to put a stop to the hostile spirit that actuated the executive government and its adherents, Dumoulard, one of the most vigorous supporters of the opposition, moved, on the twenty-third of June, that a committee should be appointed, to investigate the proceedings, that had taken place in Italy, respecting the two republics

of Venice and Genoa, ed, with great asperity, ent they had experienced aparte, as unjustifiable in policy, and tending to with complaints of the and tyranny of the French, e contempt in which they ther governments and na-

fluence exerted by oppo- id their evident inclination , and moderate measures, ed the friends of those whose behaviour had been e, and against whom no of acting against the re- ad been proved, to come in their favour, and to so- : restoration of their pro-

The legislature behavedarked impartiality on this . Some personages, of irth and rank, under the y, were re-instated in their ns; among whom were two als of the Bourbon family, ce of Conti, and the duchess ns.

Several decrees, made duringharous administration of ierre, by which the relations rants were unjustly affected, ent a complete revision, and w modelled in so equitable r, that no person, however elated to those who came ie sentence of emigration, i that account, to suffer in perty. Those individuals, , in the disorders and con- tending hostilities, had fled le countries now occupied ench, and taken refuge in arts, were now, by an ex- rec, invited to return to nes and possessions; and space of time was allowed

them, to make their option, whether to decline, or take, the benefit of this indulgence.

Hitherto, the proceedings of op- position had, by the impartial part of the public, been viewed in a fa- vourable light: but those which fol- lowed excited suspicions among the staunch republicans, that some de- signs were in agitation of an in- imical tendency to the constitution. Camille Jourdan, a member of the council of five hundred, and a man of resolution and abilities, had, in the month of June, signalized him- self by a speech, full of boldness, and no less of sound reasoning, in fa- vour of an unrestrained liberty of conscience, and a suppression of all persecution, on account of re- ligious opinions. His sentiments and arguments had been highly ap- plauded, and the discourse he had made was ordered to be printed. As it contained a variety of matter favourable to the cause of the non- juring clergy, and inculcated lenity to persons of a tender conscience, he could not avoid the imputation of inclining to their opinions. His conduct, however, in espousing their defence did not subject him to cen- sure at that time: but, in the course of the discussions on the case of those ecclesiastics that had either expatriated themselves, or been ban- nished, it evidently appeared, that a powerful party had been formed, to procure their recal from exile, and to take off the restrictions that had been laid upon them. This alarmed the republican party, which immediately resolved to keep a more watchful eye than ever upon the opposition, as concealing, under the pretence of moderation, projects inconsistent with the security of the commonwealth. They were con-
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firmed in this persuasion, by the negative put on a motion, made on the fifteenth of July, to exact a declaration of fidelity, to the constitution, from the clergy, as a condition whereon they should be permitted to exercise their functions. The refusal to comply with a requisition that appeared reasonable,

to the moderate of both part excited a violent dispute in council. It was not till the next day, that those who supported the motion were able to carry it, an immediate call of all the members on their side that could be procured.

C H A P. V.

Political Parties in France.—Decree against Clubs.—Buonaparte declares his Attachment and Resolution to abide by the Republican Party.—Addresses to the Directory from the Armies.—The Directory split into two Parties.—The one violently Republican, the other inclined to moderate and conciliatory Measures.—Feuds between the Directory and the Councils.—A large Body of Troops, in Violation of the Constitution, called to Paris.—Remarkable Address to the Directory, by the Army of the Sambre and Meuse.—Effect of this on the Councils.—Causes assigned, by the Directory, for Fermentations that had taken place in the Army.—Concert between the Directory and the Army.—The Councils alarmed.—Resolutions of the Councils for the Purpose of restraining within due Bounds the Authority of the Directory.

THE conduct of opposition began now to meet with general disapprobation. Their designs were viewed as intirely hostile to the republic; and the directory, which had lost ground in the esteem and attachment of the public, regained it so effectually, that, notwithstanding the boldness and strength of numbers they had to encounter, they clearly perceived, that a majority of the people was ready to befriend them, should matters be carried to extremity.

The royalists had, in the mean time, indulged in the most sanguine hope, that they were on the eve of a counter-revolution. Relying upon the protection of their numerous partisans, in the legislative body, they assumed a freedom of speech and behaviour extremely offensive to the republicans, whom they ~~scorned~~ not to revile and abuse in a very daring and outrageous manner. Alarmed at this sudden au-

dacity, the friends to the commonwealth judged it necessary to unite, as heretofore, in clubs and associations. Their antagonists did the same, and their mutual rancour broke out in frequent quarrels. But the enemies to the opposition so powerfully outnumbered their friends, that these found it necessary to have recourse to a decree of the councils, to prevent the increase of the republican clubs, by formally prohibiting all meetings for political discussions, under heavy penalties.

The passing of this decree, which was effected on the twenty-fourth of July, proved the influence still retained by the opposition; but it also evinced and augmented their unpopularity, as it shewed how little disposed they were to place any dependence on the people at large: but they had enemies still more dangerous. The military were decidedly in the interest of the commonwealth, and openly resolved to

to support it. The directory were deeply connected with the general officers, of whom they were constitutionally invested with the appointment. Through these it was secure of the army, and felt no disquietude at the attempts of the opposition, sure of crushing them, should it become necessary to employ force.

Buonaparte, the favourite of the republican part of the French nation, had openly declared his determination to abide by the republic. On the fourteenth of July, the anniversary day of the revolution, he thence took occasion to inform his army, that counter-revolutionary designs were in agitation; and to exhort them to remain true to the cause for which they had shed so much of their blood. His address produced its intended effect, by preparing the officers and soldiers, under his command, to second him in all the measures he might propose for the service of his party.

The securing of a man, who was the terror of his enemies, and the admiration of all Europe, placed the directory at once above all apprehensions. They now assumed a firmer tone, and resolved to exert all the powers they possessed, in destroying, at one stroke, the hopes of all their enemies. The first step which they took, on this critical emergency, was to dismiss the present ministers, and appoint others in their room, in whose fidelity they could better confide. This was not done without occasioning violent complaints from opposition. The right of the directory to act in this manner could not constitutionally be controverted; but they were called upon, by a formal notice, to lay an

account of the state of the nation before the two councils.

The conduct of the directory met with the fullest approbation of all the armies. The various addresses from each of these were calculated to inspire government with the highest confidence, and opposition with the most serious apprehensions. The first divisions that led the way were those of Joubert and Massena, belonging to the army of Italy: in the address of Joubert, severe notice was taken of the strictures, passed in the council of five hundred, on the conduct of Buonaparte; and the priesthood, to use the words of the address, was accused of heating the heads, and sharpening the daggers, of the enemies to the republic.

The address of Massena's division was penned with still more asperity: "The constitution violated, emigrants returning, priests, rebels to the laws protected, republicans murdered." Such was the picture it drew of France. It threatened conspirators against the republic with extermination, telling them, that, the swords which had destroyed the armies of kings were still in the hands of their conquerors, and that the road to Paris would not present more obstacles than that to Vienna.

The divisions, commanded by generals Augereau, Bernardotte, and Vignolle, forming also part of the army in Italy, followed the example of the former; and expressed no less zeal for the directory, and enmity to the royalists.

In addition to these military addresses to the directory, the ministers newly appointed by them were not wanting in their endeavours to serve the republican cause. Scherer, the new minister of war, a veteran officer

of distinguished merit, published a declaration to the armies, inducing every officer and soldier to identify him, as their ancient companion in the perils and hardships connected to their profession, and to their complaints and grievances were he with candour and freedom, promising, on the part of government, a faithful and equitable attention to all their just demands; exhorting them to continue true to the present constitution, and reminding them of the solemn oath they had taken to maintain it.

The minister of police, Lenoir, issued an address to the citizens of Paris, wherein he warned them to beware of the calamities that must attend a new revolution, and strenuously to act in defence of the established constitution. He spoke to people who had deeply experienced the miseries that had afflicted France, and that were generally well affected to the republican system.

Such, however, was the dread entertained by the directory, and their adherents, of the intrigues and sedition of the royalists, that, notwithstanding the support they derived from their official situations, and the attachment of the generality of people, they came to a determination to call in the farther assistance of the military. This they did with the more readiness, that unless they took preventive measures they were conscious, that, the numbers of royalists, daily repairing to Paris, would become so considerable, that, added to those who abetted the opposition, they would altogether form so powerful a body, as not to be overcome without much difficulty. Intending, if it were possible, to avoid a contest, they were convinced,

that the most effectual method of preventing it, would be to take opposition by surprise, and, before they had made sufficient preparations, to repel force with force; not doubting, that, by previously striking a successful blow, they would compel opposition to submit, and, at once, defeat all their plans.

In this determination, however, only three of the directory concurred. These were, Barras, Reubel, and Lareveillere. They had always professed republican principles, and had been long considered as the heads of that party: their colleagues, Carnot and Barthelemy, the latter especially, were reputed less firm in their adherence to it, and more inclined to conciliation with the opposition. What the precise views of this party were, were rather conjectured than ascertained: but the general opinion was, that their intentions were too friendly, to the royalists, to permit those who harboured them to enjoy any share of authority in the republic; and that the sooner they were expelled from their seats in the councils, the greater would be the security of the commonwealth.

This party was headed by men of tried abilities, who perceiving the necessity of acting with determination and promptitude in the present conjuncture, resolved immediately to aim a blow at that member of the directory, whom they considered as the most dangerous of their enemies. Reubel and Lareveillere, though resolute and steady republicans, were much less personally formidable than Barras, who had been bred a soldier, and had gone through many of the perils attending a military life with singular success and intrepidity. To him,

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in a great measure, was due the triumph of the late convention over those who opposed the re-election of two-thirds of that body, on the establishment of the present constitution. To oust a man of this character, from the directory, would certainly have proved a leading step to the execution of the designs entertained by the opposition: but the only method, whereby to effect such an attempt, was to prove him of years insufficient for so high a promotion. Every kind of exertion was employed for the purpose of ascertaining the reality of this disqualification: but they all failed, and he remained in the possession of his seat.

These feuds, between the councils and the directory, were viewed with much disapprobation by the moderate part of both. That of the ancients, which had, since its institution, been remarkable for interposing its weight, either in obviating or suppressing differences, acted, on this occasion, with its usual impartiality and discretion. It negatived the motions that had been carried, for abolishing several of the powers hitherto exercised by the directory, and suspended its assent to some decrees that appeared too favourable to the nonjuring clergy. But the die was cast, and all endeavours at reconciliation were lost in the inveteracy now daily encreasing between the contending parties.

There were in the opposition several individuals of noted courage. The most conspicuous of these were Pichegru and Willot, who, being both military men, were, conformably to the spirit of their profession, earnest in promoting active measures. To these two were entrusted the charge of new-modelling the

national guard. This numerous body of men had, by the constitution, been placed under the immediate management of the directory, which had the appointment of all the officers. The alteration proposed by Pichegru and Willot was, that in each department a select number of reputable persons, elected for that purpose, should make out a list, to which the nomination of officers, by the directory, should be confined. This scheme was much applauded, as neither depriving that body of the elective privilege, vested in it, nor giving them too much power in its exercise. The proposal, therefore, was readily accepted, and passed, on a motion, in the affirmative.

The directory, on the other hand, acting with the expedition of men conscious of being beforehand with their adversaries, pursued, with equal secrecy and vigour, the measures it had adopted against the opposition. The arrival of a body of troops, within seven leagues of Paris, was announced in that city, on the twentieth of July, to the great surprize and anxiety of the council of five hundred, who could not mistake the cause of their approach to the capital so much nearer than the laws permitted. Ten years imprisonment was the sentence incurred by the directory, for bringing a military force within such a distance of any place where the legislative held its meetings. Convinced that such an infraction of the constitution could not have taken place without the orders, either positive or implied, of the directory, the council instantly laid a formal complaint of it before that body. But the answer was, that the moment the directors were apprised of it, they ordered the troops to remove to

to a legal distance, attributing their approach to the inadvertence of the commissary at war, or some other mistake.

This answer did not remove the suspicions or fears of the council. It appointed a committee to examine the message of the directory. This committee reported, that no answer had been given to the principal part of the council's message, demanding who had given orders for the marching of those troops. On this report, another message was voted to the directory, requiring an explicit answer.

To this requisition, the directory replied by acknowledging, that they had given the order to march, but not the line of marching. It stated the distance from Paris, to the place where the troops had arrived, to be thirteen leagues, instead of seven, as at first asserted.

This reply did not appear satisfactory. Pichegru represented it as evasive. Had the destination of the troops been for Brest, as pretended, their line of march should have been to the north, and not to the south, of Paris. The speech of Willot, on this subject, unfolded a variety of alarming particulars. The troops themselves did not scruple, he said, to avow against whom they were marching. It was, by their own confession, against the councils, whom they had been taught to look upon as the enemies of their country, and striving to dissolve its present government. Delahaie, another member of the opposition, spoke no less explicitly, on this occasion. He represented the march of the troops, as the effect of a conspiracy against the legislature, of which the certainty could not be doubted. Troops, he said, were within a days

march of Paris, and, as it had been surmised, by one in power, a thousand men were to attack the council of five hundred, as many more that of the ancients, and the patriots would perform the rest.

These transactions took place between the twentieth and the last of July. On the fourth of August, information was brought to the councils, of the various circumstances attending the movements of the troops destined for Paris. They consisted of about twenty-seven thousand men, drawn from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, instead of nine thousand, as had been reported. They were to encamp in the neighbourhood of the capital. Every effort was used to seduce the officers and soldiers, and to inflame them against the legislative body. Numbers of them had resorted clandestinely to Paris, and some hundreds of disorderly people had been provided with arms and ammunition, to join them. The armies, in violation of all discipline and subordination to the laws, deliberated and corresponded with each other. They made decrees, and issued proclamations, without any attempt to restrain them by the constituted authorities.

On receiving this intelligence, the council resolved to demand of the directory the documents it had promised, relating to the march of the troops, requiring an answer in three days, and insisting, at the same time, on knowing what measures had been taken to put a stop to the violation of that article of the constitution, which prohibited the armies from entering into deliberations.

During these critical agitations, the heads of the military had either assumed,

assumed, or been invested with, extraordinary powers. General Hoche, commander-in-chief of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, had issued orders and precepts to the commissioners, appointed to receive the public levies of money in those districts, that shewed the high authority by which he acted. The pay-master of the army had called upon them for the remittance of the sums accruing from taxes: but the general strictly forbade them to obey his requisition; that money being necessary to defray the charges of a numerous body of troops, to be detached from his army on a particular service. This officer, who was a rigid republican, had, from the beginning of the contest between the councils and the directory, been considered by these as a man peculiarly deserving of their confidence in a business, wherein the safety of the present government required the most spirited exertions. He had, in consequence, like the several officers in whom the circumstances of the times had compelled the directory to place high trusts, acted with great latitude of authority in the posts which he occupied, though, to his honour, it was fully acknowledged, that he behaved with the strictest fidelity to his principles and employers.

He had transfused those principles so effectually into the officers and soldiers under his command, that they seemed actuated entirely by his own mind. They presented an address to the directory, which, for matter and manner, was held the completest that had been framed by any division of the army.

In imitation, they said, of the precedents set before them, by the

other divisions of the army, they deemed themselves bound, as fellow-citizens and soldiers, to unite their complaints with those of every Frenchman that valued the liberty of his country, and revered the constitution that protected it. Deeply interested in its preservation, against the insidious measures of its pretended friends, they had come to a determination to express their readiness to march into the heart of the republic, if summoned, by its real friends, to their assistance.

They had patiently endured, they said, a variety of sufferings in the service of their country, in hope of rendering it, by their labours and courage, victorious and triumphant over all its enemies, and of laying a just foundation for a claim to those rewards that had been held out to them. Relying, therefore, on the equity of the patriotic members of both councils, they supplicated them to take their demands into consideration, and requested the directors, as the first magistrates of the republic, to urge the propriety, and the necessity of doing justice to its faithful defenders.

In the mean time, it was with the deepest grief, they beheld the machinations carried on in the bosom of the republic, by men who, though well known to be its enemies, were tamely suffered to assume the character of its friends; and, under that perfidious mask, to labour secretly for its destruction. But did they imagine, that those brave Frenchmen who had taken up arms, in the defence of their liberty, and had, in that noble cause, overcome, in the field, the veteran troops of the most powerful despots, and vanquished two-thirds of the military of Europe,

Europe, would permit them to succeed in their treasonable proceedings.

They had, indeed, advanced a considerable way in the accomplishment of their designs. They were on the point of subverting the commonwealth, and re-establishing monarchy. To this intent, the constitution was reviled, and its asserters vilified throughout the interior, by those swarms of traitors, whose unlawful return to their country was basely and perfidiously connived at, under the pretence of lenity, by those false representatives of the people, who had, through fraudulent practices, obtained seats in the legislature, in order the more securely to betray their constituents.

While peaceable citizens, at home, were thus insulted and terrified, the armies abroad were consigned to neglect and the want of all necessaries: it being a part of the system pursued, by those treacherous legislators, to let them imperceptibly moulder away. Their pay was withheld, they were denied clothing, and they were compelled, by hunger, to extort the means of existence from the inhabitants of the countries where they were quartered; however disgraceful this might be to their character, as it was certainly highly repugnant to their feelings. Nor were the hospitals attended to. Their sick and wounded brethren were suffered to die for want of due care. Was this the remuneration for their toils and hardships? Could they place any dependence, after such treatment, on the magnificent promises made to the armies, when the period of their labours should arrive? Would the thousand millions, to be set apart for the defenders of the republic, be forth-

coming at the restoration of peace, as the legislature had solemnly pledged itself they should, previously to all other considerations? But what inducement had they to expect any such recompense from men who hated the republic, and employed all their thoughts in devising the means to destroy it? Objects, far different from the security of freedom, took up the attention of the councils. That love of liberty, which characterized the former assemblies of the republic, was totally extinguished. The constitution and the rights of the people had lost their importance, and were now succeeded by discussions unworthy the notice of men, whose time ought to be dedicated to subjects of public utility. Instead of attending to the exigencies and pressures of the state, to the exhausted condition of the finances, to the insurrections successively breaking out, to the machinations of foreign agents, endeavouring every where to mislead the public mind, they were busied in matters of superstition. More than twenty sittings of the council of five hundreds had been devoted to the hearing of reports on emigrants, on priests, and on bells. Was such bigotry to be endured? Was it in contemplation to re-establish the mass, and other religious absurdities, and to impose anew upon ignorance and credulity? Those who inculcated a reverence for such things were known, at the same time, to be the most irreconcilable enemies to civil freedom; yet they had been recalled, by an express decree, and permitted to preach their pernicious doctrines.

They bitterly complained of the disrespect with which they had been occasionally treated, and of the ab-

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horrence in which they asserted that they were held by the legislative body, as sufficiently appeared by the wrath and violence with which they reprobated the approach of a body of troops near Paris, as if they had been enemies. But they would prove themselves the friends of their country. They had been the founders and protectors of its liberty, and would maintain it against its open or concealed, foreign or domestic, foes. It was not surprising, therefore, that the partizans of the former despotism, that had crept into the councils, should betray so much enmity to the republican military.

Royal terror, they said, was now substituted to that cruel terrorism which lately oppressed the republic. The tribunals had acquitted assassins and conspirators, and condemned, without mercy, individuals of known patriotism. Brottier, Dunan, Levilleharnois, notoriously the agents of Lewis, were instances of the returning influence of royalism. Judgment had been pronounced in favour of these men, notwithstanding their manifest guilt. Even the priest, Poule, who had attempted to murder Syeyes, had met with an acquittal. The purchasers of national estates were plundered, and excluded from official preferments, while recalled emigrants were promoted to functions of trust. So effectual and powerful was the influence of the royal party, that when the law, for suppressing political meetings, was proposed in the council of five hundred, only one member attempted to oppose that evident violation of public liberty, but he could not even obtain a hearing.

While royalism was making this

alarming progress at home, efforts were also used to introduce it into the armies. Men, unknown to them, had replaced republican officers, and this plan was gaining ground. In the council of five hundred, several members explicitly declared, in the debate on the Gendarmerie, that it was necessary to place, at the head of that numerous body of men, all the officers that had served in it before the revolution, whatever might be their opinions. What was this but restoring the aristocrats, and the royalists, to their commands, and thus delivering the republic into the hands of its worst enemies? Men who had been fighting against their country, and had incited all Europe to confederate for the destruction of its liberty, and the re-establishment of kings and nobles. Could the members of the legislature, while betraying their trust in so glaring and scandalous a manner, imagine that their protestations of attachment to the interests of the republic would meet with any belief? The armies were too well persuaded of their perfidious designs, to endure, any longer, the continuance of so much treachery and deception.

Such was the general purport and substance of this celebrated address. It made a profound impression upon the councils. They now had a clear conception of the perilous situation wherein their conduct had placed them, and of the light in which it was viewed by the most formidable of its opposers, whom they had either neglected, or found it impracticable, to win over to their projects.

The suspicion of royalism, under which they lay, procured credit to all

all the assertions contained in this address. It was received by their enemies with applause, as expressing bold truths, which no other description of men would have dared to mention. Though implicit belief might not be paid to the whole of its contents, by that part of the public which did not hastily give countenance to reports of the day, yet the multitude was so prepossessed in favour of the addressers, that their asseverations, and opinions, quickly obtained a decided popularity.

In the mean time, the directory feeling itself superior to all apprehensions, resolved to make the opposition sensible how little government was intimidated by the obstacles thrown in its way, and determined to prosecute its own measures in defiance of the disapprobation, and implied menaces, of the council of five hundred. With this view they began by answering that message of the council, which had peremptorily required an explanation, respecting the march of those troops that had arrived in the vicinity of the capital. In this answer a circumstantial detail was given of the whole transaction, by which it appeared that the commanding officer, who had traced the line of march, to be observed by those troops, had declared himself totally ignorant of the law that prohibited any armed force coming within twelve leagues of Paris. This answer also denied the truth of the information received by the council, that arms had been put into the hands of five hundred ruffians, at Chartres, for the purpose of committing violence upon the two council of the legislature. In answer to the complaint of the

council, that the military had entered into deliberations, which they were expressly forbidden to do by the constitution, the directory insinuated, that the sense and meaning of the expression to deliberate, had not been so accurately defined, as to be clearly applicable to the addresses presented to the executive government by the armies. In these addresses, as well as in those to their brethren in arms, they had done no more than express the wishes they had formed, and the sentiments that animated them.

After premising these particulars, the directory informed the council, that they thought it a duty to go back to the causes that had produced those addresses, and to point them out to the council for their serious consideration. The causes from which they proceeded were the general alarm and inquietude that had for some months past taken possession of the public, and banished that tranquillity and confidence which had before so diffusively prevailed. They were caused by the defalcation in the revenue, through which all parts of the administration suffered so deplorably, and the armies were deprived of their pay and subsistence. They were caused by the persecution and assassination of the purchasers of national property, of the public functionaries, of the defenders of the country, of all who dared to shew themselves the friends of the republic. They were caused by the want of firmness and vigour in the punishment of criminals, and the partiality of the public tribunals. They were caused by the intolerance of the emigrants and the refractory priests, who, recalled and openly favoured, appeared boldly every where, kept

alive the flame of discord, and inspired a hatred to the republican constitution. They were caused by the multitude of journals inundating the nation, and full of menaces to the supporters of liberty. These journals vilified all the republican institutions, and explicitly argued for the restoration of royalty, and of those oppressive laws and privileged orders that had proved so vexatious and intolerable to the merchant, the industrious citizen, the artist, and the laborious of all professions, and so humiliating to reputable people that wanted birth or titles. The addresses were caused by the satisfaction and interest always ill dissembled, but often openly manifested, which the enemies of their country took in the prosperity of England and Austria, and by their constant endeavours to depreciate the merit of the republican officers and soldiers, and to lower the glory and importance to which France had attained, and particularly to throw contempt and derision upon the high destiny held out to the nation, under a commonwealth. They were caused by the censures cast upon the most honourable and advantageous consequences resulting from the victories of the republican armies, and by the undeniable determination of their domestic foes to calumniate and ruin the reputation of the republican generals, especially those who had, to the triumphs obtained through their prowess and skill, added the conduct of sound politicians, and derived no less honour from their philosophy and humanity, than from their military achievements. Finally, they were caused by the indignation felt by all true citizens, peculiarly by those brave

men who had shed their blood for the common cause, when they saw, that after so many toils and sufferings, the peace they had so gloriously fought to obtain, and which the chiefs of the vanquished coalition had been reduced so earnestly to solicit, was placed at a distance from the hopes they had conceived of its speedy conclusion. The coalesced powers, presuming on the dissolution of the republican government, in consequence of the exhausted state of its finances, the death or removal of its best commanders, and the dispersion of its armies, had recovered from their consideration, and were now as tardy in negotiating, as they had been ardent at first.

Such were the causes assigned, by the directory, for the fermentation that had taken place in the armies, and which had induced them to express their fears and their resolutions. The directors concluded by intimating to the council, that they were confident of being able to preserve France from the ruin that menaced it, and to prevent the miseries of a new revolution. They would continue to act in the manner they had done, with perseverance and courage, and were not to be deterred through fear, or prevailed upon through influence, to swerve from the fidelity they owed to the republic. They would not, therefore, by consenting, inspire a false security, either in their fellow citizens of the interior, or in the armies. They should consider themselves guilty of treason, were they to conceal from either the attempts that were carried on to effect a counter revolution, by overthrowing the present government through treason or by force. The message,

message, containing these resolute sentiments, was delivered to the council of five hundred on the ninth of August.

This answer of the directory evidently contained matter sufficient to alarm the councils. It was, in fact, a denunciation of defiance to the opposition, and all its adherents, and plainly shewed that the directory and the armies acted in concert, and that these were determined to be governed by the executive power, the principles of which, were in union with their own. Unintimidated, however, by this formidable union, the council, after examination of the directorial message, ordered it to be printed, and sent to the council of ancients, and referred it, at the same time, to the inspection of a committee of their own members.

Those that were appointed to this task, were the men of the greatest abilities in the opposition. Thibaudeau, the principal of them, was a man of equal capacity and spirit, both which he had already displayed on some very critical occasions. As the report they were to make to the council would necessarily be of a very decisive nature, and bring matters to a very serious issue, between the legislative and executive powers, they employed the interval between the ninth and twenty-first of August, to consider of a proper reply to the various allegations urged with so much positiveness, in the message from the directory.

On this day, a formal report was made to the council, in the name of the committee, by Thibaudeau. After adverting to the situation of tranquillity and confidence that had of late so generally

prevailed," what evil genius, he said, has re-animated our passions, rekindled our animosities, created divisions between the different branches of government, and planted terror in the breasts of all good citizens?" An unexpected change in the ministry, and the march of the troops, had, he observed, fixed the attention of the legislative body, and well merited its solicitude: in expressing its regret for the dismissal of ministry, and its alarms, at the march of the troops, it did not contest the right of the directory to change its ministers, nor to dispose of the armed force; but the legislative body had certainly the right of demanding information respecting the violation of the constitutional limits. On the directory's replying, that it was to be attributed to an error in the marching orders, the committee, to which this reply was referred, did not endeavour to prove the transgression, so much as to prevent its repetition.

A more important object he said, was the addresses from the army of Italy. What would become of the republic, he observed, were those who had received arms only for its defence, to interfere in civil discussions. Those addresses were marked by an ardent zeal for liberty; but they also held forth absurd claims, extravagant opinions, and criminal projects, suggested by factious men, who had conceived the design of delivering, to the enemy, the conquests acquired by the valour of the republican troops, and of leading these back to their country, under the standard of rebellion. One of these addresses had the audacity to assert, that the system of royalism had been adopted by the legislature. How came it

that so false and infamous an assertion had not been duly noticed, and the author brought to condign punishment?

These addresses, he said, were at present directed against the legislative body: but others would soon be levelled at the directory itself. "Wretched, he exclaimed, was that authority, which required the support of bayonets. Military violence always concluded by annihilating the power it had established." These addresses, he noticed, had been formally authenticated, and officially transmitted to several administrations, and divisions of the army, and yet this, it had been surmised, was not a deliberation.

The constitution, he observed, had strictly prohibited addresses in the collective name of an armed body. The more services generals and soldiers rendered to their country, the more vigilance ought to be exerted in guarding against their attempts upon the constitution. In a rising republic especially, troops should not be permitted to act as if they had conquered for themselves only. Were this to be suffered, soldiers would soon obey their generals alone, and never their country.

It had been attempted, he said, to persuade the conquerors of Italy, that a system of proscription had been adopted against them. But who could believe that such an absurdity was either practicable or desirable? Was there a Frenchman who did not exult in the heroic actions of men who so deservedly commanded the gratitude of their country, and had covered, with a veil of glory, the dreadful events that had tarnished the revolution?

The spirit of faction, he asserted, had, in consequence of these ad-

dresses, introduced the language of anarchy into the camps. It had insinuated itself into the retreats provided for disabled warriors. The minds of men were heated, and dissolution and destruction were the discourse of the day: and yet the government remained passive. "Awaken, therefore, he exclaimed, ye legislators, watch for yourselves and the public. Directors, generals, and soldiers, bow yourselves before the will of the people. The legislative body will never balance with its duty. It is inaccessible to fear, and will never submit to menace."

Addressing himself to the council, "Your committee will not, he said, humble itself in replying to the calumnies propagated by your enemies. A legislative body, that is not accusable, ought not to justify itself. It must be judged by its acts. We shall speak the truth to the directory, and we shall speak it to the people."

Complaints were made, he next observed, of the insolence of priests and of emigrants: to this he would answer, that liberty of conscience and of worship, while submission was paid to the laws, was a principle maintained by all philosophers, and particularly consecrated by the constitution of the French republic, in opposition to the claims of a religion, that pretended to an exclusive establishment, and to extinguish the rights of all others. As to the emigrants, did not the laws respecting them continue? Did not those laws place in the hands of the directory, the most active, the most powerful, the most arbitrary, means of keeping them in due subjection? It had also been complained, he said, that noted emigrants

It had been suffered to replace of their meeting pointed out. But why police do its duty: why connivances and partial individuals tolerated, which was publicly rebeloned to the council from the directory an abuse abuses.

adverted to the assai-partial judgements of the complained of by the di-true it was, he acknow-t blood had flowed in se-tments. But there were t assassination, and it was s of the directory to en-

If partiality had been n the tribunals, the laws competent to its punish-the directory ought to be guilty. Complaints, were nugatory, as it was er of the government to m. Nor was the pro-med, for the purchasers of property, less secured to e constitution, than to all rictors: and it was the re executive, to watch ety of every part of the

ncil, he said, had been journals breathing mur-e return of royalty. He deny that numbers of full of faction and se-t the legislature was evi-tious for the suppression ntious proceedings, and in preparation for that

ld he deny the defici-e public revenue, and of order and economy :the finances into dif-had the armies any rea-

son to reproach the legislative body? Had not their payment and support been attended to, in preference to every other expence? Had then, he said, the forced loans, the assignats and mandates, the national estates at home, the contributions abroad, been found insufficient? Rather let it be acknowledged, were his words, "that the public resources have been exhausted, by being distributed through too many hands, and imprudently confided to unskillful or suspicious management."

Peace alone, he asserted, could extricate France from its embarrassments. How criminal, therefore, must those be, who strove to place it at a distance. But the legislature had evinced every disposition to accelerate it. Future historians would examine whether transactions in Italy had not contributed to retard it. But could France, in justice, blame its generals, for giving liberty to millions of men? and when these had been put in possession of their liberty, ought France to refuse them its friendship and alliance?

Still, however, he contended, the legislature should not be silent upon these transactions. The directory had certainly exceeded its constitutional powers. If war was to be waged against the Italian states, who, without the assent of the legislative power, had the right of declaring it? Who, without its approbation, could frame treaties of commerce, of subsidies, or of alliance with those states? The governments, established in Italy, must remain unstable, and the liberty of the people would have no fixed support, without the formal concurrence of the legislature.

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It had been surmised, he observed, that the directory would be accused, and the legislative body attacked. When just reasons existed for accusations, that body had a right to prefer them, and would do it without hesitation or fear. But who would dare to make an attack on the legislative body? the recollection of what had befallen those who had ventured to do it was a sufficient warning to others.

He then exhorted all persons in place and authority, cordially to unite for the preservation of the state. He admonished the directors and the members of the legislature, to be upon their guard against the exaggerations of a party that sought to heighten their animosities, and to involve them in feuds that would inevitably hurry them to a common destruction.

Thibaudeau finally observed, that the committee appointed to examine the directorial message had purposely avoided to insist on the bitterness of its style, and its exaggerated representations of facts as legislators ought not to be guided by resentment and passion. He concluded, by expressing his hope, that the common enemies of the republic would not be able to disunite its friends, and would in vain meditate its ruin. It was, he said, deeply rooted: it had ripened in the midst of storms, and would last to future generations. The new dangers that threatened it, would serve once more to display its strength, and the indissoluble texture of its constitution.

He closed this elaborate report, by presenting the plan of two resolutions: the first declared that all conspiracies or crimes, against the constitution, the legislative body, and

the directory, came under the jurisdiction of the criminal tribunal of the place where the legislature sat: that all persons accused, should be denounced at the office of the public accuser: but that they should have the power of appealing from that tribunal, and, in this case, they should be carried before a court, pointed out by the tribunal of cassation. The second resolution declared every assembly of soldiers, for the purpose of deliberating, in other circumstances than those determined by the law, a crime. That any communication, under the title of address, from one armed body to another, or to the civil authorities, should be punished as a seditious act.

By the first of these resolutions, the councils intended to guard against any undue assumption of authority in the directory. The plan proposed, by Thibaudeau, appeared so fair and impartial, by placing all parties on the same level, that those with whom he acted made no doubt but the public would give them credit for its equitableness, and prove the more inclined, on that account, to countenance and support them, in case of need. They justly suspected inimical designs on the part of the directory, and thought it, therefore, advisable to secure the favourable opinion and good-will of the people at large.

But the second of those resolutions, however it might be proper in itself, was judged, by many of their well-wishers, unseasonable in the present conjuncture. It tended evidently to displease the military already sufficiently indisposed. In this respect, the policy of the directors was better calculated to insure the attachment of the army which

which, in the present contest, would certainly prove the most powerful of all adherents, and must finally decide the dispute in favour of those whom it befriended.

Nor was it the military alone to whom the directory looked for aid. Those formidable bodies of men, that had acted so effectual and decisive a part throughout the various scenes of the revolution, still subsisted, and retained all those principles that had been so industriously instilled into them, by the agents of the republican party, of which they still continued to form the principal strength in the metropolis. These

were the inhabitants of the suburbs of Paris, consisting chiefly of the laborious tradespeople, and hard-working classes of all denominations. As they were determined foes to monarchy, it was with indignation they heard that the legislative body was suspected of inclining to its re-establishment; and they resolved to oppose it with all their might. They presented an address to the directory, assuring them, that they were ready to stand by the friends of the republic, as they had always done, whenever it appeared in danger.

C H A P. VI.

Arrestation of national Representatives.—Message from the Directors to the Councils, on this Subject.—And Address on the same, to the French Republic.—Forty Resolutions, adapted to the present Juncture, proposed by the Committee of public Safety.—Adopted by the Council, and passed into Law.—Transactions of the primary Communes and electoral Assemblies, in the Departments, declared illegal.—Upwards of sixty Persons, Members of the Directory and Councils, and others, sentenced to Transportation.—From the Council of Five Hundred to the Departments and the Armies, Imputing the most inequitable and atrocious Designs to the Royalists.—A Declaration by the French Government, announcing a second Expedition to Ireland.—Singular Expedition of a Body of French Troops into Ireland.—These, surrendered themselves, without Resistance, Prisoners of War.—A Force, raised and headed, on the Emergency, by Lord Caxdor.—The Island of Trinidad taken by the English.

FROM the day whereon Thibaudeau made his report to the councils, it was obvious to the public, that strong measures were in agitation on both sides. The legislature was convinced, that the directory and its adherents intended some deeds of violence. Buonaparte, whose decisive character was well known; and who was closely connected with the directory, had provided them with a man to execute their designs, in whom both he and they could place confidence, on account of his principles and abilities. This was general Augereau, whom he dispatched to Paris, on plausible pretences, but to the real intent of his being at hand for their purposes.

Relying on the force they had taken previous care to hold in readiness, and on the popularity which Augereau was known to possess

among the soldiery, as well as the people of Paris, dreading, at the same time, to be anticipated in opposition, the directors came to a determination to execute, without delay, the plan they had adopted. On the eighteenth of Fructidor, September the fourth, at five o'clock in the morning, a decree was signed by Barras, Reul, and Lareveillere, empowering Augereau to arrest a specified number of the national representatives. In the mean time, the alarm bells were rung in the different quarters, the citizens informed, that a conspiracy was on the point of being discovered, and called upon to stand by the government, which was in imminent danger from the royalists. Augereau made use of the language in addressing himself to the military guard of the council, and they immediately placed the

under his command, in spite of the remonstrances of Ramel, their principal officer, whom they ignominiously degraded. This proved a decisive blow, as the councils had not entertained any suspicion they would have been thus deserted. Augereau found no difficulty in executing the residue of his commission. He entered the assembly, at the head of his men, and arrested general Pichegru and Willot, with sixty other members, as guilty of treason. They were imprisoned in the Temple, the doors of the hall were shut, and the two councils directed to meet in other separate places. Carnot and Barthelemi had received timely notice of what was passing: the former had the good fortune to make his escape; but the latter, whatever his motive was, remained, and shared the same treatment as the rest of his party.

Having so far succeeded in their plan, the directory immediately dispatched a message to the two councils, informing them, that they had been constrained to act in the manner they had done, in order to save the country, and maintain the constitution. It transmitted to them, at the same time, all the documents relating to the present transaction: assuring them, that had they delayed it one day longer, the republic must have been overthrown. The halls, wherein the councils met, were, they asserted, the points of re-union for the conspirators. It was from thence, that these had, on the preceding day, issued cards and certificates, for the delivery of arms to their partisans, and had, in the course of the night, carried on a correspondence with their accomplices: and it was in the neighbourhood of these, that their adherents

were endeavouring clandestinely to assemble. The conduct of the directory, it was asserted, had been dictated by the instant necessity of being beforehand with the conspirators. In affairs of state, extreme measures could only be estimated by circumstances, and the councils would, from those that were laid before them, form a proper judgment of the motives that had determined the directory to adopt such measures. The sixteenth Fructidor, they said, would be a celebrated day in the annals of France. It would enable the faithful representatives of the nation to fix, for ever, the destinies of the republic. After warmly exhorting the councils to improve the present occasion, by re-animating the spirit of patriotism, they concluded by informing them, that Imbert Colomes, one of the new third of the council of five hundred, was, by authentic documents, to be transmitted to them, the principle agent of Lewis, styling himself the XVIII.

In the mean time, a proclamation had been issued by the directory, by which, whoever should propose the restoration of royalty, the re-establishment of the constitution of 1793, or to place any of the family of Orleans upon the throne, was instantly to be shot. Apprehensive also that the partisans of the opposition, who were numerous in the capital, might attempt to assemble in force, they provisionally suspended from their functions the administrations of the department of the Seine, and of the twelve circles into which Paris had been divided, suspecting many of them to be connected with the opposition. They ordered, at the same time, the editors and printers of thirty-two journals, the titles of

of which were specified, to be committed to prison, as accused of being accomplices in a conspiracy against the republic, in favour of royalty; and they carefully transmitted their thanks to the guards of the two councils, for the fidelity they had displayed to the interests of the republic, in preference to all others.

But the measure which principally occupied their attention, was to convince the citizens of Paris, and the people of France, that government had been compelled, by unavoidable necessity, to use severe means, for the preservation of the commonwealth, against the machination of its enemies. In their address to the citizens of Paris, the directory explicitly asserted, that the royalists had, during the whole of the preceding year, been labouring to overturn the republic. When they thought themselves sufficiently able to accomplish its final destruction, their first attacks were intended against the supreme depositories of the executive power. Arms had been distributed to the conspirators, and a large quantity of bonds seized, from which the delivery of a great number of firelocks was proved. Cards, stamped with the words, Legislative Body, and marked with an R, were circulated, in order to serve as reciprocal tokens to the conspirators. Those members of the directory and of the legislature, who adhered to the republic, were to have been massacred. Numerous bodies of emigrants, and of insurgents from la Vendée, had repaired to Paris, attracted by the countenance publicly shewn to them, and were preparing to attack the directory. But its vigilance, and that of the armed force surrounding

them, had frustrated the designs of their enemies.

The citizens of Paris, the directory said, would shudder with horror, when apprised, by the authentic proofs that would be laid before them, of the plots entered into against the their persons, and their dearest rights and possessions. When France, crowned with victory, and surrounded with immortal glory, was beginning to reap the fruits of the successes obtained by its invincible defenders; when agriculture, commerce, public credit, confidence and security, began to revive, that was the moment pitched upon to rekindle domestic animosities, to re-establish superstition, and reorganize the power of fanaticism, to open avenues for the return of emigrants, to give the signal of civil war, and, by thus infusing fresh hopes into the foreign enemies of the commonwealth, to retard that peace, which it was on the point of securing. Such was the description given by the directory, of the designs in agitation against the state. They called, in consequence, upon the citizens of the metropolis, to exert themselves manfully in the defence of those liberties and valuable objects, for which they had been so long contending. They admonished them particularly to beware of being hurried, by the fury of resentment, into unjustifiable excesses, and to confine their obedience to the chiefs avowedly appointed over them by government.

In the general address, issued to the people of France, the directory entered more at large into circumstances and details, for the verification of the conspiracy. The documents which they submitted to the inspection

inspection of the public, and which they asserted to be of incontestible authenticity, would unfold, they said, the whole process of the treasons in question. After reverting to the events of Vendemiaire, Oc-

tober, 1795, which they represented as connected with, and originating from, royalism, they formally charged general Pichegru* with betraying, at that very time, the republic, by acceding to the propo-

* Of the intention of general Pichegru, to restore the royal family of France, there is not now any doubt. It has been clearly avowed, indeed, by subsequent occurrences. As we have had occasion to take notice in our volume for 1794, he was never at great pains to disguise his sentiments, wishes, and designs, in favour of royalty. He possessed a fine understanding, as well as great knowledge and skill in military affairs: but the most prominent feature in his character, was a manly boldness, simplicity, and strength of mind, which, forming defects, advanced, as directly as possible, to its object. The following remarks on the tactics, manners, and person of general Pichegru, are extracted and translated from a work, entitled, *Histoire Chronologique des operations de l'Armée du Nord, et de celle de Sambre et Meuse, par le citoyen David, Temoin, du plupart de leurs Exploits.* The tactics of general Pichegru are of a nature altogether new and original. His system consists wholly in pursuing the enemy without intermission; in courting opportunities of engagements; in keeping his whole force together, without dividing it for the purpose of carrying on sieges; to reduce only such as are necessary, in order to secure proper positions, without seeming to be at all concerned about the reduction of such strong places as he had left behind him.

This system of military tactics was the only one that was suitable to our situation; and farther, it was the only system that suited the character of the French. It is not to be doubted, that our troops were full of courage and bravery; but the greater part of them was newly levied, and not sufficiently trained in sieges, for the purpose of undertaking a siege of any difficulty. Farther still, the French soldier is too ardent and impatient to go through with a chain of operations that require perseverance. In the field, he darts forth as an eagle, and fights like a lion. But a long and arduous siege repels, and, oftentimes, even discourages him. In order to have a military body of men perfect and invincible, it would be necessary to carry on sieges with Swiss troops, and to have French armies of observation. But while a general has only Frenchmen under his command, he ought not to let them grow restive, by remaining long in one place; but to keep them always in breath, and always within view of the enemy.

If Pichegru had obeyed the orders of the committee of public safety; if he had not known the character of the French, and adopted an unusual system of tactics, he would have sacrificed fifty thousand men, at least, before our towns of Hainault. Perhaps he might have been beaten. And even, in case of success and victory, he most assuredly would not have been able to push his conquests even to the northern sea, and the confines of Westphalia. The king of Prussia was the only sovereign, among the coalesced powers, who set the plans of Pichegru at defiance, and the only one that did him justice. About the beginning of the campaign, that monarch wrote a letter (published in a Belgic newspaper), to the following effect: "It is impossible to save your territories from invasion. The French have armies always springing up, one after another. Be not deceived: their generals pursue a wise system of tactics, which disconcerts ours, and gets the better of them."

Pichegru, formerly professor of mathematics, at Brienne, is five feet five inches in height; of a large size, without being corpulent; and, in a word, formed in the very mould of a warrior. His appearance is, at first sight, severe and forbidding; but it softens in conversation, and inspires the greatest degree of trust and confidence. His politeness has no sort of resemblance to what is called etiquette, which is commonly nothing else than duplicity and roguery. His politeness is without affectation, and perfectly sincere. You may see, at once, that he is obliging, from a frankness of disposition, and naturally good. But he has nothing about him of what was, heretofore, considered as essential to a courtier.

fuls made to him by the prince of Condé, and engaging to support the royal cause. If the plans he offered to undertake were not attempted, it was merely because Condé refused to join in their execution. But these plans, the directory added, would never have succeeded. Pichegru's army, like that of Dumourier's, would have refused to obey the orders of a traitor. In the mean while, continued the directory, Pichegru became the favourite of the royal party. On the late election, of a new third, he was chosen a member, and was the first who had the honour of being president of the council of five hundred, on the opening of its sessions. Royalism had already been making a silent progress in the councils, when, through the indiscreet warmth of one of its adherents, it was detected. This happened in the month of Fructidor, of the fourth year (September 1796). Lemerer, a noted orator, of that party, pointed out the overthrow of the constitution of 1791, as an object of deserved regret, and the tenth of August, 1792, as a day to be lamented. This man had since been discovered to be an agent of the royal faction. These manifestations of the designs of his party opened immediately the eyes of the faithful republicans, and they resolutely opposed it, until the first of last Prairial (twentieth of May, 1797), when the adjournment of the legislative body took place, on account of the election of a new third. Then it was that royalism exerted all its powers. It established agents and emulraries everywhere. It organized their connections, their subordination, and their correspondence. It laboured

to introduce a counter-revolutionary spirit, in every department thereby to influence the election in favour of its adherents, and prepare a strength for their support. Such was the confidence of royalists, since last Pluviose (July, 1797), that on the discovery of the conspiracy of Dunan, Villinois, and Brottier, its audacity increased, in proportion as the signs became more manifest. I did any conspirators, so fully victed by their own writing confessions, find more apostate supporters, and protectors, who not hesitate to evince the liveliest interest which they took in the cause. By the numbers, that constituted the opposition in the councils, it was clear, that in the plenitude of the departments, the electors of the new third were the work of the party. The sentiments and conduct of these new deputies, shewed it; and the declaration of Dunan confirmed all that had been said of the intrigues and combinations of the royalists, throughout every part of the republic. The directory next enumerated the various complaints, that had filled their addresses to them from the departments and their own messages to the councils. They concluded by exhorting the nation to confide in its own strength, and rely upon their patriotism and their abilities, for the accomplishment of those objects for which they had toiled so long, and made many sacrifices.

Such were nearly the expressions as well as the substance of the consular addresses to the metropolis and the departments. As the majority was decidedly favourable to the republican party, the council of the directory met with great

place. The fact was, that the expression of the royalists always excited unfeigned satisfaction in the multitudes, who, having experienced that contemptuous treatment of the inferior classes, which had characterised the monarchical government, were willing to prefer to it any other that did not take away from them those ideas of equality which, to some men, are of essential importance.

The transactions of the fourth of September were, however, but the prelude to those that followed this memorable day. The directory had only begun the great work which they had undertaken in full confidence that, with the advantages this beginning had put into their hands, they should be able thoroughly to complete their designs. Their principal opponents in the council of five hundred, the most formidable body that thwarted them, were now in their power: but a large number of their staunchest and most resolute adherents still remained, and it would require no small degree of courage and exertion to deprive them of their seats in the legislature. This nevertheless was the only method by which to compass their views, which were to put an end to the opposition that had so much fettered all their measures, and to execute their many plans without future control; firmly convinced, that they were calculated for the prevention of the return of monarchy, which

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on each others fidelity, resolved, that previously to the appointment of successors to their late colleagues, they would put the finishing hand to the business they had so prosperously commenced. To this end, they framed a monitory message to the council of five hundred, which, as most contaminated by anti-revolutionary maxims and members, in the opinion of the public, required a speedy and immediate reform.

In this message, the directors notified to them, that the eighteenth of Fructidor was destined to be a day of salvation to the republic and to themselves. Such was the expectation of the public, of which the tranquillity, during the events of the preceding day, and the satisfaction with which it had beheld them, was undeniable. The eyes of the nation were now fixed upon its representatives, and it was incumbent upon them to complete the salutary measures so auspiciously entered upon. But no time should be lost, the moment was decisive, the conspirators were on the watch, the silence of the council had given them courage and audacity: they were still intriguing and striving to mislead the public mind: they boasted that their plot extended to the legislative body itself: they already spoke of punishing the republicans for their imaginary triumph: was this, therefore, a reason to hesitate about the propriety of delivering the country from its betrayers, however highly stationed? Principles, said the directors, will be pleaded, forms resorted to, excuses for delay invented. Thus time will be gained for them, and the constitution assassinated, under pretext of keeping within its limits. But ought the

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the council to balance one instant between the fate of the republic, and that of such men? the directors having pointed out the means of saving it, expected, they said, that the council would do its duty. It ought to consider itself as placed in an unprecedented predicament, and that ordinary rules should not be applied to extraordinary cases; unless, therefore, it intended to surrender to the enemy, it should no longer procrastinate, but embrace the opportunity of the remaining moments to deliver France from the dangers impending over it, and which, if not instantly removed, would cause its unavoidable destruction.

The meaning of this message was well understood by both parties in the assembly: but the resolution with which the determined conduct of the directors had inspired their adherents, seemed now to bias down all opposition. After the message had been read, Boullay Deslamearth presented a report, in the name of the committee of public safety, which had been appointed on the preceding day, that unfolded at once the system intended to be pursued, by those who had placed themselves at the head of the government. After representing the prosperous situation of France, previously to the influence of the royal party, and the introduction of its adherents into the councils, and the evils occasioned by the attempts of these to restore the monarchy, with its concomitances of priests and nobles, doubtless, he said, were those who now stand accused of a conspiracy against the republic, to be brought before an ordinary tribunal, the conspiracy would be pronounced real, and the conspirators

punished according to the rigour of the law. But let us declare to all France, such were his words, that the triumph of the republic will not occasion a single drop of blood to be shed, nor scaffolds of terror to be renewed.

This declaration produced the loud and unanimous applause of all parties. It quieted the apprehensions of those who trembled for themselves, or their friends: and though severe measures were expected, yet, as they did not extend to death, they were not accompanied with those ideas of cruelty, that rendered the disputes between the former factions in France so dreadful and barbarous in the sight of Europe.

He concluded his report by producing a series of resolutions, which the committee had prepared for the consideration of the council, and recommended as unnecessary to be passed into laws at the present juncture. The number of them was forty: they were readily adopted, as being intirely consistent with the views of the party now predominant.

The motives, proposed to the council for its acquiescence, were that the enemies of the republic had manifestly followed the plan traced out to them in the instructions found upon Dunan, Laville, Harnois, Brottier, and Berthelot, who were seconded by numbers of other emissaries of the royal party, scattered through every part of France. It was specially recommended to these agents, to direct the operations of the last assemblies of the people, primary, communal, and electoral, for the choosing of a new third, and to make the elections fall upon the partisans of royalty. With the exception of a small

small number of departments, where the energy of the republicans frustrated their attempts, the elections had been carried in their favour; and had introduced, into official situations, and even into the legislative body, notorious royalists, some of them emigrants, and other chiefs of rebels. Thus the constitution being attacked, by those whom it had particularly appointed for its defence, and against whom it had taken no precaution, it was become impossible to preserve it, without recurring to extraordinary measures. In order, therefore, to obviate the designs of the conspirators, to prevent a civil war and its fatal consequences, to heal the wounds inflicted on the constitution since the late election, and to secure the liberty and the internal tranquillity of the nation, from such imminent dangers, in future, strong and vigorous resolutions should be taken, peculiarly adapted to the uncommon occasion that required them, and which, though not strictly accordant with forms, were nevertheless sufficiently justified by indispensable necessity.

On these grounds, the council approved of the resolutions laid before it, by the committee, for its acceptance. By these resolutions, the transactions of the primary, communal, and electoral, assemblies, in no fewer than fifty departments, were declared illegal, the persons elected by them to public offices, or to seats in the legislature, were compelled to resign them, and the directory empowered to nominate to the vacancies thence occasioned in official places. The laws lately enacted to favour the royalists, the emigrants, and their relations, were repealed, and those enacted against

them confirmed and to remain in force till four years after a general peace. No individual was admitted to vote in the primary or electoral assemblies, till he had previously taken the oath of hatred to royalty, and of fidelity to the republic and the constitution of the third year. Barthelini and Carnot, members of the executive directory, eleven members of the council of elders, forty-two members of the council of five hundred, with ten others persons, were sentenced to transportation abroad, to any place appointed by the directory; and their property to be sequestered till their arrival at the place of exile, when the directory should be authorised to supply them, out of their effects, with the means of subsistence. All individuals inscribed upon the list of emigrants, and who had not obtained their exeatment, were warned to leave the territory of the republic in fifteen days: after the expiration of which, if found upon it, they were to be tried before a military tribunal, and the sentence pronounced upon them to be executed within twenty-four hours. The late law, recalling the banished priests, was revoked, and the directory invested with the power of ordering those priests to be transported, who disturbed the public tranquillity. Ecclesiastics, authorised to remain in the territory of the republic, were required to take the oath of hatred to royalty, and of fidelity to the republic. Every person, officially bound to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the emigrants and priests, and who either prevented or impeded them, was to suffer two years imprisonment in irons. No juries whatever were to enter upon the exercise of their functions, till they

had taken the oath of hatred to royalty, and fidelity to the republic. They were not, in the first twenty-four hours after their meeting, to pronounce a verdict, unless unanimous. If after that space of time they declared that they could not decide unanimously, the decision of the majority was to be valid. Journals and other public papers were placed, for a year, under the inspection of the police, which might, by its own authority, prohibit their publication. The law was repealed that prohibited societies, wherein political questions were discussed: but every society, in which principles inimical to the constitution of the third year were professed, was to be shut up, and the members of it, asserting such principles, to be prosecuted. The laws recently enacted, relatively to the establishment and organization of the national guard, were abrogated, and the power of putting a commune in a state of siege, lately taken from the directory, was restored to it. The decrees enacting the banishment of the Bourbons, including the widow of Orleans, and the confiscation of their effects, were confirmed, and all provisions to the contrary rescinded, the directory was empowered to fix the place of their exile, and to allow them, out of their estates, a sufficiency to maintain them.

Such were the principal resolutions adopted by the council of five hundred, in their sitting of the fifth of September. They put an effectual stop to all the efforts that had been clandestinely prepared by the opposition, and frustrated, at once, all the expectations of its adherents. Its chiefs and leaders, who were all men of courage and capacity, being

thus unexpectedly seized, the body, of which they were the head, was rendered instantly incapable of action. Whatever organization it might have previously received, the boldness, as well as the suddenness, of the blow, struck by their more active and expeditious enemies, seemed to have wholly deprived them of spirit and energy.

Among the members of the legislature, thus deprived of their liberty, were, besides Barthélemi and Carnot, two persons of noted talents, general Pichegru, Boissy d'Anglas, Dumolard, Gilbert, Desmolières, Villaret Joyeuse, a naval officer of great merit, Pastoret, Vaublanc, Troncon Ducaudrai. These were all men of conspicuous resolution and abilities. Cochon, late minister of the police, and general Miranda, who had figured in the army, were also in the list of prisoners. So vigilant and determined had been the conduct of the three directors, who assumed the supreme power on this critical occasion, that not one person remained at large, of all their opponents, of sufficient consideration to give them disquietude. On the representations of some of their friends in the council, Thibaudeau, Doukert, and four other of their colleagues, who had been arrested, were set at liberty. But these were the only persons in whose favour any solicitations, however ardently urged, could prevail upon the council to shew any farther lenity.

Having thus provided for their own security, and that of their party, the next step, of which the three directors saw the immediate necessity, was to fill up the places vacant in their own office. To this intent they sent a message, on the sixth

first of September, to the council of five hundred, from whom they now had no reason to apprehend a choice of men not entirely devoted to their views. Out of the list of names, presented by the council of five hundred to that of elders, the two persons selected by these were Merlin and Francois de Neufchateau, both men of tried fidelity to their party, and conspicuously attached to republican principles.

An oligarchy now reigned in France, under the auspices and protection of the army. The experiment of establishing a commonwealth in France had been made without success. National representation, a republic, and liberty, in France, were found to be mere chimeras..

The council of five hundred, from which the republican party had now expelled so many formidable adversaries, thought it necessary to delay no longer a formal avowal to the nation, of the conformity of its sentiments to those of the generality. On the twenty-first of Fructidor, (seventh of September) it issued an address to the departments, and to the armies, which contained, in imitation of the directorial addresses to the public, a circumstantial detail of such particulars as were judged the most likely to make an impression favourable to the cause of the predominant party. Those who framed this address were evidently actuated by the most violent animosity to their antagonists, whose intentions they laboured to represent in the most atrocious light. They explicitly charged them with the resolution to assassinate every man whom they suspected of republicanism; to light up the flames of civil war; to destroy internal safety,

by intercepting all necessary communications, and infesting the roads in every part of the country. These iniquitous designs were to have been executed by means of a society, formed and organized under the denomination of legitimate sons. The first principle of this society was the most absolute and blind devotion of its members to the orders they were to receive from chiefs they were not to know. They began by seduction, bribery, and delusion. These were the instruments employed to pervert those in whom were vested the rights and duties of the election of national representatives. Thus it was that members were chosen whose only recommendation was their hatred of the republic, and their determination to use all endeavours to subvert it. From the machinations of men of this description, and from the wicked intrigues of the emissaries of royalism in all the departments, proceeded the difficulties and embarrassments so grievously experienced by government. From the brightest hopes the public was sinking to despondency. National credit had taken consistency; the creditor was about to be paid; salaries were discharged in currency; but, suddenly, penury and misery burst forth. The inscriptions, which were at forty, fell to ten; the armies were left without pay and without clothing. Alarmed at these appearances, the friends to the republic assembled to confer together, but through the royal party, in the legislature, the right of meeting was interdicted: they reclaimed their rights, but were accused of sedition: they complained of assassinations, but were told that revenge was lawful. A counter revolution was preparing, but, fortunately,

unately, the conspirators betrayed themselves. They could not conceal the pride they took in the name of royalists, nor the contempt in which they held the republicans. They were hastening to the execution of their projects with undiminished alacrity, and confidence of success, and were actually at the very eve of entering upon it, when the vigilance and penetration of government discovered their intentions.

In the mean time, the armies of the republic, so ungenerously neglected, and ill treated, resolved to do themselves, and the nation, that justice for which they had in vain petitioned. They had come forward with a determination that struck the conspirators with awe, and reanimated the friends of the republic. They boldly exposed the perfidy of its internal foes, and insisted on their punishment. Roused by the spirit and fidelity of the armies, the executive power assumed fresh vigour. It felt the necessity of employing every possible exertion, and of embracing, without hesitation, all the means that offered, to save the constitution from the imminent ruin that threatened it, and which was hourly approaching. The task was truly difficult and hazardous. Protected by forms that militated in favour of their projects, a faction of perfidious legislators was labouring to undermine that constitution, under pretence of guarding it from innovations, and of restricting every part of government within its own limits; but these were evidently become too narrow for the zeal and activity now wanted from every quarter whence it could be procured. The state called for the

immediate help of all that were able to co-operate in its salvation.

On these just and laudable principles were founded the fortunate measures that preserved the republic: nor were they adopted till it was on the point of perishing; so scrupulously averse were its warmest friends to deviate from established rules, till they found themselves under the compulsion of inevitable and dire necessity to break through them, for the undeniable and manifest good and service of the state, which could not have been saved by any other means. Escaped from perdition, through the protection of Providence, and the resolution of those who were its instruments, on this critical emergency, the republic was now at liberty to act without the impulse of terror, and to display sentiments of humanity that would dignify its character, and render it respectable to its most virulent enemies. Instead of exercising that vengeance it might lawfully have done, upon men, who, had they succeeded in their designs, would have shewn their antagonists no mercy, it generously abstained from the infliction of all personal punishment. Not a drop of blood was shed; no act of violence committed. Banishment alone was the sentence pronounced upon the guilty. They were left to their own remorse, and to the shame incurred by their criminal deeds. The government, which they sought so ardently to destroy, was content with removing them to a distance, where they would be unable to prosecute their pernicious schemes. Such lenity, when contrasted with so much provocation, must effectually silence the calumnies of those who had basely represented the French

French as a blood-thirsty and merciless people. Here was an instance of the contrary, seldom, if ever, preceded in the civil feuds of nations."

The sequel of the address expatiated on the miseries that had been so auspiciously avoided, and the prosperity that would arise from the concord and benevolence to each other of families and individuals, while they remained firmly united in their attachment to the constitution, and their opposition to those who strive to sow the seeds of discord among them, and to plunge them even into blood and murder. "From the return of unanimity and confidence among the various classes of society, the most happy consequences would result to all France. Agriculture, industry, commerce, would, in a short time, be diffused through every part of the country, and with them would spring up the comforts of private life, and the splendor attending the success of public affairs. By the re-establishment of unfeigned union among the French, their foreign enemies would quickly be reduced to despair of either partitioning France as their prey, or of subduing it to its former slavery. Magistrates, administrators, functionaries of all degrees, were now called upon by their country to exert themselves with peculiar diligence and fervour, in the stations which the suppression of the late conspiracy would henceforth enable them to occupy in peace, undisturbed by the fear of being expelled, through Russian violence, or sacrificed for having discharged their duty. Men of letters, on whom the return of despotism would have imposed perpetual silence, were now freed from their terrors, and empower-

ed to exercise the energy of their minds in enlightening the public, in defending the cause of liberty, and confuting the apologists of tyrants, in aiding government, and forming the manners of the nation."

Such were the ideas which the framers of the address, decreed by the council of five hundred, endeavoured to impress on the people of France. It was carefully distributed in every department, and in every division of the army, and received with great approbation and applause by all the friends of the republic, and of republican principles, not only in France, but in every part of Europe. They concurred in asserting both the reality of the conspiracy, and the indispensable necessity of recurring to the means that were used to suppress it. Every proof of its existence had, they asserted, been adduced, that could in reason and equity be expected, and not one sound argument had been alleged to disprove it. The contest between government and opposition was manifest, the favours and partialities to the royalists were not less visible, the influx of emigrants, and the boldness of their speeches and behaviour, the seizure of treasonable papers, and the discovery of the secret agency of the numerous emissaries of the royal party: these and other circumstances of the most suspicious nature sufficiently corroborated the charge, of an attempt against the republic, and carried conviction to the minds of all who were not unprejudiced.

The reply to these allegations was that the conspiracy had not been legally proved to be real, in a court of justice; that the individuals ac-

cused, positively denied the charge; and that to pass sentence upon them, without bringing them to an open trial, argued an apprehension that they would not have been found guilty by an impartial jury. It was also urged, that to violate the forms of a constitution was to violate the constitution itself, of which those forms were designed to be the safeguard; and that, even allowing the conspiracy to have been no fiction, if no legal jurors could be brought to condemn the conspirators, it would amount to a plain proof that the public was with them, and approved of their design: in which case they would stand acquitted by the highest authority.

To the many censures and invectives cast upon the republican party, for its conduct on this occasion, the answer which was generally allowed to be the most plausible, and by many reputed satisfactory, was, that if the conspirators had been formally tried, they must inevitably have been found guilty, and condemned to die: in which case it would not have been in the power of government to remit the sentence. It was more humane, therefore, as well as more prudent, to banish them; a punishment which, by sparing their lives, prevented the odium that must have been incurred by the effusion of so much blood.

The ineffectual expedition of the French to Ireland, in the month of December, 1796, did not put an end to the expectation they had formed of being able to make an effectual impression upon that part of the British empire. On the return of the fleet to Brest, a proclamation was published, wherein the troops, embarked for that service, were

told, that another attempt was in preparation, which would only be deferred till the return of more favourable weather.

Whether a second expedition was actually intended, or that government meant only to keep up an alarm in Great Britain, every appearance of such a design was maintained. Sailors and soldiers resorted, from various quarters, to Brest, where general Hoche had fixed his head quarters. But the whole month of January, and more than half of February elapsed, before any active measures took place: and those that were then taken, appeared of a nature that shewed an intention rather to perplex the British ministry, than to prosecute any regular design against this kingdom.

A corps of about fourteen hundred men was embarked in four vessels, three of them large frigates, which, sailing from Brest, stood round the coast of England, and entering the Bristol channel, about the 20th of February, anchored in the harbour of Ilfracomb, on the north of Devonshire, where they skuttled several merchantmen, and would probably have destroyed all the shipping there, had they not been apprised that a body of troops was marching against them. This was the North Devon Regiment of Volunteers, commanded by colonel Orchard. Leaving Ilfracomb, they stood over to the headland off St. Davids, in Pembrokeshire, and came to an anchor in a bay near Fishguard. Here their troops were disembarked. But their landing was attended with great difficulty. As they were totally unacquainted with the country, they came ashore at a place full of rocks, which they were obliged to climb with

with much labour. On the twenty-third, their whole force being landed, they advanced into the country, expecting, it has been said, to be joined by numbers. But if such was their expectation, they were greatly deceived. The whole country was instantly alarmed, and the people gathered from all parts to oppose them. In the course of the day, more than three thousand men were collected, of whom seven hundred were well trained militia. Lord Cawdor put himself at their head, and marched directly against the enemy, whom he reached before the setting in of night. But instead of attempting either attack or defence, the French commander informed him, by a letter, brought by one of his officers, that the circumstances, under which the French troops were landed, rendering military operations unnecessary, as they would only tend to bloodshed and pillage, all the officers under him, had intimated their desire to enter into a negociation for a surrender.

To this message lord Cawdor replied, by requiring them immediately to surrender prisoners of war. With this requisition they complied, and laid down their arms on the following day. They had no field-pieces with them, but brought a quantity of powder and ball, sufficient to load seventy carts. One half of them were picked veterans, but the other consisted, according to report, of galley-slaves, and others of the like sort, taken out of prison on condition of their engaging in this attempt. Their ragged appearance fully countenance this surmise, and the first object that occupied them, on their landing, was to provide themselves with clothes where-

ever they could find any. Various motives were assigned for this undertaking. Whatever they might be, those who were employed in it, had only their own prowess and exertions to rely upon for success, as the ships that brought them, took their departure as soon as the debarkation was completed, leaving them entirely to the chances and protection of their own fortune. The most probable of the several opinions, formed upon this subject, seems that which ascribes to the French government a determination to prove the practicability of effecting a landing in England, notwithstanding the numerous fleets that guard its coasts. In a trial of this importance they were willing to risk the handful of men that were sent to make it. They might not, however, imagine that they would so readily yield to the first summons, and possibly hoped that they would be able to occasion much confusion before they were subdued.

While the French were thus vainly endeavouring to carry the war into the British dominions in Europe, the arms of England were more successfully employed against the possessions of their Spanish allies in the West Indies. An expedition was planned, and took place in February, against Trinidad, an island of consequence on the northern coast of South America. The land forces were under the command of general Abercromby, and the squadron under that of admiral Harvey. The Spaniards, in expectation of an attack, had collected a naval force for their defence. It consisted of four ships of the line, besides frigates, and lay at anchor in a bay, protected by strong batteries. On the sixteenth
of

of February, admiral Harvey arrived, with the British squadron, and immediately resolved to attack it. But, during that night, which preceded the intended attack, the Spanish ships casually took fire, and all were consumed but one, which was captured. After this disaster,

the Spaniards were not in a condition to make any effectual resistance. General Abercromby landed his forces, and having made himself master of the principal town, with little opposition, the Spanish governor surrendered the whole island capitulation.

C H A P. VII.

Ineffectual Expedition of the English against the Spanish Island of Porto-Rico.—Transactions in the West Indies.—Favourable to the English, both by Sea and Land.—Great Preparations against England, in the Ports of Holland and Spain.—Spanish Fleet defeated by an English Squadron, greatly inferior in Strength and Numbers, under the Command of Admiral Sir John Jervis.—Other Gallant Exploits of this Squadron.—Unfortunate Attempt of the English on the Island of Teneriffe.—Dutch Armament destined, as was supposed, against England.—Puts to Sea, under order to join the French Fleet at Brest.—Encountered, and after an obstinate Engagement defeated with great Loss, by an English Squadron, under Admiral Duncan.—Yet Preparations still continued in Appearance, by the French, for an Invasion of England.—Calamities brought on the Dutch, by their Junction with the French.

TWO months after the reduction of Trinidad, an expedition was undertaken against the island of Porto-Rico. The Spanish privateers, from this place, were numerous, and greatly annoyed the British trade in the West Indies. The planters had repeatedly recommended an attack of this island, the capture of which they represented as of the highest utility, as it would not only deprive the Spaniards of an important possession, but clear the navigation from the windward to the leeward islands, from much of the danger attending it. Admiral Harvey and general Abercromby willingly undertook, for these reasons, to perform so essential a service. They sailed accordingly for Porto-Rico, where they arrived on the seventeenth of April. The whole northern coast of this island being bounded by a reef, it was with

much difficulty that a narrow channel was discovered, through which the lighter vessels, with the troops, were able to effect their passage into a small bay. Here these landed, and advanced immediately towards the town. But the approaches to it were so strongly fortified, and defended by so many batteries, that it was found impossible to make any impression upon them, with the inconsiderable artillery that had with great exertions been brought ashore. An attempt was made to bombard the town; but this proved, on account of the distance, totally impracticable. It appearing, therefore, that no endeavours, however vigorous, could surmount these obstacles, and that no combined efforts of the sea and land force could in any manner be effectual in the present circumstances, it was judged advisable to desist from the attempt.

tempt. The loss of men upon this occasion, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, was small, and the troops reembarked without any molestation.

The French were, in the mean time, making preparations, in their islands, to attack some of those belonging to the English, which these had taken from them. As the forces, which they intended to employ, consisted of a numerous proportion of blacks, it was proposed, by the British commander-in-chief of the land forces, general Abercromby, conformably to his instructions, that a large body of negroes should be raised, and formed into regiments, for the protection of the British islands. But this proposal was highly disapproved by the representative bodies of the inhabitants, who unanimously concurred in condemning the measure, as full of danger. The emancipation of the negroes, in the French islands, had filled those in the English with sanguine expectation that they would be placed on the same footing. They were greatly dissatisfied at their disappointment, and their dissatisfaction was daily heightened, through the communication they maintained, by various means, with the French negroes, who warmly solicited them to procure their freedom through force, as they would not obtain it otherwise. While such apprehensions hung over the planters, they could by no arguments be prevailed upon to put arms into the hands of the negroes, whom they considered as much readier to attack their masters, than to protect them.

The preparations made by the French, against the English, were of little effect: they landed a body of picked men at Anguilla, a small

island, where, meeting with no resistance, from its defenceless situation, they committed great ravages. Happily for the inhabitants, captain Barton, of the *Lapwing* frigate, being apprized of their danger, sailed immediately to their relief. On his approach, the French reembarked: but their shipping was attacked, and totally destroyed, and the whole of their land and sea force either killed or taken. This happened in the latter part of 1796. In the commencement of the following year, they prepared for other attempts: but whether from the discouragement, occasioned by this check, or that they were not in sufficient readiness, they remained inactive till the ensuing June, when, instead of making any of their threatened attacks upon the islands in possession of the English, they confined their exertions to St. Domingo, where they endeavoured to retake some places in the hands of those French planters that had put themselves under the protection of Great Britain, or were possessed by the British troops. They laid siege, in the month of April, to *Trois*, a strong post recently taken from them. Captain Rickets, of the *Magicienne*, came fortunately to its assistance, and attacked the ships and transports, laden with ammunition and necessaries for carrying on the siege: they were all taken, and the besiegers on shore, thus deprived of the supplies they wanted, were, by the united fire from the garrison and the British frigate, driven from their position, and compelled to abandon the attempt.

Some days before this repulse, general Rigaud, commander of the republican forces, resolved to make an attempt upon the fort of *Trois*, the

the retaking of which was considered as a matter of importance. He selected for this purpose twelve hundred of his best troops, and assaulted it with the utmost fury. The garrison did not consist, at this juncture, of more than fifty men: but they made so determined and skilful a defence, that after being thrice repulsed, and returning as often to the charge, the enemy was obliged to draw off to a distance, in order to recover himself before another renewal of the attack. But, in the mean while, a reinforcement of some hundred men came to the assistance of the garrison, and forcing their way through the assailants, entered the fort. Thus strengthened, the garrison sallied out, upon the besiegers, who were driven to a distance: but gaining possession of an eminence, they made a stand, and through the great superiority of their numbers, maintained their position some days: when receiving a fresh supply of men, they again proceeded to Trois, intending a regular siege. It was then that captain Rickets opportunely arrived, and totally completed the defeat of the enemy, after losing a thousand of their choicest troops. They sustained another defeat, about the same time, from colonel Deyssources, who attacked and carried several posts and works of great strength and consequence, and routed a large body of the enemy, part of the army under the command of their principal general, Toussaint.

In the month of June ensuing, the French laid siege to the town of St. Mark, a place of consequence, defended by a body of those French planters that had joined the English, and by a small number of theirs. As they were closely pressed, general

Churchil hastened, by forced marches, to their relief. The enemy had taken possession of the fort and district of Mirebalais, which afforded them great advantages in the prosecution of the siege. Expecting the English general would attempt the retaking it, they posted a large body on his way. But as soon as he had been joined by a sufficient reinforcement, to cope with their numbers, he attacked them with such resolution, that they were immediately broken, and fled with the utmost precipitation. The siege of St. Mark had, in the mean while, been carried on with much vigour, and some of the out-works had been taken: but this defeat encouraged the garrison to so resolute a defence, that it disconcerted all their measures, and they were driven from this place, on the arrival of the victorious troops, with very considerable loss.

The transactions in the West Indies, during the remainder of the year, were remarkably favourable to the English, both at sea and land. Numbers of the enemy's armed ships were taken, and little damage done to the English trade. The French were not either in the disposition or in force to execute any plan against the English possessions.

In Europe the expectations of the French had been highly raised, by the great preparations made against England, in the ports of Holland and of Spain. In this kingdom, their influence over the ministry was such, that they procured the equipment of a very large number of ships, to act conjointly with their remaining strength at sea, against that of England, which they hoped would find it extremely difficult to make head against so vast an accession of force

force to France. Conformably to the plans of the French and Spanish ministers, the most considerable part of the Spanish navy was to have effected a junction with the French fleet at Brest; and, after being joined by a numerous squadron of Dutch ships of war, they were to have put forth altogether to sea, to the amount of more than seventy sail of the line; a strength which, they entertained sanguine hope, would prove more than sufficient to support effectually the execution of their designs against the British dominions.

In the list of the Spanish fleet, intended for Brest, were six of one hundred and twelve guns, and one of a hundred and thirty-six, esteemed the largest vessel in Europe; of the other ships composing this formidable armament, two were of eighty-four, and eighteen of seventy-four guns: but they were manned by an inconsiderable proportion of seamen. The Spanish ministry had imagined, that this deficiency might be remedied by the substitution of a number of expert artillery-men; but even of these there was not a sufficiency procured to encounter the skill and activity of the British seamen.

The officer pitched upon for the command of the Squadron, destined to act against this great force, was admiral Jervis, whose naval abilities had been conspicuously displayed on many preceding occasions, and who was accompanied by other officers of such distinguished merit, that no doubt was entertained, by the public, that, notwithstanding the vast superiority of strength and numbers, on the part of the Spaniards, they would not prove equal in battle to the British officers and sea-

men. The Squadron, under the command of admiral Jervis, amounted to no more than fifteen ships of the line, and some frigates. He was cruising off Cape St. Vincent, on the coast of Portugal, when he received intelligence of the Spanish fleet's approach, and he prepared immediately for battle. On the fourteenth of February, at the dawn of day, it was discovered, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line. By carrying a press of sail, he closed in with the enemy's fleet before it had time to connect, and form into a regular order of battle. Such a moment, to speak his own words, was not to be lost: confiding in the skill, valour, and discipline, of his officers and men, and conscious of the necessity of acting with uncommon resolution on this critical occasion, he formed a line, with the utmost celerity, in order to pass through the enemy's fleet, and having completely effected his design, he thereby separated one-third of it from the main body, and by a vigorous cannonade compelled it to remain to leeward, and prevented its rejoinment with the centre till the evening. After having thus broken through the enemy's line, and, by this daring and fortunate measure, diminished his force from twenty-seven ships to eighteen, it was perceived that the Spanish admiral, in order to recover his superiority, was endeavouring to rejoin the ships separated from him, by wearing round the rear of the British lines; but commodore Nelson, who was in the rear-most ship, directly wore and prevented his intention, by standing towards him. He had now to encounter the Spanish admiral of one hundred and thirty-six guns, aided by two others, each of

them

them three deckers : he was happily relieved from this dangerous position, by the coming up of two ships to his assistance, which detained the Spanish admiral, and his seconds, till he was attacked by four other British ships : when, finding that he could not execute his design, he made the signal for the remainder of his fleet to form together for their defence. The British admiral, before they could get into their stations, directed the rear-most of them, some of which were entangled with each other, to be attacked. This was done with so much judgement and spirit, that four of them were captured, one of which struck to his own ship. In the mean time, that part of the Spanish fleet which had been separated from its main body had nearly rejoined it, with four other ships, two of which were not in the engagement. This was a strength, more than equal to that which remained of the British Squadron, fit, after so severe a contest, for a fresh action. Had it been renewed, the Spaniards had still thirteen ships unhurt, while of the fifteen, of which the British Squadron consisted, every one had suffered in so unequal an encounter. It drew up in compact order, not doubting of vigorous efforts, on the part of the enemy, to retake his lost vessels : but the countenance and position of the British Squadron was such, that the Spanish, though so powerfully reinforced, did not dare to come into close action. As the fire was distant and ineffectual, and it left the British Squadron to move securely off with the four captured vessels, two of them carrying one hundred and twelve guns, one eighty-four, and the other seventy-

four. The slain and wounded, on board of these, before they struck, amounted to six hundred, and on board of the British Squadron to half that number. The amount of the killed and wounded in the other Spanish ships was computed equal to that in those that were taken.

The superiority of naval skill, displayed in this celebrated action, struck all Europe with astonishment. Nothing less indeed could have procured a victory over an enemy so much superior in strength and numbers, and no ways deficient in courage. The people in Spain were loud in their complaints, that their countrymen were impressed into a service for which they were unqualified, and against a nation with which they had no reason to quarrel. The upper classes, and the government itself, were looked upon, by the generality, as acting under constraint : but the remembrance of the recent victories of the French, over their best troops and commanders, and of the danger to which the monarchy had been exposed, effectually silenced all degrees of men, while the majority bore, with secret indignation, the ignominy of a yoke which they were ashamed to avow. The ancient and noble kingdom of Spain was, at this time, in a situation not more humiliating than odd and whimsical. The Spaniards, in general, detested the French, and particularly the French infidels : the throne of Spain was occupied by the second branch of the house of Bourbon ; and which, in 1792, had manifested an anxious solicitude for the life of Lewis XVI. yet the king and people of Spain were leagued with the regicides against the

the Austrians and English, their old as well as natural friends and allies. The advantages, it might naturally be supposed, must have been great, that seduced them into so strange a situation. By no means! They got nothing but hard blows from the British navy.

The gratitude of the public, in England, to those brave officers and men, who had won so extraordinary and unprecedented a victory, was expressed with a warmth and exultation that had not been felt for many years. All classes and bodies of the community were eager to testify the sense they entertained of the very uncommon merit of the admiral who had performed so important a service, at a time when it was so needful, and who had thereby reflected so much glory on the national character. To the just applauses of the public, government added the honours of the peerage, by creating him Earl of St. Vincent, in order to perpetuate, together with his name, the memory of this splendid action.

The vanquished fleet withdrew to Cadiz, whither it was immediately followed by the victors, who blocked it up in so close a manner, that not one of the numerous ships of force, belonging to Spain, in that capacious harbour, durst venture out beyond the reach of the many powerful batteries erected for its defence. Here the British Squadron continued in sight of the place, and in command of all the neighbouring seas; taking numbers of the enemy's vessels, and performing many gallant actions.

The two most remarkable we shall relate. An attempt was made, in the night of the third of July, to bombard the city of Cadiz. Commodore Nelson conducted this bold enter-

prize with his usual despatch and spirit. The imperfect fire which attended it, was owing to the condition of the mortar-ship employed upon this occasion, which was entirely damaged by use. The Spaniards have a gallant and manned, with their 1000 men and soldiers, a number of boats and launches, fall upon the harbour upon the English conflict was obstinate, and behaved with great valour. The commanding-officer of the Don Miguel Tyraom, a commodore with the utmost distinction, and, though taken, yielded until, out of twenty in his barge, eighteen were left, and himself, and all his men wounded. It was not long and desperate before the Spaniards were driven into the harbour.

Two nights after this another bombardment was made, with more success. Commodore Nelson, who, to use the words of admiral Jervis, was a general sent in the most arduous circumstances, had again the command. Advancing with the boats as near to the shore as it was practicable, he threw into the harbour among the shipping in the night a large number of shells of considerable execution. Ten of the largest men-of-war were obliged to warp out of the harbour, and the townspeople fled in numbers. The effects of this bombardment had been very detrimental to the enemy, but was shortly after intended preparations completed, the execution was prevented by the violence of the wind, that somewhat to blow out

bour, and obstructed the approach of any shipping. This third enterprise was also to have been conducted by commodore Nelson, through whose activity and enterprising disposition few days passed without some equally resolute and well-concerted endeavours to annoy the enemy.

It had appeared, in the mean time, from a variety of intelligence, that the situation of the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, was such as authorised an effort to take possession of it. Could this have been effected, it certainly must have proved a very valuable acquisition: each being the general opinion, an expedition was resolved upon against this celebrated island. The command of it was given to admiral Nelson, recently promoted to that rank, who arrived at the place of his destination the twenty-fourth of July, and immediately prepared to carry his orders into execution. His force consisted of four ships of the line, and three frigates. As he intended to surprize the enemy, the attack was deferred till night. At eleven, about a thousand chosen men were embarked in the boats belonging to the squadron: they proceeded without being discovered, till they were within less than gun shot of the Mole, stretching from the town into the sea. Their approach being perceived, the alarm-bells were rung, and a tremendous fire opened upon them from all the batteries, extending along the platforms in front of the town. The night was so dark, that only five of the boats could find the Mole. A body of five hundred men was stationed upon it, for its defence. These the soldiers and sailors, landing from the boats, at-

tacked and dispersed, on the first onset: but such a fire of musketry and grape shot was kept up from the citadel and houses at the head of the Mole, that they could not advance and nearly all of them were either killed or wounded. This first division was commanded by admiral Nelson, in person, having under him captains Bowen, Thomson, and Freemantle. The boat in which was captain Bowen, with a chosen part of his ships company, never reached the shore: it was sunk by a cannon shot, and they all perished. The Fox cutter was lost in the same manner, with nearly one hundred men.

The other division, under the command of captains Trowbridge, Hood, Miller, and Waller, landed at the foot of the citadel, making their way through a raging surf that stove all their boats, and wetted all their ammunition. Notwithstanding these difficulties, they passed over the walls and batteries, and penetrated to the great square of the town, where, having formed to the number of about four hundred men, they marched towards the citadel, but found it too strong for them to attack with any hope of success. Captain Trowbridge, in the mean time, was informed, by prisoners taken, that there were eight thousand Spaniards, assisted by a hundred French, with five field-pieces, preparing to attack them. Seeing the impossibility of receiving aid from the ships, he sent captain Hood with a message to the Spanish governor, that if he would allow them freely and without molestation to embark his people, and furnish him with boats for that purpose, in the stead of those that had been stolen, the

Squadron

squadron before the town would not molest it. On the governor's replying to this message, by requiring that they should surrender prisoners of war; captain Hood answered, that he was directed to tell him, that if the terms he had proffered were not instantly accepted, the town would be fired, and the English attack the Spaniards at the point of the bayonet. On this resolute declaration, the governor thought it prudent to comply with the terms offered to him, and captain Trowbridge marched with his men, colours flying, to the head of the Mole, where they embarked in their remaining boats, and in others furnished by the Spaniards. The humane and generous behaviour of the Spanish governor, Don Juan Antonio Gutierrez, on this occasion, well deserves to be commemorated. As soon as the terms were agreed to, he directed the wounded English to be received into the hospitals, and the others to be supplied with all the provisions that could be procured, and gave permission to the ships to send ashore and purchase the refreshments they wanted, while they remained off the island.

In this manner, terminated an unfortunate expedition, which cost the lives of numbers of the bravest men in this squadron. Among the wounded was admiral Nelson, who lost his right arm. Never did the policy of courts exercise a severer sway over the real interests of nations, than when the Spanish nation, capable still of the noblest sentiments, was dragged, against its will, into a war with another nation, equally generous, and also its most natural ally and friend. The inoffensive manner in which the

Spaniards waged war with England, on the whole, chiefly by manifestoes and military preparations, unequivocally pointed to the real source from whence their declaration of war, against Britain, sprung. If the Spanish admiral had not been sensible, that there was no real animosity or rancour in the breasts of his countrymen, against the English, he would neither have dared, nor been inclined, to let them go so well away.

The great victory of the fourteenth of February had, intirely, disconcerted the plan of operations formed by the three allied powers. The hope of uniting, into one body, the fleets of France, Spain, and Holland, was now frustrated, and it remained for the Batavian republic to second the designs of the French, in the manner they had proposed. The naval preparations in Holland were extraordinary, and far surpassed any that had been made since the grand alliances against France, at the close of the last, and the beginning of the present century. Though not so numerous as the Spanish fleet, lately defeated, it was incomparably better manned. Both the officers and ships companies were excellent seamen, and no doubt was entertained that the contest, between them and the English, would be extremely obstinate. The remembrance of the many hard fought battles between the English and the Dutch, in former days, and of the several successes obtained by these was studiously revived throughout the several provinces. Europe itself was disposed to look upon the Dutch as more formidable rivals, at sea, to the English than the French, whose character for naval skill and prowess was decidedly considered as

inferior to that of either of the two other people. But a circumstance that inclined the generality to think more highly of the English, than of the Dutch, was the number of successful engagements in which the former had recently displayed the superiority of their valour and experience. They had now waged a three years active and vigorous war, and had constantly been victorious in every action. The Dutch, on the contrary, had remained in peace for a long series of years. Excepting the engagement on the Dogger's Bank in 1781, they had met with no occasion to exercise their marine, and here only six or seven ships of war were employed. Laying these circumstances together, it appeared probable, that notwithstanding the bravery that might be exerted by the sea-faring natives of the seven provinces, still they would, in all likelihood, prove inadequate to those of Great Britain in the arduous trial that was approaching.

The Batavian republic had, with uncommon exertions, and vast expence, fitted out an armament, during the course of the summer, the destination of which, though not precisely ascertained, was imagined to be for Ireland, where the discontents were daily increasing, and the inhabitants seemed ripe for insurrection. This armament consisted of four ships of seventy-four guns, five of sixty-eight, two of sixty-four, and four of fifty-six. They were in the best condition, completely manned, and provided with every requisite. The command was given to admiral De Winter, an officer of acknowledged merit in his profession, and of remarkable impetuosity. His principles were not only republican. He had em-

braced that party in the civil commotions, during the years 1786 and 1787; and after its suppression, by the interference of Prussia, he had withdrawn to France, where he was pensioned, and met with military preferment. When the French invaded Holland, in the winter of 1795, he accompanied them, and was appointed to superintend the re-establishment of their marine, which he forwarded accordingly with indefatigable zeal.

As soon as the equipment of the above mentioned squadron was effected, the Batavian government, urged by importunities of the French directory, gave orders for its putting immediately to sea. The intention was that it should proceed directly to Brest, and join the fleet assembled there for a second invasion of Ireland. A body of troops was embarked on the Dutch squadron for this purpose, but the vigilance of the British cruizers, stationed along the Dutch coast, prevented this plan from being carried into execution. They watched so narrowly the motions of the enemy, that it was found impracticable to venture out of port, without risking an engagement with the British squadron, that had lain on the coast of Holland during the summer, to block up the Texel. It was commanded by admiral Duncan, a veteran officer of great valour and abilities. He was at this time in Yarmouth Roads, refitting his ships that had suffered from the late tempestuous weather. This induced the Batavian government to direct admiral De Winter to sail with all expedition, hoping that he might anticipate the return of admiral Duncan, and be so far on his way to France, that it should not be possible

possible to overtake him. But their expectation was wholly frustrated. It was quickly found that the British squadron could not be avoided. Determined, however, that the honour of the Batavian flag should not suffer, by declining a contest, they ordered their admiral to put forthwith to sea, notwithstanding his remonstrances, and to rid him of all incumbrance, the troops on board his squadron were disembarked. As soon as admiral Duncan was apprized, by the signals of his cruizers, that the Dutch were out of port, he sailed, with all speed, to meet them. His squadron was composed of sixteen ships of the line, remarkably well-conditioned, and his officers and men were inferior to none in the British service.

He reached the coast of Holland in the evening of the tenth of October. His first care was to station his squadron in such a manner as to prevent the enemy from regaining the Texel. On the morning of the eleventh he was in sight of the Dutch squadron, formed in a line to receive him, at no more than nine miles distance from the land, lying between Camperdown and Egmont. He resolved, immediately, to break through the enemy's line, in order to obstruct their getting nearer to the shore. This was speedily executed, and about twelve o'clock the engagement became general, every ship of each squadron coming to action with its opponent. Admiral De Winter, perceiving the intent of the British admiral, had thrown out the signal to unite in close order, the more effectually to oppose it; but from the thickness of the smoke it was said, his signals were not perceptible to all the ships

of his squadron, and only some of course complied with them. As soon as the British squadron had pierced through the enemy's line, a close action ensued, wherein admiral Duncan's division attacked the van of the Dutch, and admiral Onslow the rear. The ship mounted by the former lay near three hours a long side of the Dutch admiral, De Winter, and the conflict between these two brave commanders was remarkably obstinate, and destructive. The latter did not strike his flag till all his masts went overboard; half of his crew was slain, or wounded, and it was utterly impossible to make any more resistance. The Dutch vice-admiral yielded to admiral Onslow, after he had been reduced to the same condition, and all the Dutch ships that struck, had defended themselves with equal bravery, being almost every one totally disabled.

It was about four in the afternoon when the victory was clearly decided in favour of the British squadron; but it had, during the course of the engagement, drifted so near to the land, as to be only five miles distant, and in no more than nine fathoms water. The principal object of attention was, therefore, to prevent the ships from getting into the shallows, which was not accomplished without much exertion. It was owing to this circumstance alone that any of the Dutch squadron escaped. No fewer, however, were captured than eight ships of the line, two of fifty-six guns, and two frigates. The loss of men, on both sides, in this bloody and well-fought battle, was very great. In the British squadron it amounted to seven hundred, but

in the Dutch to twice that number. They were the choicest of their seamen. The vast diminution of their commercial shipping had enabled them to select, out of the numerous hands dismissed from the merchant service, the very best only that offered.

The circumstance which may be said to have laid the foundation of this victory, and which does equal honour to the courage and skill of admiral Duncan, was, his running his fleet between the enemy and a lee shore: a step which, we believe, no other admiral had ever dared to take before, in similar circumstances. The admiral's judgement, in closing the contest in proper time, and in extricating his fleet and prizes from so difficult a situation, was equal to his boldness in hazarding so decisive a measure. The battle was fought so near the shore that every manœuvre might be distinctly seen; and the whole coast, for many miles, was crowded with thousands of spectators, who had the mortification of observing the entire destruction of their fleet, without the possibility of affording it any relief.

This splendid victory was rewarded by the most general and lively joy, admiration, and gratitude, from the king on the throne to the very beggar in the street. His merit, it was observed, was in proportion to the difficulties he was forced to encounter. His perseverance had been tried in a cold climate, on a stormy sea, and in a contest with a hardy, rugged, and resolute people. But there was another circumstance that endeared admiral Duncan to all men, and prepared them to participate in his fortune. He was not only a brave

and skilful officer, but a modest, religious, and good man, and had, lately, had occasion to signalize all these qualities, as shall, by and by, be related.

This proved a victory of the most acknowledged importance to Great Britain. It extinguished, at once, all the remaining hopes of the French to make that impressive attempt upon Ireland, from which they had conceived such expectations. Nor was it Ireland alone on which they had built the most decisive projects. England was no less a part, if it was not, in fact, the principal object in their view, under the avowed plan of carrying their arms into the sister kingdom. What renders this surmise, which was, in truth, the opinion of many, at this time, not in the least improbable, a pamphlet had been written, in France, under the auspices of the directory, and published by their orders, which had been, during the summer, circulated with uncommon industry. It was an address to the French nation at large, inviting, and exhorting, it to revenge upon the English. "England, the directory said, was the richest country in the world, and they would give it up to the French to be plundered by them. You shall march, said the address, to the capital of that haughty nation; you shall seize the immense heaps of gold in the bank of London; the prodigious wealth contained in their shops, their warehouses, and their magazines; the riches contained in their gilded palaces and their stately mansions; the accumulations of public and private property; the treasures, in short, of every species that are to be found in that opulent country, and you will return to France

[H 3]



France loaded with the spoils of the English." This curious address concluded by assuring them, that whatever they took should be their own, and that government would require no participation in the plunder of England. They should be supplied with arms and ammunition for this great undertaking, and with vessels to carry them over. Once landed, they would soon find the way to London, and their prowess would achieve all the rest.

This publication, which made much noise at the time, was very acceptable to the mass of the people, whose hatred to the English has always been notorious, and numbers had actually resolved to join an expedition of this nature; but the sober-minded strongly condemned a proclamation, for such it was in reality, calling upon men to enter upon so frantic an undertaking, as that of one nation rising in a body to plunder another, divided from it by the sea, guarded by fleets that had vanquished their own, and destroyed all their commerce, and that was, at the same time, fuller of resolute and disciplined men than they had shipping enough to bring over, had the project, held out to them, existed in the real contemplation of their rulers.

But there was another scheme, on foot at this time, which, though by the intelligent world esteemed impracticable, did not, however, carry the appearance of such extravagance as the former. This was to collect as large an army as they could provide ships to transport to this country, and to invade it at several places. They did not seem to apprehend much obstruction to

the landing of this army, who tributed into various parts, one of which, being confided would require an adequate force to oppose it. They dwelt, with particular confidence, on the superior experience and soldiery of the men that would be engaged in an enterprize of such importance, and on the ignorance of the English in practical war of the English, whose native courage was not superior to that of the French, while their total unacquaintance with the reality of those scenes the representation of which might excel, did not entitle them to a comparison with veterans.

Such were the ideas of the individuals in France, that looked forward to an attempt of this nature with no small degree of confidence. The government itself, whether of opinion, or with a view to give an alarm in this country, for gave them countenance. Numerous forces were collected, and was bestowed the appellation of the army of England. It was put under the command of Buonaparte; it was not doubted, that the success of this conqueror of Italy would strike the English with terror, and had done so many others, and the same success would attend which he had constantly met in all his enterprizes.

It was, therefore, a great satisfaction to the directory, to see their principal design rendered abortive. The means of executing it, now taken out of their hands without a maritime force, it was vain to attempt an attack of land. They had certainly incurred a large expence in preparing. The troops assembled in various parts of the republic, avowed

this purpose, formed a total of little less than one hundred thousand men, and every appearance indicated, that nothing but a conviction of the unmountable difficulties attending it would put a stop to the undertaking. The directory saw these: but, unwilling to discourage the multitude, by acknowledging that the two great victories, gained by admiral Jervis and Duncan, had wholly disconcerted their projects, they still continued to wear the semblance of a determination to persist, at all hazards, in a fixed resolve to try the strength of the English, in England itself. Such were the words of the directory, and of their supporters, both in and out of the councils. Arguments, for the probability of success, were copiously drawn from the sources of ancient and modern history: but they afforded nothing convincing to judicious observers: as the resemblances of times and circumstances were far from apposite, no strict inferences could be drawn, and only conjectures formed, according, as usual, with the wishes of those who made them. The warmth of the French, in describing the multifarious means they would employ to compass the great point of landing, was contrasted with the coolness of the English, in allowing its feasibility, but in urging, at the same time, the probability, or rather, the certainty of no force being put ashore, that would not have to encounter one much greater, and better provided. The circumstance of being inexperienced, so much insisted on by the French, was held frivolous by the English, when they recollected how well the French themselves had behaved, in the campaign of 1792, notwithstanding that they were in

the same predicament in which they represented the English, very few of their troops, at that time, having overseen actual service. They would not surely have the vanity to think, the English their inferiors in bodily strength and activity, nor possessed of less aptitude to acquire the knowledge of military discipline and tactics.

But setting these particular considerations aside, Europe was thoroughly persuaded, that unless France could recover a greater degree of maritime strength, than that to which it was now reduced, all its attempts to invade this country would either be frustrated, or, in the issue of a debarkation, terminate in the defeat and capture of those troops that might venture to land, either favoured by the casualties of weather, or by the absence of those numerous ships of war that guarded the British coast, but of which the vigilance could not, in the nature of things, extend to every accessible part. These landings, in the mean time, could only succeed through stealth; the moment they were effected, the ships of war, and transports, must, of necessity, make off with the utmost precipitation, lest they should be discovered, and captured; a fate which they would hardly ever escape. Thus cut off from communication, and supplies, their troops, ashore, could not fail to undergo a similar destiny.

It was, therefore, with great reason, that the public, in Great Britain, testified their exultation at the triumphs obtained by the British navy, and expressed their contempt for the endeavours of the French to lessen their importance, and to magnify their own capacity, to execute their designs against this coun-

try, in defiance of its naval superiority. To the sense of the nation, and the universal applause bestowed upon admiral Duncan for the eminent service rendered to it by his great victory, on the eleventh of October, the government added that remuneration which he so amply deserved. He was raised to the dignity of the peerage, and the title of viscount Camperdon conferred upon him, from that town on the Dutch shore, in sight of which the fleet of the Batavian

republic had received so signal a defeat.

The people of the Seven Provinces now experienced, more than ever, the calamities brought upon them by their junction with France, or rather by their subjection to that ambitious power, which they had been rightly forewarned would compel them to become the instruments of its views, as soon as they should be so unfortunate as to be obliged to depend on its good faith and protection.

C H A P. VIII

Meeting of Parliament.—His Majesty's Speech.—Debates on the Address in the House of Lords.—And in the House of Commons.—French Invasion threatened.—Measures proposed by the Minister, for the Defence of the Country.—Debates thereon in both Houses of Parliament.—Bills for augmenting the Militia, Army, and Navy, passed into Laws.—Bill passed into a Law for raising a Militia in Scotland.

ON the sixth of October, 1796, his Britannic majesty addressed a new parliament on the state of the nation, in both its external and internal relations, and the correspondent measures of his government. He told them, that he had omitted no endeavours for settling on foot negotiations to restore peace to Europe, and to secure, for the future, the general tranquillity. But nothing, he observed, could contribute to effectually to this end, as to manifest that we possess both the determination and resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, the farther efforts with which we may have to contend. This was peculiarly necessary at a moment when the enemy had openly manifested the intention of attempting a descent on these kingdoms. The flourishing state and prosperous exertions of the navy were next noticed, and our military operations in the East and West Indies, which had been highly honourable to the British arms. Speaking of the fortune of the war on the continent, his majesty took

an opportunity, with the most perfect propriety, to pay a public tribute of praise to the archduke Charles, under whose auspicious conduct such a turn had lately been given to the course of the war as might inspire a well-grounded confidence, that the final result of the campaign would prove more disastrous to the enemy than its commencement and progress, for a time, were favourable to their hopes. With regard to the apparently hostile dispositions and conduct of the court of Madrid, the final result of these was yet uncertain. His majesty proceeded to notice the flourishing state of the commerce, manufactures, and revenue of this country; the prospect of returning plenty; the repression of anarchy and confusion; and the continuance of the public tranquillity. An address to his majesty, in answer to the speech from the throne, was moved by the

Earl of Bathurst, who, after customary apologies for himself, and some observations on the importance of the subject on which he was about to offer a motion to their lordships,

lordships, proceeded to make a comment in illustration and commendation of the speech from the throne, and concluded with moving an address, assenting, entirely, to the sentiments expressed by his majesty, and returning thanks for his gracious communications.

The earl of Upper Ossory, who seconded the address, commented, also, with much commendation, on the speech from the throne. He expressed a hope that a peace, if it could be obtained, would not be partial, but comprehend in it the honour and security of our allies.

If it could not be obtained, this he conceived would be owing rather to the haughtiness of their enemy than to any want of moderation on our part; and the failure of the negotiation would, at least, have the good effect of uniting us all in one effort to compel them, by force of arms, to submit to reasonable terms. His lordship was full and animated in his praise of the archduke Charles. On the conduct of another power (Spain) he was not able to pronounce a panegyric; but as he hardly knew the relation in which we stood to that power, he deemed it prudent, at present, to be silent.

The earl Fitzwilliam recalled to their lordships mind how warm an advocate he had been for the war from its commencement, from an opinion of its necessity; an opinion in which he was now, by a long series of events, more and more confirmed. The original designs of the enemy, tended to the destruction of every species of government, and the total subversion of society. He had trusted that he should not have heard a word of negotiation, like that which

had been mentioned, and was surprized to find such expressions used as were common at the end of an ordinary war. Finding the address, proposed by the noble earl, echoed to the crown, only vague and loose expressions concerning that negotiation, without the least attention to the grand principle on which the war was begun, he was constrained to declare that he should stand in opposition to it, for he felt it impossible to give it his concurrence. The great object of the war was the restoration of order, not with regard to the internal mode of government, which the enemy might chuse to adopt, but with regard to the influence of their internal designs; for, at the commencement of the war, their internal system of government was not more dangerous than the present, but the influence of their opinions and designs, externally, was terrific. To restore order, to defend the civilized states of Europe against the dangers that threatened them, to protect persons and property from a fatal devastation, and suppress the tendency of innovating and pernicious doctrines, were the ostensible objects of the war. Upon these principles their lordships had engaged in the war, and upon these principles, they had supported it. What then was the nature and the purport of the proposed address? Why, it was neither more nor less than a recommendation to his majesty to acknowledge and approve that system he had formerly repudiated and opposed. If there were any wisdom in negotiating now, the same wisdom should have been manifested four years ago, for he desired any man to look back and say, that the same causes which

existed

and proved the necessary, did not exist now.

of subversion of every principle and establishment continued still to exist. The wisdom of the measures, which were adopted to suppress this dangerous evil he had approved, and experienced confirmed. What then

now, in the aspect of affairs, to require a deviation from the sanctioned policy, and by events? Was the conduct which had roused our attention demanded our exertions, or not? Or, was it still the same which the conduct of the French was directed? Their lordships

it to compare the views at that period, with the views which they prosecuted now. The French and powerful governments of Europe were not the first to be attacked by the spirit of anarchy with which the enemy proceeded, but the inferior and weaker states had felt their overbearing influence, and their subordination. Such instances

of their intention, and success, to afford the means of the application of their

Now we might observe the existence of the same disposition. They were avowed in proclamations, in which they threatened the overthrow of the order of the countries, to which they could dictate, was re-assured by their arms which they tread, but the system by which success was accompanied begged their lordships to consider the instance of Sardinia. Was the king of Sardinia to submit to accept a French, than it was

succeeded by their interference in the internal administration of his government. They insisted upon his restoring to their liberty, and to their effects, all the persons who had been condemned to imprisonment, or to penalties, for the propagation of their anarchical doctrines. At Rome they had signified their triumph, by imposing the same degrading conditions. Were their lordships prepared to submit to such indignities? Would they act even so as to invite such disgraceful interference? Would they endure the badge of disorder, which the king of Prussia had allowed in his dominions? In Berlin the standard of insurrection was reared, the national cockade was worn to attract partizans, and propagate the principles, of which it was the emblem. And were their lordships prepared to allow the national cockade to be worn in this country by every man whom the French directory might chuse to consider as a Frenchman? By arms alone these attempts, and these disgraces are to be resisted.

Lord Fitzwilliam, having thus reminded their lordships of the principles on which the war was undertaken, of the measures which were first adopted, and of the undiminished necessity for the prosecution of these, in order to attain the great ends of general security; and having also mentioned the conduct of the British forces, on which his majesty's speech had bestowed the best-deserved praise; moved, as an amendment, the insertion of what follows: "That this house, strongly impressed with the justice and necessity of the present war, carried on for the maintenance of civil and moral order in the world, and for securing

securing the balance of power in Europe, and the independence of all states, will continue to give his majesty a vigorous support, in asserting the general cause of his majesty, and his allies, and for preserving the good faith, dignity, and honour, of the crown; in full assurance, that no steps will be taken inconsistent with these principles, or with the future safety and prosperity of these kingdoms: and should the apparently hostile dispositions of the court of Madrid, instigated by the intrigues and menaces of the common enemy, put his majesty under the necessity of repelling force by force, his majesty may rely on the determination of this house to give his majesty the most ample support in defending, against every aggression, the dignity, rights, and interests, of the British empire."

The earl of Guildford, though he did not oppose the address, but, on the contrary, felt great pleasure in being able most cordially to agree with what had been so ably moved by his noble friend, nevertheless found it necessary for him to make a few observations on the subject. The leading feature of the address, as had been justly observed, was to "return thanks to his majesty for his most gracious information, that he would immediately send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat, and that it was his majesty's most anxious wish, that the measure might lead to a general restoration of peace." If a safe, honourable, and permanent, peace could now be obtained, he would sit down contented with all the obloquy and abuse which had been so plentifully heaped upon himself, and those with whom he had the honour to act for the last three years. The achieve-

ments of the archduke Charles, he said, were noble and splendid in the extreme, and, he firmly believed, they had been the means of saving the house of Austria, and the whole of the Germanic body, from a state of the greatest humiliation. If these fortunate achievements should operate, as he hoped they would, to serve as an advantageous means of cool, temperate, and rational, negotiation, they ought to be considered as omens of great happiness to us and our ally; if, on the contrary, they should have the fatal tendency of reviving the inauspicious hopes formerly entertained, and cause the parties to rise in their demands, so as to be the means of prolonging this miserable and unavailing contest, then they would, and ought to, be looked upon, as evils and misfortunes of the deepest dye; and he was afraid they would be felt as such, not only by people of the present day, but by their posterity, for a length of time to come. His lordship then said, there was one part of what was contained in the address, as well as in the speech of the noble mover, which he could not suffer to pass without making a comment; it was this: "That the internal tranquillity of the kingdom had remained undisturbed, and the endeavours of persons to introduce anarchy had been repressed, by the wisdom and energy of the laws." It was very true, his lordship said, that the tranquillity of the kingdom had remained undisturbed; and it was with the greatest pleasure he could give his testimony to this truth. He believed also, that this had been owing to the love and reverence the people entertained for the laws of their country; but if, by "the wisdom and

and energy of the laws," an allusion was intended to be made to two extraordinary bills which had been passed in the last session of the last parliament, he believed the allusion would be, indeed, unfounded; it was tranquillity, in his opinion, not at all to be attributed to such a cause; he was convinced it was quite the contrary: those bills were held in abhorrence by the people, but who, at the same time, held in the highest respect the wisdom and energy of the known constitutional common law of the land. The noble earl then said, that, conceiving a peace to be the greatest blessing this country could at present wish, he had readily and cordially come forward in support of the present address; but he begged their lordships would understand, that by so doing, he did not mean to preclude himself from the right he had to inquire, at any future period, into the causes which had been the original occasion of the present calamitous contest, and the conduct of those who had been the means of plunging us into it. There were the subjects of the first magnitude, and would hereafter demand the strictest and most minute investigation; and, having thus made these observations and reservations, he would no longer trespass on the time of the house, but immediately conclude, by giving his hearty concurrence to the motion for the address.

Lord Grenville forbore to enter at large into any argument on all the points on which the earl of Grandford had expressed a difference of opinion; on two only he would make a very few observations. Alluding to what had fallen from his lordship concerning that part of the speech

from the throne, which ascribed the internal tranquillity of the kingdom to "the wisdom and energy of the laws," he said, that, partial or conditional agreement was a tribute which he was as little accustomed as desirous to receive from any man; yet certainly every person was at liberty to indulge and express his own opinion. For his own part, he was clearly of opinion, that the bills, passed last session, had contributed very greatly to repress the spirit of anarchy, and had, therefore, tended highly towards the preservation of the public and internal tranquillity. He retained all the opinions he had formerly entertained on the subject, and experience had only served to confirm their propriety and justice. As for the threatened inquiry into the causes of the war, and the conduct of those who had the management of it, he, for one, was ready to meet the trial, and to take his full share of responsibility for all its consequences.

A noble earl had stated it as inconsistent with the principles on which the war was undertaken, to treat with any other government in France than a monarchy. That the existence of a republic in France was an insufferable bar to negotiation, and that monarchy was indispensable, was a maxim which his majesty's ministers had every reason found it necessary to contradict. They had expressed, what they still believed, that the best issue to the contest would be, the re-establishment of monarchy in France, yet they had never pledged themselves, much less the parliament, to an opinion so wild and extravagant, as, that, without the attainment of this object, there was no hope or possibility of peace. It was for e-
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what strange, in the noble earl, to infer, from the opening of a negotiation, that the worst terms would be concluded. He saw nothing in the state of this country that should lead us to embrace any other than just, honourable, and safe, conditions of peace.

The earl of Abingdon spoke against the address, particularly against what referred to the two odious bills, passed in the last session of parliament. The people of England possessed rights which were not derived either from king, lords, or commons; and which neither king, lords, nor commons, could take away.

The earl Fitzwilliam said, that though he never had asserted that ministers made the restoration of monarchy in France, a *sine qua non* towards making peace, yet he thought, that, while they encouraged and engaged those, from whose efforts the restoration of monarchy was to be expected; this was, in fact, implied, as the wish, intention, and object, of the British councils.

Lord Grenville asserted, again, that ministry had never said that the formation of any government in France would preclude them from negotiating for peace, when an opportunity occurred that they thought would be favourable to the interests of this country.

The motion for the address then passed in the affirmative.

A protest against this vote was entered in the journals, by the earl Fitzwilliam; to which, as it breathes the genuine spirit first roused, and, perhaps, still actuated to a greater extent than was acknowledged by the British government, we have given a place among the State Papers in vol. xxxviii.

The address to his majesty was

moved, in the house of commons, by the lord viscount Morpeth. His lordship, after apologizing for his inexperience in public speaking, and expressing his hope that he should experience the indulgence of the house on the present occasion, said, that he considered it as incumbent on those, who had the honour of a seat in that house, to come forward, as soon as possible, to give their opinions on public affairs. He trusted that the sentiments avowed in his majesty's speech would tend to reconcile that variety and opposition of sentiment which had hitherto subsisted; for, whatever opinions might be entertained respecting the origin of the war, and the manner in which it had been conducted, it must give them satisfaction to concur in a motion that had for its object an honourable peace. Those who thought that this war was just and necessary in its commencement, and necessary in its continuance, and unavoidable in its continuance, must rejoice that the period is arrived in which there existed a French government of such stability and permanence that might be treated with safety. He hoped, at the same time, that we should not neglect to employ our resources in such manner as to shew, that; while we are desirous of peace, we are nevertheless in a condition to continue the contest. He proceeded to justify the speech from the throne in all its positions: the flourishing state of our trade and commerce, the valour of our fleets and armies, our dominion at sea, the bravery of our Austrian allies, the wise and heroic conduct of the archduke Charles, and our internal tranquillity. His lordship concluded his speech with a motion for an address

dress to his majesty, for his most gracious speech from the throne. The address corresponded, as usual, to the speech, which it intirely approved.

This motion was seconded by sir W. Lowther, who was unwilling to trespass on the time and attention of the house, by going over the same grounds that had been so ably discussed by lord Morpeth. He would only say a word or two on one point: the internal situation of this country. If the persons now exercising the powers of government in France were seriously inclined for peace, he was fully persuaded that it would be obtained. But no time, he observed, was more cordial than that period which had preceded the negociation. He begged the house to consider that nothing could impede the attainment of peace so much as their own internal dissensions; he trusted, therefore, that there would be none. He would no longer detain the house, but give his voice to second the motion for the address. This being read by the speaker,

Mr. Fox rose up, and said, that if he were to give a silent vote on the motion which had just been made, his conduct might be subject to misconstruction. "The striking feature of his majesty's speech, said Mr. Fox, is, that his majesty has at length been advised to do what it has fallen to my lot to advise his majesty's ministers to do repeatedly for the last three years; namely, to open a negociation for peace. Of that striking feature I most cordially and highly approve. I cannot forget how often I have advised this measure, nor how often, without success, I have pressed it upon ministers. But, however I may lament that the advice was not taken,

before a hundred millions of money was spent, and thousands of lives devoted to the cruel contest, yet, now that it has been followed, it must draw from me, my warmest approbation. He who thought that the war was originally unnecessary, and that every moment since its commencement was a proper moment for commencing a negociation for peace, cannot object to the measure which his majesty has announced, that he has been advised to take in the present moment.

I will not say one word about the particular and the fit time for such a measure, all times appearing to me to be equally wise and salutary for endeavouring to restore to the people the blessings of peace. Nor will I recollect, much less retalliate, the personal invectives that were thrown against myself; that an attempt to negotiate with such a people, was to lay his majesty's crown at their feet, and that it was a degradation of the honour and dignity of Great Britain, that to propose to open a negociation was in fact to sue for peace, and such conduct was neither dignified nor political. Such was the language of the last parliament, and such was the animadversion made on the advice which I then gave. I will content myself with repeating what I then said, that "to propose a negociation is not to sue for peace." It is at every moment dignified and proper to strive to restore the blessings of peace: and it is certainly one thing, to propose a negociation in which terms are to be fairly and manfully discussed; and another, to sue to your enemy for peace. He who objects to this distinction is not animated by that feeling which ought ever to be uppermost in the mind

mind of a statesman; an anxious desire of shortening the calamity of war, and of paving the way, by every practicable means, to that desirable end. He ought ever, therefore, to make it manifest in his conduct, that no career of conquest, and no reverse of fortune, can divert him from that single object—a negotiation for peace, in preference to any other object. I repeat, therefore, that I most perfectly and entirely approve of the present measure, and shall not now mix my assent to that part of the address with any observation on the tardy and protracted manner in which it has been at length resolved upon. And thus approving of the principal feature of the address, I am extremely unwilling to oppose any other part of it, and wish that it had been so worded as to have engaged the perfect unanimity of the whole house. There are some expressions, however, of which I must take notice, and I shall do so rather with the intention of explaining the vote which I shall give, than of moving any resolutions upon them. And first, in the very opening of the speech, there is an expression that his majesty has “used every endeavour to open a negotiation;” now, unless by these words, “every endeavour” it is meant to say that every endeavour has been used since the close of the last parliament, we ought not to agree to the expression; for undoubtedly ministers cannot expect that gentlemen who, like myself, objected so frequently to their refusal to exert any effort at all, should now acquiesce in any assertion, that they had used every endeavour to bring about a negotiation. Unless, therefore, it is meant to allude to the endeavours which his majesty has

made since the close of the last parliament, endeavours which I am ready to take upon trust, I desire that it may be clearly understood that I am not to be precluded, by my vote this night, from animadverting upon his majesty’s ministers, for their former want of endeavours to bring about a negotiation for peace. There is much that deserves praise in the construction of the present speech. Ministers have omitted the words to which they have been so biggoted heretofore, of the war having been undertaken for “the cause of religion, humanity, and social order,” words calculated only to inflame and to exasperate the two nations against each other, and to set the probability of peace at a greater distance; neither have they come forward with their constant and unfounded phrase, “that the war was necessary.” They have acted wisely in thus abstaining from intemperate language; for surely, at a time when they were about to negotiate for a peace, it would have been peculiarly ill-judged and unseasonable to have made use of language repulsive and bitter to the people with whom you had to treat; nor would it have been wise to introduce words calculated to prevent unanimity in this house, upon the course which his majesty has been slowly advised to pursue; for, about the necessity of the war, and all the jargon of epithets that have been applied to it, there must always continue to be fundamental difference of opinion.

There are other parts of the speech, which, perhaps, demand a little explanation, and which, if we pass over for the time, it is to be understood, that I am left at full liberty to inquire and to question the assertions hereafter. Such is the declaration

declaration of the flourishing state of our manufactures, trade, and commerce. I must take this upon trust; I cannot object to a fact, the proofs of which I have not before me. We shall soon have the means of knowing, upon better authority than mere assertion, the state of the country; and I trust it will turn out to be prosperous and flourishing. Our agreeing to the assertion, in the mean time, must not be construed to preclude us from inquiry, much less to involve our assent. When I hear, he said, that, by the flourishing state of our manufactures, trade, and commerce, our resources are ample and sufficient for the crisis in which we are involved, I must hesitate in giving credit to an assertion which is so little supported by the public appearance of things. I must think, when I look at the price of the general funds of the country, the state of the transferrable securities of government, the monstrous discounts on the enormous quantities of paper they have issued, together with the daily conferences, of which we hear, for relieving the pecuniary embarrassments of trade, I conclude that the state of our resources is less favourable than his majesty's ministers would make us believe." With that part of the address, which rejoices in the general tranquillity of the country, Mr. Fox heartily concurred; as tranquillity, he said, is always a desirable thing. But against the insinuation, that this tranquillity was owing to the two degrading, abominable, and abhorred acts, passed in the last session of last parliament, he entered his most solemn protest "No! said he, it is not in the nature of such laws to produce tranquillity. They may, indeed, produce a forced quiet;

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but this I consider as a real alarm. Where discussion is stifled, and men are condemned to brood in secret over the grievances which they feel; such a tranquillity is more alarming than tumult. It is a tranquillity which every man who loves freedom ought to see with pain, and every man who loves order to contemplate with terror. To the protection of the ancient constitution alone I ascribe that undisturbed tranquillity which the constitution has enjoyed. Let me then, sir, be clearly understood, that I do not join in this intimation of praise, on those abominable laws. Much as I wish for a general approbation of an endeavour to procure peace to this country, I should think it purchased at too dear a rate if coupled with the approbation of those abhorred laws. I am one who think that the whole system of the war has been a faulty system; that the system of domestic politics has been equally faulty; I must, therefore, be of opinion, that whatever the result of the negotiations may be, it will still be the duty of this house to reconsider the general system of politics adopted of late years, and whether it be possible to go on if that system be persevered in. Peace is certainly the great object; it is preferable to any single object of policy; but whether peace will be effectual, if there be no change in domestic politics, may be a matter of doubt. That peace, however, will be beneficial, whatever may be the system pursued, I am ready to assert. If the system continue to be a bad one, peace will diminish the calamities of it; if it be amended, peace will augment the benefits of it. At all events, peace must be desirable. In one case it will be a palliative; in the

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the other it will be a remedy; but in both cases it cannot but be productive of good, and, therefore, it shall have my warmest support. The noble lord, who moved the address with so much credit, as to justify the house in entertaining the most promising expectations of him, and the noble lord well knows that it must at all times afford me peculiar pleasure to hear him distinguish himself as he has done this evening:—The noble lord, I say, went a little farther than the speech; and, speaking of the proper period for negociation, said, that the present government of France, possessing stability, possessing security, was a proper government to negotiate with. If you treat with a power, you ought to speak with respect of that power. It is, therefore, that I approve of the noble lord's sentiments; for it must have struck him, as it must strike every sensible person, that if you mean to negotiate with the French government, you ought to speak with respect and civility of the executive directory. I wish that something more of this kind had been introduced in the speech and the address. I do not mean to say, it was necessary to state the stability and security of the present government of France; but after all the jealousies and personalities that have been entertained, I should have expected that his majesty would have told us to whom he was sending a person; and, if not to what government, at least to what country! I should have expected, that if in our differences with Holland, his majesty had sent a person on a mission to the Hague, he would have made mention of the states-general. I did expect, therefore, that he would, in this case, have told us, that he meant to

send a person to the executive directory of the French republic. I perceive gentlemen on the other side of the house laugh at this expression. Are the members of the executive directory so obscure in Europe, that if they had not been named, we should not have known to whom we had been sending a person? It is on this account that I thought the sentiment, expressed by the noble lord, respecting the present government of France, a proof of his good sense. I know it may be said, that men are apt to be tenacious of their own opinions; that I have carried the opinions, which I expressed in the American war, into this war; and that, as in the former instance, I supported the recognition of American independence, I have, in the latter, supported the recognition of the French republic. This may be the case; but I must contend, that it is agreeable to common sense, that when you enter into a negociation, there may be points which are not of a nature to be insisted upon by the power negotiated with, but which are calculated to conciliate esteem, or, if you will, to gratify the pride of such a power: that the executive directory are in such a situation, as to have their pride hurt by the omission of such points, I do not believe; but if I were negotiating with any gentleman, I should certainly take care not to do any thing that might seem to be a purposed omission, or a calling in question of any of the titles and dignities, by which such gentleman was distinguished. If these things were omitted in the speech, from mere inadvertency, I shall be extremely glad to find that there is no other cause. But they are material in another point of view. That the negociation may be successful,

ful, I sincerely hope; but, if unfortunately it should not be successful, much would have been gained by an attention to these things; they would have served to have convinced the people that the nature of the contest was changed, and that all ideas of restoring the old government of France, or of interfering in the internal affairs of France, had been abandoned. I am sure that this would have produced the greatest advantages, on the supposition that the war was to be prolonged: upon this subject, however, I do not mean to press any alteration in the address; because, if omitted by accident, I will not thwart the prosecution of the main object by my remark: they might refuse my amendment, though convinced of their own error, from an unwillingness to be so corrected, and this is not the moment in which I shall endeavour to throw any thing that may be construed into a check upon their conduct. It is my wish to leave them full powers; and therefore, I mention the circumstance without meaning to move any amendment in consequence of it. On the subject of the situation of this country, with respect to Spain, I shall say nothing; because his majesty has informed us, that he is not yet enabled to acquaint us with the issue of the discussions that have been entered into with that power. Ministers say that they have been forbearing: I hope it will be proved so. I hope too that the country will learn, by the severe lesson which the American war, and the present war, have afforded them, that moderation and forbearance are the most fitting characteristics of a great nation, and the most consistent with true magnanimity. I own I was

sanguine enough to suppose, that the American war had taught them experience—I was mistaken: a second lesson of adversity was necessary: a second lesson they have had, and I trust it will prove effectual. On the differences with Spain, I shall as I have before stated, say nothing: it is not now the period to look back; a retrospect must come, but not at present: yet the very apprehension of a war with Spain affords a proof of the short-sightedness of human wisdom. At the time when we entered into the war, Spain and Prussia were our firmest allies. Now, however, we are to expect, that if the war be continued, we are to have an enemy in Spain. Of Prussia I hear nothing; but I may at least suppose that we have no reason to expect any great assistance from that power. It has been said, that experience may be bought too dear: as we have paid so dear a price for it, let us at least have the benefit of it, and let us go to negotiation with moderation and forbearance. Of the terms of peace I purposely avoid saying any thing. I know the resources of the country to be still great; and, sure I am, that if the people are convinced, that the ambition of France renders it necessary to employ force, and to continue the war, those resources will be afforded with the utmost readiness. What are likely to be the terms of peace, I will not even conjecture: what hitherto has been done, can only be considered as an overture towards that desirable object; but I have no difficulty in saying, that we ought to negotiate in the spirit of great moderation. By the spirit of great moderation, I do not mean that we shall accept degrading terms; but I will not hesitate

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in saying, that I should be inclined to find less fault with terms that may be faulty on this side of moderation, than faulty from a contrary principle, and from too great haughtiness. With regard to the Austrian victories, which make a topic of animated exultation in his majesty's speech, it may certainly be right to rejoice in the gallantry they have displayed, and the laurels they have recently acquired. No man admires their great military exertions more than I do; but let it be recollected, that we are called upon to rejoice on their having recovered only a part of what was lost in this campaign, and it is not because they have reaped successes, calculated to obtain what ministers themselves originally stated the object of the war to be, but because they have saved the house of Austria from the utter destruction with which it was threatened. While we rejoice, I presume we can hardly flatter ourselves that the Austrians are likely to recover all that they have lost in the present campaign, much less what they have lost in all the campaigns that are past; and even this, sir, must furnish a new subject for reflection, which the achievements of our navy still farther strive to corroborate. The achievements of that navy have been brilliant and glorious: at no former period have they displayed greater gallantry, and never, perhaps, equal skill. No eulogiums can be too high for their merits. Yet, after all this, the character of the peace which we are desirous to obtain, and the utmost we can expect, is, that it shall be solid and of permanent duration. This, I believe, is as high a character as it is likely to deserve. Then, what must be the sort of conflict in which

we are engaged; in which, after a four years successful exertion of all the skill, and all the valour of our navy, in which they have invariably conquered and carried the flag of England triumphant to every quarter of the world; all our efforts cannot produce to us a peace either brilliant or glorious, but we must content ourselves with hoping for a peace that may be solid and permanent? Must we not own that there was something in the cause in which we are engaged radically defective, that palsies our efforts, and disappoints our strength? that there is something which demands from the common sense and the prudence of Englishmen, a strict and a rigorous investigation, that we may discover what this something is, not merely to retrieve the present calamity, but guard our offspring against the error in future? A day will come for such a question; and I give my assent to the present address, without moving any amendment upon the points of which I do not cordially approve, because, when the day of such a discussion does come, I shall have an opportunity to make the observations that I think it important for the house to entertain upon those points. No great distance of time shall elapse before I shall think it my duty to bring this matter before you; since I think it of the most essential importance to the well-being of the country, and to the true support and dignity of his majesty's crown, that an inquiry into all the causes which had brought the nation into the present condition, and produced the calamities of the present war, should be instituted, for the purpose of advising his majesty to make a fundamental change in the system upon which we have lately acted, both with regard

with regard to foreign and domestic policy. When this day shall come, and I shall move the house upon this great and constitutional subject, I should not like to be told that I have precluded myself from the discussion of these topics, and shut myself up from inquiring not merely into the causes, but the conduct of the war, as well as into the nature of our domestic misfortunes, by the assent which I had given to the address of this day. For this reason, sir, I have thought it necessary to say so much, and with this reserve for a future day of discussion, I do not oppose the address to his majesty upon his speech from the throne.

By this speech of Mr. Fox, which appeared to have made some impression on the house, the chancellor of the Exchequer,

Mr. Pitt, was called up to reply : but he confined his remarks chiefly to the only great and substantial question, on which the address expressed an opinion, and on which, it was matter of pride and satisfaction, that, at so critical a moment, there should be no difference of opinion in that house. The steps, indeed, which his majesty had taken for negociation, were in themselves so unexceptionable, and so well calculated for the end in view, that they must command assent and applause from every man, who retained the smallest regard for the interests and honour of his country. What had hitherto been done amounted only, as had been fairly stated by the hon. gentleman, to an overture for peace. This, however, held out a chance of peace, if the enemy were disposed to accede to it on just and honourable terms ; if not, we should unmask them in the eyes of Europe ; expose the

injustice of their policy, with their insatiable thirst for aggrandisement ; and, if no other advantage were gained, at least be able to put to the proof the sincerity of the pledge which had that day been given, that, if the enemy were not disposed to accede to peace, on just and reasonable terms, the war would be supported by the unanimous voice, and the collected force of the nation. If this unanimity were not founded merely on the pleasing sound of peace, but were the result of national reflection, founded on a careful consideration of the situation of the country, and prepared to meet every conjuncture, it could not be too highly prized. We ought not to lose sight of those means of exertion, which we yet possessed. We ought to compare our condition with that of the enemy ; and the amount of our acquisitions, with the losses of our allies ; and ought to estimate the extent of those sacrifices, which, under all these circumstances, it might be fitting for us to make, for the restoration of peace. The hon. gentleman had reprobated the two preventive laws that had been passed in the last parliament, and had refused to subscribe to any construction of that part of the speech, should include these, amongst the means which had secured tranquillity. He, on the contrary, was of opinion, that exclusively of the influence of these laws, the peace of the country could not have been maintained : nor could he suffer reproach to fall on the last parliament, who displayed their wisdom and energy in providing a remedy suited to the alarming crisis. If there should be any ambiguity in the address respecting them, it was, be-
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cause they were "so consistent with the spirit of the constitution, so blended with our system of jurisprudence, so congenial to the practice of former times, and so conformable to the letter of former acts, that it was impossible to make any discrimination. They had been passed in a moment of turbulence and alarm, and had been found admirably calculated to meet the emergency of the time. With regard to the assertion, that endeavours for procuring peace had been made only of late; an endeavour depended on a variety of circumstances, such as the relative state of parties, the number of allies with whom we might be engaged to act, the attention we paid to their interests, and the concert we wished to preserve with them: and this truth, he said, was abundantly sufficient to humble the triumph of the honourable gentleman, who had asserted, that we were at last come to the period which he had at first pointed out, and were only now adopting those measures, which, had we listened to him, might have been adopted long ago. Might not a period of four years have produced many events to justify a material change of policy, and to render measures wise and expedient now, which would not have been so at another time? As to the question of our resources, they furnished a subject of well grounded confidence. They had nothing in them hollow or delusive; they were the result of an accumulated capital, increasing capital, high and established credit; the fruits of fair exertion, laudable ingenuity, and successful industry. They had been produced under a system of order and justice, whilst we had been contending

against a country in every respect the reverse of the picture: whilst the violence of France had been over-running so great a portion of Europe, and carrying desolation in its progress, we had been enabled, by our naval exertions, to counterbalance their successes, by acquisitions in different parts of the globe, and to preface the way for the restoration of peace to our allies, on terms, which even their strength might have been insufficient to procure.

If, indeed, we cast our eyes over the geographical situation of the seat of the war, we should certainly be forced to admit, that the emperor had not regained, by his victories, all that he had lost; but did we count for nothing the destruction of those armies, by whom all previous successes of the enemy had been achieved? Did we count for nothing the glorious testimony which had been exhibited to mankind, that disciplined valour finally must triumph over those principles which the war was undertaken to oppose, and which owed all their extraordinary successes, to the violence in which they originated, and the excesses with which they were accompanied? A memorable warning had been afforded, by those foreign powers, who, in opposition to their true interests, had courted the alliance of that enemy, and expected to find security in disgraceful tranquillity: recent events had served also to exculpate those who had been calumniated, as desirous to embrace their principles and receive their laws; and in Germany they had left behind them nothing but the memory of wrongs, and the feelings of resentment. Germany had furnished a striking instance of fortitude and perseverance. He trusted,

truded, that these were virtues which our country had not to learn. England had never shown itself deficient in firmness and magnanimity; it was unrivalled in resource, it was foremost in exertion, and it had only to maintain its accustomed vigour to effect the restoration of general tranquillity, upon terms consistent with the dignity of the character, and the security and interest of Europe.

Mr. Fox said a few words in explanation, in which he complained that Mr. Pitt had misrepresented his argument, respecting the time for negociation. He did not argue, that, because it was right to negotiate now, it was right to negotiate at any former period, but, (and he had not altered his opinion from any thing he had heard) that if it were prudent and wise to send an ambassador to Paris now, when the French had carried their arms into the heart of Germany, it would not have been dastardly and pusillanimous to have adopted that measure, when they had not one foot of that territory. He said, that he still retained his opinion respecting the new laws; and when he voted for the address, he did not include them in his construction of that part of it, in which, mention is made of the wisdom and energy of the laws, against the two odious and degrading acts, he considered himself bound, by every tie of interest and duty, as an Englishman, and as a representative of the people, on every occasion, loudly to remonstrate: they had a direct tendency to change the genius of the nation, as well as the spirit and even form of government. If there was cause to be uneasy about the threatened evil, we had reason

to tremble at the operation of the remedy. In all innovations, the remote and unforeseen consequences are, usually, of more importance than the immediate effects. Could those consequences be foreseen, they would, in many cases, be immediately resisted. By the time they are perceived, custom and habit have rendered them less odious and intolerable. Authority rises into absolute dominion by slow degrees: by encroachments, each of which, singly considered, seemed to be of little importance: the vanity of resistance at last breaks the spirit of the people, and disposes them to unreserved submission: the political importance of the people being wholly gone, they are degraded more and more, and subjected to greater and greater oppression and insult. But, when the tendency and bent of national opinions and manners is once formed, it is easy for government to give it impetus and direction. Tyranny of government is not to be exercised without degradation of the people. These two principles mutually promote the growth and strength of each other: just as in certain diseases, the derangement of the body produces debility of mind, and the debility, thus induced, increases the bodily disorder from whence it sprung.

The question, on the address, being put, was carried unanimously.

On the eighteenth of October, the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, to take into their consideration, that clause of his majesty's speech, which alluded to the intention manifested by the enemy to attempt a descent of these kingdoms, the clause being read, the chancellor of the exchequer, after some prefatory matter, which it

could not serve any purpose to record, said, that the natural defence of this kingdom, was its naval force, now more formidable than at any other period in the history of the country. Yet it was capable of considerable increase, could an additional increase of seamen be procured, or even of landmen: for this purpose he suggested a levy upon the different parishes throughout the kingdom: an expedient similar to that which had been practised, with so much success, about two years before. He therefore, proposed, in the first place, a levy of fifteen thousand men, from the different parishes, for the sea service, and another for recruiting the regular regiments. In digesting this plan, he said, there were two things principally to be considered: first the means of calling together a land force sufficient of itself to repel an invasion, even independently of a naval force: and, secondly, to adopt such measures, in raising this force, as should not materially interfere with the agriculture, commerce, and general industry, of this kingdom. The primary object was to raise and gradually train, such a force as might, in a short time be fit for service. For this purpose, he proposed a supplementary levy of militia, to be grafted on the old establishment, to the number of sixty thousand men; not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and gradually trained, so as to be fit for service at a moment of danger. As to the manner in which the troops were to be furnished, he thought that it should be, generally, from all parts of the kingdom: and that an obligation should be imposed on those who should be allotted either to serve

in person, or to find a substitute. He also proposed to provide a considerable force of irregular cavalry; the regular cavalry, on the establishment, was by no means inconsiderable; and the yeomanry cavalry, from their number, sufficiently respectable, had proved themselves to be highly useful in securing the quiet, and the internal tranquillity of the country. The farther this species of force was extended, the more good was likely to accrue from it. He estimated the amount of the irregular cavalry, by the number of horses kept for pleasure, throughout the kingdom; which, from the produce of the horse-tax, in England, Scotland, and Wales, appeared to be about two hundred thousand. He, therefore, proposed that every person who kept ten horses, should be obliged to provide one horse and one horseman, man to serve in a corps of militia: that those who kept more than ten should provide in the same proportion: and that those who kept fewer than ten, should form themselves into classes, in which it should be decided by ballot, who, at the common expence, should provide the horse and the horseman. These troops were to be provided with an uniform and accoutrements, formed into corps, and put under proper officers. The next class of men, which the minister regarded as proper subjects for defending the country, in case of invasion, was the game-keepers. He therefore, proposed, that those persons who had taken out licences to shoot game, or deputations for game-keepers should, within a certain period, be at liberty to return the same if they thought proper; but after that period, if they should continue

lose their licences, or deputations for game-keepers, then they should be obliged to find substitutes. He observed that gentlemen might smile at the idea of raising a force by such means, but that smile would be converted into surprize, when they heard that the number of persons, who had taken out those licences, were seven thousand. The whole number of cavalry which he proposed to raise, by the means he had mentioned, was twenty thousand.

"Thus," said the chancellor of the exchequer, "have I pointed out the means by which I propose to raise fifteen thousand men, to be divided between the land and the sea service; to raise a supplemental levy of sixty thousand for the militia, and twenty thousand for the cavalry." He concluded with moving, "That a bill be brought in for raising a certain number of men in the several counties of Great Britain, for the service of his majesty."

Mr. Sheridan expected that the minister would have accompanied his statement of defensive operations with some explanation of the reasons, why it was necessary to take any such measures at all? There was something extremely peculiar, he observed, in the mode of announcing the attempt apprehended in his majesty's, that is, the ministers, speech, on which this gentleman himself had bestowed such abundant praise. The words, "manifested the intention," were vague and indefinite. I am afraid, said Mr. Sheridan, that the resolutions, now proposed, are calculated rather to invite than to prevent an invasion; that they tend to frighten this country, but not to frighten France. They proclaim to the enemy, that,

till the new force, which it is proposed to collect and to train, is brought into action, we are not in a proper state of defence, and thus point out the intermediate time, as the proper period for making a successful attempt. Mr. Sheridan did not mean to oppose the resolutions; he wished only to have some farther explanation, and to be informed, whether the real object of all our military preparations was not the extension of our colonial possessions in the West Indies?

Mr. Dundas said, whether the preparations that have been made will end in a descent on this country, or no, it is impossible to decide. There are appearances of a disposition to make an attempt, which is sufficient to justify ministers for wishing to put the state in a posture of defence. In his opinion, it depended upon the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in regulating or adopting the precautions proposed, whether the projected invasion should, or should not, be carried into execution. If, Mr. Dundas added, the present negotiation should be unsuccessful, this country should not be tied up from offensive operation: for, in the event of prosecuting the war, our defence at home may depend upon the ability we possess to attack the enemy abroad. I think it, therefore, of essential importance to augment our regular force, for the defence of these kingdoms, and, if necessary, to carry on the military operations, as circumstances may dictate, against an enemy that has evinced a disposition to destroy our commerce, and disturb our internal tranquillity.

Mr. Fox, though he did not consider it to be the duty of any man to make any opposition to the measure

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sure now proposed, in the present stage of the business, took the present occasion to make various animadversions on different parts of the plan, as well as on its general spirit and tendency, and the conduct of the minister in this and other points of the last importance, in which he had flagrantly deviated from the principles of our constitutional policy. Concerning the observation, that, if we should be under the necessity of going on with the war, our military preparations might be very beneficial to us in many respects, he said, "I object to the generality of this mode of speaking, because it conveys to us no specific information, and is likely, from being just in the abstract, to entrap some into an approbation of measures of dangerous consequence. It is not, said he, by the authority of ministers, but by the striking exigency of a particular moment, that parliament are justified in adopting particular and extraordinary measures. The honourable secretary of state says, 'it is good to be prepared;' so it is. But when he comes to us, and makes this requisition, it is incumbent on him to shew us the reason why he should be thus prepared. He should lay before us the ground on which he calls for that requisition. How stood the case in former periods of this war? In 1794, there was as much reason for such a measure as there is now; there was then as much of a rumour of an invasion as there is now; and so the ministers told us at that time. The house, upon the ministers assertions, agreed to measures of an unconstitutional nature, to avert, as it was supposed, the impending danger. Such measures, although unconstitutional, were then thought to

be necessary; and they were thought also to be sufficient to keep them from attempting the desperate measure of an invasion. Are they now more likely to make the desperate attempt than they were or, are we not now in a better position than we were then? I receive that ministers themselves answer these questions in a manner very consolatory to the people of the country. Such was our situation in 1794. What is it now, and the difference between the two situations? Ministers now tell us that an intention has been manifested, on the part of the enemy, to invade these kingdoms. I am much accustomed to the artifice of ministers to receive any very strong impression from what they say, but they do not say formerly, what they now say, that the enemy had formed intentions of invading this country. Certainly they did, and they were intrusted with force sufficient to prevent that calamity. It is true, that greater danger at present exists than at any former period, yet additional arguments are necessary to prove this. I says the right honourable gentleman who spoke last, 'I am of opinion that, as it may be necessary for this country to carry on an offensive war, this measure may be of great advantage, inasmuch as we thereby be the better able to employ ourselves of our forces.' To me as a general proposition, I do not object: it is true. But then, to ministers, 'bring before me facts on which you say this measure is necessary. What I object to is your duplicity. If you really think this force, and to the extent you say you do, shew me the real danger, and I will grant it chea

ant, is, that you state to
 salons. You did so when
 ed for the augmentation of
 , and you had it; but do
 any thing to carry on the
 ad, under the mask of de-
 us at home; for, in that
 on are asking, under a false
 hat, under a real one, the
 of this country would not
 o you; for, I know, they
 nt to you to prevent an in-
 at home what they would
 with indignation, if asked to
 n the war abroad.' But, sir,
 s we are to have the respon-
 of ministers for the due ap-
 n of the grant which they
 ll for. Look at the extent
 ch the principle of voting
 traordinary measures as this,
 ne idea of responsibility, may
 ou. By it you will introduce
 lice that must deprive the
 of all their rights, and all
 roperty: if it should turn out
 (extravagant hypothesis) that
 story about an invasion is a
 pretence to gain the consent
 people to the measure now
 ed, and that the real object is
 xely different: what then will
 e of the boasted responsibility
 isters? how are we to make
 resposible? We may say, and
 uly, that, 'the event has
 l there was no danger of an
 m when this measure was
 d.' To which the ministers
 nswer, and be assured they
 True, there was no invasion,
 m it was owing to the very
 es which we proposed, and
 opted, that the invasion was
 ted.' How, then, are we to
 inisters responsible for what
 under such a measure as
 The idea of responsibility,

in such a case, is perfectly ridiculous.
 Why, sir, at this rate, you may go
 on, and do every thing that the
 minister may ask you, until you
 have totally destroyed the constitu-
 tion; the principles have already
 been too much invaded by the
 measures of the present ministers.
 There are some inconveniences that
 necessarily arise out of a free con-
 stitution. I know that many au-
 thors, of great eminence, have
 pointed out those inconveniences.
 I do not deny it, although I have
 never seen them in so strong a
 light as the authors I allude to say
 they did; but the advantages re-
 sulting from a free constitution are
 so great, so numerous, and, to me,
 so clear, that I cannot patiently
 argue upon them, when they are
 put in a scale against the supposed
 advantages of a contrary form. Be
 that as it may, in the opinion of
 others, I say, you cannot argue
 that subject in this house; for the
 people of this country have made
 their election: they have chosen
 a free government, and it is your
 duty to preserve it, with all its in-
 conveniences, if there be any that
 are worth mentioning. If, there-
 fore, when ministers pretend an
 alarm, you are to give them what-
 ever power they may ask for, when
 it is impossible you can attach any
 responsibility to them, as I have
 proved already in this case you can-
 not, why then, you desert the point
 on which the people of the country
 have already made their election;
 and, instead of the blessings which
 your ancestors intended for you,
 you take what may appear to you,
 but what never appeared to me,
 the advantages of despotism. This
 would be a fraud upon the people
 of this country. I know the elo-
 quence

quence that has often been employed to shew, or attempting to shew, by a flourishing antithesis, that we possess all the advantages of a free government, and those of a despotic monarchy, by possessing the wisdom which arises from a free discussion of the representatives of the people, and the promptitude and dispatch of an unlimited monarchy. Such an antithesis may answer the purpose of an ingenious orator, and aid him in the course of a florid declamation; but it can avail but little to any man who wishes for the safety of our constitution. I am of opinion, that our constitution, in its true spirit, cannot mix with any thing despotic. Have recourse to experience, the only unerring guide; read the history of this country, and then shew me, out of what page it is that you have discovered how, and when it was, that the maxims of a free government have been united with the principles of despotism. I know it cannot be done: I know, also, that if you attend to history, and take it as a lesson, you will return to your ancient distrust and jealousy of ministers, whoever they may be, and that you will examine minutely into their conduct: reflect on the consequences of the contrary practice, you see now before you the effect of it. Confidence in the first instance renders confidence necessary in the second. Confidence, in ministers, induces them to take measures which they cannot continue without farther confidence; they are obliged to call for it in their own defence: in that career you may proceed until you have confided away the whole spirit of our constitution. I am afraid you have advanced in

that career much too far already. In my opinion, the spirit of the constitution has been almost entirely set at rest, for a time, by the measures of the last parliament: let it be the practice, for it is the duty, of the present to revive it.

We are told, that the military force, which is now proposed to be raised, is only to act in case of emergency; what is that to be? what are the circumstances in which it may be supposed to exist? when the French shall land upon our coast? No such thing: I know that such a restriction cannot and ought not to be imposed on executive government; because, you should repel the danger when you are threatened by it. The case of emergency, then, will amount to this, that, whenever ministers shall think fit to allege there is danger, the whole of this military power, to be intrusted to them for the internal defence of this country, will be subjected to military law, and intirely at their disposal. What security have we, that no abuse will take place, respecting the application of this enormous force? I do not know what ministers may have respecting the intention of the French to attempt an invasion of this country. I believe, the French have no such intention, for they have a government which is likely to be much better informed of the disposition of the people, and the situation of this country, than to be led to any hopes of success in such an attempt; therefore, I believe, they will not be guilty of the weakness to make it. If they should harbour such desperate intentions, I have no doubt of the issue. My hopes and confidence on that subject are as sanguine as those of any other

other man in this country. But what should we do in the mean time? what is the duty of the house at this moment? to cherish the spirit of freedom in the people of this country: not to repose a blind and unlimited confidence in the servants of the crown; but to be watchful and jealous of the exercise of their power. Restore to them the right of popular discussion; repeal those laws which have forbidden the exercise of their most invaluable rights; in one word, instead of amusing them with panegyrics upon the form, allow them to possess the spirit, of the old constitution of England: then will you, indeed, see the energy of the people of England, and then you will have no occasion for adding to your internal military force; for, then, even an invasion would never be formidable. These are your real resources; the rest are all imaginary. I shall give no opposition to the plan that is now before you, in its present stage; but, I think it fair to say, some of the parts of it are such, as, in the detail, I shall think it my duty to oppose."

That part of the plan, which referred to the game-keepers, appeared to Mr. Fox to be a measure of violent injustice; nor could he conceive any danger to which this country, under all circumstances, could be exposed, that would make him ready to assent to a measure that had for its object the impressing of the subjects of this country into the land-service. The circumstance of impressing men, even into the naval service, he said, great and valuable as it is, would not be the part which a judicious friend to it would select for the subject of his panegyric.

Mr. Pitt regarded the declaration with which Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox prefaced, and concluded their animadversions, that they did not mean to oppose the resolutions which he had the honour to propose, as a sufficient answer to the arguments by which it was accompanied. If the right honourable gentleman, who spoke last, thinks that the declarations of ministers, upon the subject of the present deliberations, are not sufficient to justify the measures which are to be grounded upon them, if he is persuaded that there exists no danger of the invasion against which it is intended to provide; if he is convinced that the preparations to be made are destined to carry on other warlike operations than the plan avows, or are employed as pretexts to cover designs of encroachment or ambition at home: how can he reconcile these sentiments with the conduct he is to pursue? or, as a public man, on what public ground can he rest that assent, which he has given to the measures which have been suggested? But while the right honourable gentleman indulged in his animadversions, he knew well that the measures were demanded, by the country, as measures of self-defence, from which he could not withhold his concurrence. As to the pressing of men for the public service, the mode proposed of increasing the militia, Mr. Pitt observed, was not new in its principle. They were to be balloted for in the same manner as the established militia of the country: if the right honourable gentleman reprobates this mode of increasing our military force, what was the language he held on another occasion, and when another mode

was

was pursued? In 1794, when voluntary offers of service were introduced, for the defence of the country, this mode was represented as repugnant to the constitution. And now, when men are called on to contribute their property, and personal service to the defence of their country, it is discovered to be unjust and stigmatized as requisition. He admits the necessity of precaution, and yet reprobated every preventive measure that was proposed: and, while he agreed that it is necessary to provide for the defence of the state, he is dissatisfied with the means by which security is to be obtained.

Mr. Fox, in reply to Mr. Pitt's argument, in proof of the inconsistency between his declarations and his conduct, observed, that though he did not oppose his vote to the present resolution, he did not give his unqualified assent to the measures proposed. This was by no means the stage in which members were called on, (and this was remarked even by Mr. Pitt himself, this very night, when he proposed his resolutions) to give their sentiments fully on the questions before them.

Sir William Pultney did not expect that any difference of opinion would have arisen on the present question; a question, in his mind, that embraced so many salutary objects. He had only one objection to it, and that was, its being a half measure; it ought to be extended to the full point; and on that ground he should meet the wishes of the minister with double pleasure. He should not apply to ministers

for any additional information on the subject. It was evident that the French had an invasion of this country in view, and it therefore became the executive government to make every proper and necessary preparation.

As this force was to be commanded by country gentlemen, it could not be called an increase of the power of the crown: on the contrary, he should consider it to be an increase of the power of the country against the crown. We should not wait until an invasion was actually to take place. Must not time be given for men to be prepared and disciplined? or, were they to march against an invading enemy, without the means of defence, or ignorant of the uses of those arms they might chance to have about them?

The resolutions proposed by Mr. Pitt, respecting the augmentation of our militia and naval force were agreed to, and being thrown into the form of bills, were, after various objections and answers, and not a few alterations, amendments, and explanations, passed into laws, in the month of December. Early in June, a bill was brought into the house of commons, by the secretary of state, Mr. Dundas, for raising and embodying a militia in Scotland. As to the game-keepers bill, which formed at first a part of the cavalry-bill, strong objections having been made by Mr. Sheridan, and others, to its unconstitutional principles and dangerous tendency, it was, on the second of December, withdrawn, on the second reading.

CHAP. IX.

Public Expenditure and Income.—Army and Navy, and other Estimates.—Supplies, with Ways and Means.—New Taxes.—Debates on these subjects.—Particularly on Sums sent, and proposed to be sent to the Emperor.—Portion given with the Princess Royal.—Relief to the Subscribers to the Loyalty Loan.—Navy and Exchequer Bills Funded.—India Budget.

THE ancient historians of the two principal nations of antiquity, at least of those with whom we are at all tolerably acquainted, so charming and instructive, by their attention to whatever is fitted to engage attention, and interest the human heart, have generally left us in the dark about the annual supplies. Their heroes, indeed, performed great exploits; but of the ways and means by which they raised, embodied, and supported their armies, we do not find in their works any regular or satisfactory account: so that the leaders of ancient expedition, have the appearance, in our imagination, of sallying forth without scrip or purse, like the adventurers in the ancient romances.

The progress of society; the extended theatres, and multiplied objects of war, with new methods of preparing, combining, and applying force, have rendered military operations at sea and land so complicated and expensive, that the intelligent reader of modern times is not more curious to know the fortune, and fate of armies, and navies, when raised, than to be acquainted with the pecuniary

resources, by which they are supported: in a delineation, therefore, of great affairs, the passions and views of sovereign princes, the movements of armies, and the revolutions of states and kingdoms, it becomes indispensibly necessary for the modern historian, or annalist, to give some account of revenue, finance, and commerce: a subject, however, into which we shall not enter more than is absolutely necessary. We shall confine ourselves to general results, it being impossible to infuse any degree of interest into minute arithmetical details, or to render them to most men other than tedious, dry, and disgusting.

The house of commons, having on the twentieth of October, 1796, resolved itself into a committee of supply, the secretary-at-war moved that the estimates, presented on a former day, should now be taken into consideration. Though the whole of the estimates, on account of official delays, were not yet ready for inspection, that portion of them, which he held in his hand, would afford every information, in point of fact, that could come before them.

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The estimates on the table contained details of the most material arrangements of the current year, and would be found, every way, explicit on the subject of the expen-
diture.

The whole force of this country, consisting of the common distribution of guards and garrisons, and colonies, and plantations, amounted to one hundred and ninety-five thousand six hundred and seventy-four men, the expence of which would amount to 5,190,000*l*. The home army contained all the troops which might be considered as serving for the defence of the country; guards, regulars of every description, and fencibles. The army, at home, amounted to sixty thousand seven hundred and sixty-five men. The army, abroad, comprehending the troops in the West Indies, Corsica, Gibraltar, Canada, Nova Scotia, and every foreign service, except those in the East Indies, which fell under a separate description, amounted to sixty-four thousand two hundred and seventy-six men. The army, abroad, was composed entirely of regulars; the army, at home, of regulars, invalids, militia, and fencibles. Mr. Wyndham concluded his statements with moving for the land-service of this year, one hundred and ninety-five thousand men.

General Tarleton expected that the honourable secretary would have gone more into detail. The general, after animadverting on sundry expences, which he held to be unnecessary, adverted to a fact which was of the utmost importance, and well deserving the consideration of the house of commons, especially of a new parliament. Last year the

expence of the army amounted to the full revenue of this country, the year previous to the war. His majesty's speech, however, had directed their attention to the achievements that had been performed by our troops in different parts of the world. He did not think, however, that there was much room for boasting. The armament, which had been equipped for expeditions to the West Indies, had been attended with enormous expence. What was the reason that the full advantage, which it might have been expected to produce, had not been obtained? Had the fleet sailed too late in the season, or did the fault lie at the door of the ministers? Whether we looked at the general state of the West Indies, or at particular islands, there was not much room for satisfaction or exultation. The Caribs, in St. Vincent's were still in a state of insurrection. The troubles in Gaudaloupe, and various other islands, still interrupted, and destroyed, the industry of the inhabitants. Victor Hughes had not been dislodged, nor his operations disconcerted. In St. Domingo the melancholy ravages which had been made, by disease, afforded no satisfaction in the review. Was the attempt to reduce this island to be prosecuted at the expence of the lives of so many gallant and brave men? Almost every person in that house, and in the country, had to lament the loss of their friends, brought to an untimely end by the mortality which swept every thing before it. If we considered the extent of the armament, there was something surely faulty in the plan, or why was there so little obtained for so much expence, and so many sacrifices?

Mr.

Mr. Hailey desired to be informed what was the number of effective men among the one hundred and ninety-five thousand contained in the secretary at wars statement.

The secretary replied that he was not prepared to give any answer to the question.

Mr. Fox said he had heard it alleged that the engagement, made on the part of this country, with the Maroons, had not been faithfully adhered to. He understood this to be the declared opinion of an officer, of whose military talents, and private worth, though not personally acquainted with him, he entertained the highest opinion. He alluded to colonel Walpole.

Mr. Bryan Edwards, not having had the honour of a seat in that house, until the present parliament, made an apology for calling the attention of the house to any observations of his. But being perfectly acquainted with the subject to which the right honourable gentleman alluded, he begged the indulgence of the house, while he stated a brief history of the Maroon negroes; the cause of the late war between those people and the inhabitants of Jamaica; and the conduct of the colonial assembly in the termination of the business. The Maroon negroes, Mr. Edwards said, agreeably to what has already been stated, in the volume of this work for 1795, are the descendents of the Spanish negroes, who, when the island of Jamaica surrendered to the English, in 1655, betook themselves to the woods. They were left in possession of the interior country, and continued masters of the country for near a century, murdering, without mercy, all such white persons as

attempted to make any settlements near them, not sparing even the women and children. In the year 1760, Mr. Edwards became acquainted with these people: when he soon observed, that they were suspicious as allies, and would, some time or other, become very formidable enemies. Yet it was not true, as stated in that house, that the inhabitants of Jamaica wanted to get rid of them. The inhabitants, in general, had conceived the highest opinion of their utility, and treated them with the utmost kindness. They never asked a favour of government, or of the assembly, that was refused them. The immediate cause of the late war with the Maroons, Mr. Edwards stated to be this. "Two of the Maroons, having been found guilty of felony, in the town of Montego-Bay, by stealing from a poor man two of his pigs, were tried according to law, and according to the very letter of the treaty, and sentenced to receive a few lashes at a cart's tail. The sentence was mild, and the punishment not severe: but the whole body of the Trelawney town Maroons, in revenge for the indignity offered to two of their number, immediately took up arms, and soon afterwards actually proceeded to set fire to the plantations. Sir, I shall not take up the time of the house with a long detail of military operations. The gallant officer, whom the right honourable gentleman who spoke last named, had undoubtedly the merit, under the judicious orders of the earl of Balcarras, of putting an end to the most unnatural and unprovoked rebellion: and if the two distinguished persons differed in opinion, concerning the terms on which the Maroons surrendered,

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it is much to be lamented. They both deserved equally well of the community of Jamaica and the British empire at large. Such, however, I am sorry to say, was the fact, and therefore the governor, very properly, left the whole to the determination of the assembly. Sir, the first conditions on which the Maroons were to surrender, were these; 1st. that they should, on a day appointed, give up their arms, and surrender all the fugitive enslaved negroes who had joined them. 2d. That they should ask the king's pardon on their knees. On these terms their lives were to be spared, and permission granted them to remain in the country. Now, sir, it is a fact, not to be denied, that they did not surrender on the day fixed; and that they did not, then or on any day afterwards, give up the fugitive negroes. I do not believe that colonel Walpole avers that they did. Colonel Walpole, sir, who is not less distinguished for his humanity than his bravery, thinks, I believe, that it would have been generous in the assembly to have imputed their not surrendering in time to their ignorance, rather than to any wilful delay, and politic to have let them remain in the country; but I do not conceive that he charges, either the earl of Balcarras or the assembly with treachery. The assembly, however, thought differently from colonel Walpole, and that men who had violated their allegiance, and entered into a bloody and cruel war, without provocation, were unfit to remain in the island; yet, in the disposal of these people they manifested a degree of generosity and tenderness, which is without example. Sir, after providing with fit and proper clothing for a change of cli-

mate, the assembly sent them to America, and appointed three gentlemen to accompany them thither, with a sum of 25,000*l.* to purchase lands for their future settlement, and for their maintenance for the first year, after which it is hoped the example of the white people, with whom they are settled, and being removed from the former wild and savage way of life, they may become an useful body of yeomanry. I will add only one word more. Sir, there is now a gentleman in this town, who conversed with the Maroons the night before they sailed, and who assures me that they expressed themselves well satisfied with the conduct of the assembly towards them; and declared, that having conversed with some American negroes, concerning the country to which they were going, they said they were content to go. I hope, therefore, we shall hear no more of the business.

Mr. Wilberforce observed that the Maroons had been for one hundred and forty years on the island of Jamaica, and he conceived that, if not fit subjects of lenity, they were yet fit subjects of instruction. They had been British subjects. But he was yet to learn, whether any steps had been taken to instruct them, or to bring them to a true knowledge of the blessings of Christianity. He did not stand up as the advocate of the conduct of the Maroons, but he thought the necessary means had not been taken to make them acquainted with habits of virtue.

Mr. Edwards, in reply, said, when he took the liberty of answering the charge of the right honourable member over the way, (alluding to Mr. Fox) respecting the faith of the country having been broken; he did so, be-

cause

cause he knew the assertion was not true. Colonel Walpole could not say it had been broke; although he disapproved of the measures against the Maroons. He did not expect, after he had answered one observation, to have another started. Now the planters are accused of not instructing the Maroons in religion, and initiating them in the habits of civilized life. When objections were started, upon speculative grounds, there was no end of them. Were he called upon to deliver his own private opinion upon the subject, he would perhaps disapprove of the mode of confining the Maroons to separate communities; but situated as they were in this respect, they spoke a language of their own; and of course, being unacquainted with the language of the island, they were not capable of benefitting from the common means of instruction, a circumstance which, of itself, was a sufficient reply to the objection of the honourable gentleman. Their language was a mixture of the Spanish and another language, which made it impossible to teach them the principles of religion. He thought whoever took it in hand would have hard work to make Christians of them. They were so addicted to polygamy, that it would require the utmost exertion of human ingenuity to confine them to one woman. He was contented with one woman, but he was sure no Maroon was. With regard to instructing them, by sending clergymen among them, he believed such an attempt would be impossible, for he did not know any clergyman that would much like to go. To his certain knowledge, the Maroons were cannibals. He was sure, if a clergyman was to be sent to them, in-

stead of listening to his doctrines, they would eat him up. He believed that, under all these circumstances, the honourable gentleman would have some difficulty to make them converts; but there was no mode of proselytism which he (Mr. Wilberforce) could suggest, that would strike him with surprize, after having once heard him propose, on the moment that a ship arrives from Africa, to send a clergyman, with a pail of water, to baptize all her cargo, without ever previously attempting to instil into their minds the principles of religion, or to inform them respecting the nature and end of the ceremony.

Mr. Fox was extremely glad that he had said the few words that he did on the late transactions with the Maroons, as it had given rise to the explanation of the honourable gentleman (Mr. Edwards) which was perfectly satisfactory.

After this interesting digression, various resolutions, moved by the secretary at war, for defraying a variety of expences for the public service, were unanimously agreed to.

In a committee of supply, on the 2d of December, the secretary of war observed, that the estimates of expences, on the table, that remained to be voted were so much matter of course, and so little different from those of last year, that he did not conceive it to be necessary for him to say more than to move the different resolutions founded upon them. These resolutions were then moved and agreed to accordingly.

On the 7th of December, the chancellor of the exchequer produced his annual estimate of the public revenue and expenditure, with a demand of supplies, or what is barbarously called,

ed, his bag or budget. The sum total of the supply required for the year 1797, digested under the heads of the army, the navy, miscellaneous services,* diminution of the national debt, ordnance, and deficiency of taxes, amounted to 27,647,000*l*. The ways and means, proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, for raising this supply, amounted to 27,945,000: so that there was an excess of ways and means, over the

amount of the supply, of 298,000*l*. new taxes were to be laid raising the interest of former debt to be liquidated, and sums borrowed or anticipated† to amount of 2,110,000*l*. The interest on the loan was calculated 6*l*. 15*s*. per cent.

The new taxes for raising the interest on public expences, contracted or to be contracted, being stated Mr. Pitt said, that there were

* Under the head of miscellaneous services were comprehended, besides the various sums usually voted for such services, the sums given for the provision of the emigrants, French priests, amounting to *l*. 378
 For the diminution of the national debt 200
 Ordnance 1,623
 Defraying of land and malt taxes 350
 Deficiency of other taxes, after deducting the surplus of grants for 1796, which amounted to 420,000*l*. } 1,023
 A vote of credit, which he intended to move for, and which he should afterwards explain } 3,000

† The ways and means proposed, were,
 Land and malt-tax 2,750
 Produce of the consolidated fund 1,075
 Surplus of grants of 1796 420
 Surplus of the lottery, after deducting the sum due upon it to the loyalists 200
 A voluntary loan 18,000
 Exchequer-bills to be issued 5,000
 Total of ways and means 27,945
 Total of supplies demanded 27
 Surplus of ways and means 298

‡ For the interest of 13,000,000*l*. of loan 1,215
 For interest on 5,000,000*l*. of exchequer-bills 275
 For interest on excess of navy debt, beyond the estimate of 1796, being 3,250,000*l*. } 315
 For interest of future excess of navy debt, calculated at 5,702,000*l*. 277
 Substitute for abandoning the collateral bill 140
 2,222

From this was to be deducted the interest to the subscription to the loan of 200,000*l*. by the East-India company, therefore the sum of taxes to be provided for would be 2,110,000*l*.

§ The new taxes were as follow.

EXCISE.		£.
Ten per cent. on teas	-	240,
Ten per cent. on coffee	-	30,
Additional duty on sales by auction, 2½ in the pound on estates, and 3d. on goods	}	40,

fused over to many articles, that they would operate with equality, and yet not bear hard on the poor. By the production of the taxes it might be inferred, that the war had not materially injured the sources of our prosperity. Having explained the grounds of his estimates, as nearly as he could, both of the requisite supplies and the means of receiving them, he took notice of an expence of a particular nature that had occurred in the interval of parliament: an aid granted to the emperor. A sum of about 12,000*l.* he believed, had been allotted to that prince. To have withheld this assistance would have been to sacrifice the best hope of this country of bringing the present contest to a fortunate issue. It was his intention, if this conduct should meet their

approbation, to claim and solicit their confidence, in continuing the same system. He could not, for obvious reasons, propose any specific sum to be granted to his Imperial majesty. But if they should think proper to repose the same confidence in ministers, in granting such occasional aid as they might see to be necessary, it should, on their part, be exercised with the same caution. He therefore proposed a vote of three millions, chiefly with a view of enabling ministers to make advances to our allies, if we should be compelled to persevere in the war.

The resolutions, for raising the supplies, with the ways and means, being moved by Mr. Pitt,

Mr. Grey impugned his statements as false and erroneous, and his demands as unsuitable to the

	Brought over	£.
On bricks, 1 <i>s.</i> per thousand	-	310.000
Spirits, 1 <i>d.</i> per gallon	-	36.000
Licences on Scots distillery	-	210.000
	-	300.000
	Total excise	856.000

CUSTOMS.

Sugar, 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per cwt.	-	220.000
Pepper	-	10.000
Ten per cent. on brimstone, iron, oil olive, and staves	-	43.000
Five per cent. on all other customs; prize goods, coals, and wine excepted	-	110.000
Other articles on import, such as starch, bricks, &c.	-	23.000
	Total of customs	406.000

Additional to the assessed taxes and new house-tax, 10 per cent.	-	200.000
Regulation of stamps	-	30.000
Additional postage and regulation of the post-office	-	250.000
Stage coaches, additional	-	60.000
Stamps on parcels (given up afterwards)	-	60.000
Canal navigation	-	120.000

	Total amount of new taxes	2,112.000
Amount of the annuity or interest to be raised	-	2,110.000
	Excess of taxes	22.000

situation, and unnecessary to the true interests of this country. He hoped that, if the house retained any regard for the functions with which they were invested, and that economy which the situation of affairs so much required, they would consider the subject with serious attention, and adopt some effectual plan to check the extravagance which was practised, and that neglect of their controul which marked the public expenditure. It would be found, he said, that great as the burthens about to be imposed were, there would be still farther impositions to a very great amount.

Mr. Pitt was ready to admit that the accounts, on which he now reasoned, of the exports and imports, were not very correct, and he never meant to argue from them, as by themselves supporting a precise conclusion, with regard to the state of our commerce. They were, however, as correct now, as they had been on former occasions; and, by a comparison of them with former statements, it appeared that the excess of the exports and imports was as great as in times of peace. He conceived it probable that the taxes would be equal to all the ends which they were assigned to support, and he wished to know, whether the experience which had already been obtained, was such as ought to induce him to propose additional burthens, while the necessity of so unpleasant a task was by no means ascertained?

Mr. Fox considered the present as one of the most false statements of finance that was ever brought forward, calculated merely to delude the people of this country; and accompanied with some political ob-

servations, which were a libel on the constitution. Though the house were about to vote burthens, equal to the whole that had been imposed during the first three years of the French and American war, they would find that above one million more was still actually necessary. If this be true, said he, as it certainly is, what shall we say of the honourable gentleman's fair statements? Mr. Fox having made several strictures on the terms of the present loan, came to the vote of credit, for money to be given at the discretion of ministry to the emperor: to whom he had already given, without the consent of parliament, twelve hundred thousand pounds. He had not seen the date of this advance; but those who were members of last parliament could not have forgotten, that, for the last three months of that parliament, not a week elapsed in which some question was not put to the minister, in which he was called upon to declare, whether he intended to grant any pecuniary assistance to the emperor? Did the minister mean to say he intended to assist him, but that he thought his own authority for that purpose sufficient? If, said Mr. Fox, these are the sentiments he acted upon in this country; if the minister be permitted to carry them into effect, I declare, for myself, that the constitution of this country is not worth fighting for. I wish to know on what principle it is that the minister takes this power upon himself, rather than refer it to the commons of Great Britain, to whom, and to whom only, it constitutionally belongs. If he directs the application of the money of the people thus, upon foreign affairs, without the consent of parliament, I see no reason

reason why he should not claim the same power (as I dare say he will, if he succeeds in this) over the whole of our domestic concerns.* I am sure the reason he gives for the one, will just as well apply to the other. He says, that parliament could not calculate so well as he could upon the necessity, and upon the amount. That may be said as correctly of our domestic as of foreign affairs. Until this instance occurred, the minister thought it decent to apply to parliament, and to give you an estimate of what you are to provide for; but now he tells you that he did not think it necessary to consult you, because you are not judges of the extent of it. Did he consult you on the principle of it? He certainly did not. He suffered the last parliament to be dissolved: he suffered you all to meet your constituents with an assurance (I do not say his positive and declared assurance, but by his silence he gave you an implied assurance) that no money was to be advanced to the emperor in the interval of this dissolution. On the twenty-seventh of December you met. Did he give you any intimation of his having advanced this money before you were called together? Did he give you any intimation of it before this very night, when he comes before you with his fresh burthens on the people? Not a word! for this conduct, I say, he ought to be impeached. He has had it in his power to consult you on this subject long ago, as it was his duty. He has neglected to do so, by which he has manifested a determination to dispose of the money of the people of this coun-

try, without consulting their representatives. This is aggravated by his not calling parliament together sooner. If he had advanced the money before you met, why did he not tell you so: what reason can be assigned for this? In the name of God, what can be said but that the minister thinks his judgement better than the judgements of the representatives of the people of Great Britain? He has said much upon the time on which this money was advanced. If he had any intention of advancing this money before the dissolution, why did he not state that intention to the last parliament? Or, if he found out the necessity of it since the dissolution, might he not have said so to the present parliament long ago? But he has acted merely on his own authority, for the purpose of establishing the principle that ministers are better judges so the manner in which the public money is to be applied, than the representatives of the people. The minister says, that we should feel the utmost confidence in lending our money to the emperor, because we have seen in the emperor those heroic qualities which usually accompany good faith. Now, supposing heroism to be a good criterion of good faith in pecuniary concerns, I should like to try the effect of this mode of reasoning. Suppose, for a moment, that we were in a state of neutrality with regard to the French republic, and it was proposed that we should lend money to the French, would the minister say we should lend them money? Certainly he would not: and yet, if good faith in pecuniary en-

* This prediction may, perhaps, be considered, by some, as in some measure fulfilled, by the Income-Tax.

gements was to be measured by heroic qualities; there are none to whom we should be more ready to lend our money; for, of their valour, they have given abundant proofs."

Mr. Fox then proceeded to state the situation of the emperor and the French at this moment, in which he maintained, that, with all the successes of the Austrians in the latter part of the present campaign, another could not be opened under circumstances of more advantage to the emperor, than those in which he had been placed at the commencement of the last. He here took notice of the recent successes of the French in Italy; and, by way of answering the praises bestowed on the good qualities of the house of Austria, he instanced the cruelties that had been exercised on the unfortunate M. La Fayette, which he said excited horror all over Europe. He was afraid, he said, that there was no question to be stated, in the resolutions of this night, that would bring the propriety or impropriety of sending money to the emperor, without the consent of parliament, with propriety under discussion. However, when it should come before the house, he should certainly meet it with his direct negative; for it was a direct and daring attack on the British constitution.

The resolutions, for raising the supplies, were then put, and carried.

On the report of these resolutions on the day thereafter, Mr. Fox took occasion to enter again into the subject of the money that had been granted, or promised, by ministers, on their own authority, to the emperor. In conclusion of a long and animated speech, he said, it,

after what we have lost in reputation, and blood, we also to submit to this oppression. The house of commons is no longer considered as a branch of the constitution: and there will be left our government to distinguish from absolute monarchies.

Mr. Pitt contended, that a controul over the public expenditure was essential to the freedom of the constitution, yet the principle was subject to limits. In the best and most glorious in the history of our government, the principle of extraordinary powers had been received not only for individual emergencies, but recognized upon general views. Parliament had times committed to his majesty new, but special powers, superseding all general question of reality, he observed, the discretionary power, relating to the subject of the question, had been committed to his majesty. From his majesty's message of the eighth of last year, an act by which it was followed, in granting a vote of credit, which was read at the table, it appeared that a power was granted to his majesty to apply the sum contained in the vote of credit, as the exigencies of the state might require.

Sir William Pultney, after observing that the controul of the house of commons, over the public expenditure of the country, was the main pillar of the British constitution, said it unfortunately happened, that extraordinary powers, and a vote of credit, must be granted every year. Surely it never was intended that subsidies to foreign powers should be supplied by a vote of credit. New circumstances might occur, which might render it proper for ministers to exercise their discretion: but he

circumstances were far-seen, and had been laid before parliament. The discovery, that this had been discovered, came out in a very liberal manner indeed. It could no longer be concealed. There seemed to have been a desire of excusing the minister as long as possible, and a desire, too, was only compatibly necessary. He could not, however, go the length of dropping the matter, though he was of opinion, that a very strong mark of censure ought to be inflicted by the house. The right honourable gentleman said, that there were qualifications to the general principle, and that ministers were allowed to exercise their discretion. It must be confessed, that circumstances may arise, when a government was perfectly justifiable in remitting supplies abroad, for services beneficial to this country; and when such a measure was adopted by the present minister some years since, in his interference with regard to Holland, that conduct received his most hearty approbation. This present case, however, was of a very different description; and, by neglecting to consult parliament, at a time when it was sitting on the expenditure of the public money, the minister appeared to set himself above their control, and be indifferent as to their approbation. Upon the whole, he trusted that this proceeding would not pass the house of commons, without receiving some strong marks of its disapprobation. He was very glad that the subject had been brought forward in the way it had been done; and he hoped, that the house would never witness, in future, a similar violation of the principles of the constitution. The immense navy-debt which had been

contracted, in his opinion, proved great mismanagement, and want of foresight, in that department. It appeared, that great abuses prevailed in the transport-service; and the house ought seriously to inquire into the causes which had occasioned this useful prodigality which had been observed, and endeavour to find a remedy.

Mr. Grey said, that much pain, and many applications, had arisen, from the fear of a threatened invasion. But he would venture to say, that no invasion or attack, that could take place, would go so decidedly to the destruction of all that was valuable, namely, the liberty of the country, as such a power, if lodged in the hands of ministers. Viewing the subject in this light, he thought it his duty to oppose, at least to suspend the supplies. He therefore moved, that the second reading of the resolutions should be put off till to-morrow; and if the house should agree to his motion, he would, to-morrow, move the house to resolve, that, in making these advances without the consent of parliament, the minister had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor. A debate was continued for some time with great warmth on this subject; but, on a division of the house, Mr. Grey's motion was negatived by 164 against 78.

This subject was brought again into the house of commons, on the fourteenth of December, by Mr. Fox, who moved, "That his majesty's ministers, having authorized and directed, at different times, without the consent, and during the sitting of parliament, the issue of various sums of money, for the service of his Imperial majesty, and also for the service of the army under

der the prince of Condé,* have acted contrary to their duty, and to the trust reposed in them, and have therefore violated the constitutional privileges of this house."

The former debates, on this subject, were now resumed, and continued to a very late hour. It was one of the gravest and most serious, as well as copious and protracted debates, that took place in the present session of parliament. Not a few members, who usually followed the minister with undeviating uniformity, appeared to be seriously alarmed at the neglect, or rather contempt, he had shewn of the house of commons, in giving away the public money, without so much as apprizing them of it, and even in cautiously concealing it from them. The same topics of reasoning against, and in defence of the minister, were handled in various manners, and placed in various lights, according to the genius and habitual modes of thinking, of the different speakers. We do not conceive it to be any essential part of this historical sketch to enter into the speeches of senators, any farther than may be necessary to state, the most solid arguments that were addressed to the understanding, and on which the convictions or impressions made on the house appear to have chiefly turned. To follow men of various knowledge and lively fancies through all the combinations, and sporting excursions of their imagination, would be endless, and to trace all the common-place observations of every speaker an irksome task, both to the writer and the readers of this narra-

tive. Nevertheless, on this important business, we shall set forth the ideas that appear to have been uppermost in the minds of most of the different speakers.

Mr. alderman Combe, in obedience to the instructions of his constituents, seconded the motion made by Mr. Fox. The discounting of the bills, drawn for the purpose of remitting money to the Imperial troops, had swallowed up so much of the money of the bank, as to compel that great body to narrow their discounts, and the British merchants were made to suffer, that the German troops might be supplied.

Mr. Pitt, after a great deal of prefatory matter, respecting the concession which Mr. Fox had been obliged to make, in admitting, that the right of the house, to dispose of the public money, was subject to some limitations, shewed, from parliamentary history, that the measure now attacked was not unprecedented, nor unconstitutional. In the present case, he contended still, as he had done before, that it was expedient and necessary.

Mr. Bragge asked the gentlemen of the opposition, whether they would be content to have this money that had been sent to the emperor, restored to the treasury, and would rather see the French marching up to Vienna? Upon the whole, his opinion was, that the conduct of the minister, so far from meriting censure, was highly deserving of the gratitude of the nation; but, at the same time, he was desirous that the proceeding, dictated by necessity, should not be drawn into precedent.

* To whom a remittance of 200,000*l.* of which parliament knew nothing, had been sent in December, 1796.

n future, notwithstanding the auspicious consequences with which it was now attended. He would, with this view, propose a resolution to the house, the object of which would be to guard, on the one hand, the privileges of the house, and, on the other, to pay a due respect to the services performed by ministers, whom he could not help admiring for their magnanimity and services to their country. He would, therefore, move, as an amendment to the motion made by the right honourable gentleman, to leave out from the first word, "That," and to insert, "the measure of advancing the several sums of money, which appear, from the accounts presented to the house in the session of parliament, to have been issued for the service of the emperor, though not to be drawn into precedent, but upon occasion of special necessity, was, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, a justifiable and proper exercise of the discretion vested in his majesty's ministers, by the vote of credit, and calculated to produce consequences, which have proved highly advantageous to the common cause, and to the general interests of Europe."

Mr. alderman Lushington observed, that there was so close an unity of connection and interest between Great Britain and his Imperial majesty, that whatever affected the one, equally affected the other. The one could not feel distress without the other suffering a share. Respecting the exportation of specie, which for a time had disagreeable consequences. An increased mass of property required an increase in the circulating medium; but as this did not increase in an equal proportion, the withdrawing

any part of it was a cause of embarrassment, but that only temporary.

Mr. alderman Anderson said, that, at the meeting of the livery of London, in which only about a tenth part were present, a flaming speech, by a member of that house (Mr. W. Smith) had determined them to give the instructions that had been stated by his colleague. But he himself had plainly told them that he would not vote against the minister.

Col. Markwood (late in the East-India company's service, in Bengal) said, that if the minister of this country, with a vote of credit, between two and three millions at his command, had hesitated to give some pecuniary aid towards the encouragement of those glorious exertions, which not only saved Germany, but England, from a very critical situation, he would have well deserved to be cursed. He was not one of those who considered the invasion of England merely as a hugbear. Whoever argued in this manner, he would venture to assert, was totally ignorant of the subject. He was decidedly of opinion, as he had said before, that, had not the ministers assisted his Imperial majesty, they would have richly deserved to be cursed. The colonel's cursing zeal, by relaxing the muscles of the house, relieved, for a moment, the tedium of this long debate.

Colonel Galcoigne, who had come down to the house, with a determined resolution to vote in favour of the motion for censuring ministers, was now convinced, from what he had heard, that the transaction, which had been made a ground of charge against him, had been the established practice of government since the revolution.

Mr. Sheridan thought that the principle on which the measure in question

question was defended, was more dangerous than even any application of it could be thought impolitic. It arrogated to the minister a right to judge of the extent as well as the mode of public expenditure, and exalted him into an absolute dictator.

Sir William Pulteney declared his opinion, that all the minister had said, on the necessity of the measure, could not do away the doctrine that the house of commons had, constitutionally, the controul of the public purse, not that it was the duty of the minister to submit the measure to the house of commons much sooner than he did. He had attended to all that the minister had said, but confessed that he did not, by any means, think him justified, from what had appeared in the discussion of the subject. But an honourable gentleman, on the other side of the house, had moved an amendment to the original; that amendment, in his opinion, although it came from a gentleman who defended the minister, implied a degree of censure on his conduct in this matter; and he was content with any censure, rather than not have any. Some gentlemen seemed to think there was no blame to be attached to ministers upon this occasion. He thought there was a great deal, and therefore that there should be some mark set upon such conduct to denote the disapprobation of the house.

Mr. Wilberforce apprehended that a vote of credit gave to ministers a general discretion: but that the whole of their conduct was subject to the revision of the house of commons. He defended the conduct of the minister.

Mr. W. Smith remarked that the

amendment, although introduced by the minister's friend, conveyed considerable censure upon the minister; and, taking it in that light, he could not object to its adoption, although the conduct, which had been pursued, might deserve a stronger censure.

Mr. alderman Curtis told the house, that he had been that day at the common-hall, where, upon a shew of hands, a majority appeared in favour of the resolution, to censure the minister before-hand, and without any consideration of any defence he might make. But he had told his constituents that he would not vote as they required, to censure the minister, till he heard his defence. With this he was fully satisfied, as he knew that he should be, and therefore he would vote for the amendment.

Mr. J. Nichols was afraid that he would not please any side of the house; for he considered the motion as proposing too much, and the amendment too little. Perhaps a bill of indemnity might sound too harshly in the ears of ministers. A declaratory law, or any thing more palatable, might be passed. He wished Mr. Fox to withdraw his motion. And yet he thought it necessary that some proceeding should take place, in order to prevent the establishment of bad precedents.

Mr. Fox concluded a long yet animated reply to Mr. Pitt, by declaring his conviction, that if the measure, that formed the subject of debate, was not reprobated, he should think that man a hypocrite who pretended to see any distinction between this government and an absolute monarchy. He had made use, in former days, of strong opinions; he did not retract one of them; he had no hesitation in saying that

occasion,

Seasons might arise, even in a comparatively free country, when men might be driven to the necessity of resistance.

Mr. Bragge's amendment, on a division of the house, was carried by 185 against 104.

If the minister gained a victory over opposition, on the present occasion, they had an opportunity of triumphing, in their turn, a few months afterwards, in the verification of what was so positively predicted by Mr. Grey and Mr. Fox, that enormous as the burden of more than two millions of taxes

was, yet another million would be wanted. On the twenty-sixth of April, the chancellor of the exchequer demanded a farther supply. He stated the purposes for which this was necessary, and the means by which it was proposed to be raised. The aggregate of what had already been voted, and what he proposed to be now voted, for the public service, or, in other words, of his two budgets, amounted to 42,786,000*l*.*

He proposed, at the same time, a farther loan of two millions, if sanctioned by parliament, to the

The whole of the supplies for 1797		£.
Navy	-	12,661,000
Army	-	6,600,000
Army extraordinaries, or out-standing debts	-	3,387,000
Treasury-bills, and army-warrants	-	2,088,000
Army extraordinaries, for 1797	-	4,000,000
Ordnance	-	1,623,000
Ordnance extraordinaries, and barracks	-	737,000
Miscellaneous services, including the relief of emigrant priests	-	929,000
Advances to the merchants of Grenada	-	600,000
Imperial loan	-	500,000
Annual addition to the sinking fund	-	200,000
Deficiency of land and malt	-	350,000
Repayment to the bank for advance to the consolidated fund of 1795	-	1,054,000
Ditto for 1796	-	1,370,000
Farther deficiencies of land and malt	-	900,000
Deficiency of the consolidated fund	-	2,177,000
To discharge exchequer-bills, issued on the credit of the consolidated fund for 1796	-	1,110,000
Vote of credit for 1797	-	2,500,000
		<hr/> 42,786,000

NEW TAXES.

Tax on property, transferred by private contract, at 4 <i>d</i> . per pound	170,000
Copies of deeds to be given in evidence, to be stampd	40,000
On the probates of wills, above 300 <i>l</i> .	40,000
An additional duty of 1½ <i>d</i> . upon the stamps of each newspaper	114,000
Increased duty on advertisements	20,000
On attorney's certificates	15,000
On ornamental plate	30,000
Duty equal to the tolls on all carriages passing the turnpikes	450,000
On bills of exchange	40,000
Insurance from fire	35,000
Quitted in the sum mentioned on the produce of the stamps on copies of deeds	10,000

Total of the new taxes 1,311,000
imperial.

emperor. The aggregate of the ways and means are stated below.*

Of the eighteen millions to be borrowed, one million and a half was for the kingdom of Ireland, of which the interest was to be provided by the Irish parliament. Another million and a half was to be lent to the emperor, to enable him to repay the million and a half advanced by this country. He proposed a farther loan of two millions, if sanctioned by parliament, to our Imperial ally. For the encouragement of prompt payment, every 100*l.* subscribed to have the value of 10*l.* 17*s.*

The several bills, for imposing the new taxes, proposed by Mr. Pitt, in his two budgets, for the current year, were regularly, and successively, brought into both houses of parliament, and most of them were passed, with few alterations; but towards the close of the sessions, on the thirtieth of June, he stated to the house of commons certain deficiencies which had taken place in the estimated product of the late taxes, and which amounted to the sum of 660,000*l.* These deficiencies were supplied by new taxes.†

The house of commons, in a committee of supply, on the first of May,

WAYS AND MEANS.

	£.
• The land and malt	2,750,000
Surplus and grants	420,000
Loyalty loan, according to the first budget	18,000,000
Lottery	200,000
Exchequer-bills	3,000,000
Growing produce of the consolidated fund, by estimation	2,000,000
The part of the loan applied to Great Britain only	16,500,000
Total of the ways and means for the year 1797,	<u>42,870,000</u>

NEW TAXES of the Second Budget.

The consolidated duties on stamps in general, doubled	320,000
Tax on property, transferred by private contract, at 4 <i>d.</i> per pound	170,000
Copies of deeds to be given in evidence, to be stamped	40,000
On the probates of wills above the sum of 300 <i>l.</i>	40,000
An additional duty of 1½ <i>d.</i> upon the stamps of each newspaper	114,000
Increased duty on advertisements	20,000
On attorney's certificates	15,000
On ornamental plate	30,000
Duty equal to the tolls on all carriages passing turnpikes	450,000
	<u>1,199,000</u>
† Surplus on Scotch spirits	182,000
On horses employed in agriculture	150,000
On pepper, imported	15,000
On coals, exported	14,000
Watches and clocks	200,000

took

took into their consideration messages from his majesty, for a million and a half, on the terms above stated, to the kingdom of Ireland, and three millions and six hundred thousand pounds for the emperor. These resolutions, though not without undergoing various strictures, were agreed to.

There was another remittance moved for at this time, for a sovereign prince of Germany, which was voted readily, and without the least opposition. This was the sum of 80,000*l.* for a portion to be given with the princess royal, on her marriage with the hereditary prince of Wirtemberg.

During the progress of the loan-bill, through the different stages, intelligence having been received by the minister, that preliminaries of peace were either signed, or ready to be signed, between the French republic and the emperor, he stated to the house, in a committee of supply, on the fifth of May, that he should move for repayment of the advances already made to the emperor; but that it was not his intention, according to the grounds he had for deciding his intention, at that moment, to make any provision for farther advances to his Imperial majesty.

The subscribers to the loan, which Mr. Pitt obtained near the beginning of the session, commonly called the loyalty-loan, having discovered that they were liable to incur, a considerable loss from the subsequent depression of the funds, notwithstanding their former patriotism, prevailed on the minister to apply to parliament to make them a recompense. On the thirtieth of May, he moved the house of commons to allow them 5*l.* in every

100*l.* which would amount, in the whole, to an annuity of sixty or seventy thousand pounds.

Mr. Dent, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Bastard, and other members, contended, that a loan was a speculation, on which the subscribers entered with the usual expectation of gain or loss, as on any other speculation. They urged the evil tendency of such a precedent, and conjured the committee to reflect on the state of the country, before they should sanction a measure so unprecedented and shameful in its nature, and so ruinous in its consequences. The minister, for his own sake, should not persevere in a measure, which, if adopted, must tend greatly to counteract an opinion, which began to be very generally entertained, that there was a kind of collusion between him and the great monied capitalists, for the purpose of gratifying their respective predominant passions, power, and profit, at the expence of the sweat and almost blood of the people. This business was discussed again, on the first of June: when the injustice of it was so strongly urged by different speakers, that the chancellor of the exchequer carried the resolution in favour of the money-lenders, only by a single vote: namely, 36 to 35. This question was, of course, dropped for the present.

It is in connection with the general subject of finance, that it seems proper to introduce a plan that was proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and adopted by the house, and which met with general approbation, as tending to strengthen public credit, and quicken the springs of commerce and national prosperity. This was the

the funding of the navy and exchequer bills: the former, amounting nearly to twelve millions; the latter, to two millions and a half. In adjusting the amount of the bonus to be given, in order to induce the holders to take a different kind of security, the point to be considered, was the difference between the value of those bills, burthened with a discount, and drawing on interest of 4 per cent. and the value of those funds which were to be transferred to the respective holders. It was deemed advisable to fund the bills in the different stocks, leaving the choice of the particular stock to the holders. The bonus granted, amounted, on an average of the different rates of the different stocks, to one and a half interest, on the bills, per cent.

In this chapter of finance proceed now to the British mercer and finances in India.

On the 20th of December, Dandas introduced into the house of commons his statements respecting our affairs in India, which I divided into three classes. The first consisted of the average amounts of the three last years, a view of enabling the committee to judge of the past: the second, a comparison of the estimates and actual amounts of the charge and revenues of the last year: the third, an account of whatever expense or disbursements might arise in the future year.

From a general statement of the revenue and charges in India for the year 1794-5,* it appeared that there remained a sum applica-

Laid out at Bengal; investments, including charges, &c.	1,1
Madras, ditto	5
Bombay, ditto	1
Bencoolen, ditto	—
	1,8

Revenues and charges in British trade for 1794-5.

Revenues.	No. 3, Bengal	—	—	—	5,9
	No. 6, Madras	—	—	—	1,7
	No. 9, Bombay	—	—	—	3
					8,0
Charges.	No. 3, Bengal	—	—	—	3,4
	No. 6, Madras	—	—	—	1,7
	No. 9, Bombay	—	—	—	6
					—
				Total charge	5,9
				Total revenue	8,0
					—
Nett revenue of the three precedencies					2,0
No. 18, Deduct supplies to Bencoolen, &c.					—
Surplus revenues, 1794-5					2,0
Which were more than the estimates, by					1

the purchase of statements and payment of commercial charges, 2,084,767*l*. From a statement of the disposition of this surplus from the territorial revenue, it appeared that there remained a sum of 246,322*l*. applicable to any other purpose. This sum, he understood, had been applied to the purchase of rice, and to the profit and loss account upon internal trade. He now proceeded to state the general result of the estimates for 1795-6. Adding the increase of assets to the decrease of debts, he found that the company's affairs in India were better that year than in that preceeding it, by 554,390*l*. Having stated the affairs of the company abroad, the only part of them for which he was responsible, he proceeded to give the state of their affairs at home, which were more immediately under the charge of the directors. Upon a general comparison of debts and assets, Mr. Dundas concluded that the company's affairs were in these respects better in 1796, than in the preceding year, by 1,240,490*l*. Having thus concluded his statement of accounts, Mr. Dundas stated some charges incurred by late regulations,

to which a part of the surplus he had stated would naturally be applied. The regulations to which he alluded were those that had been made for remedying two grievances complained of by the military officers in the service of the East-India company. They had not the same chance with his majesty's officers of rising in the army, being incapable, according to the mode and custom of the India army, of rising any higher than the rank of a colonel. Nor could they return to their own country for the benefit of their health, without giving up their commissions and losing their pay; a system of great severity and injustice, as it left to the gallant officer, whose generous exertions for the company's interest had injured his health without benefitting his fortune, no alternative but to return home totally unprovided even by half-pay: or to stay in the service, and retain his pay, at the price of health and pay together. The just complaints of the India officers had been remedied, to the complete satisfaction of the great bulk of the officers, at the annual expence of 500,000*l*. Reviewing that part of

This sum, he said, might be considered as a free disposable sum for the purchase of investments, for any other purpose; but, previous to such an application, a deduction was to be made of the different items, as follow.

Deduct interest on debts, to be paid from the surplus.

No. 18, Bengal	-	-	-	339,422
No. 19, Madras	-	-	-	8,807
No. 20, Bombay	-	-	-	76,072
			Total interest	484,301

Hence the nett surplus from the territorial revenues, would be	-	1,522,590
To which it was proper to add the amount of the sales of imports, certificates, &c. (No. 15.)	}	562,177
And the amount which would be applicable to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, would then be	}	2,084,767

the company's concerns which fell most immediately within his province to examine, he was confident in asserting, that it was in an increasing progression of prosperity, and that there was every prospect of this prosperity being yet very considerably augmented. Their revenues and establishments were settled on a solid and permanent basis; nor was there any circumstance within the probable scope of events that was likely to reverse their situation.

Mr. D. Scott confirmed the general statement of Mr. Dundas, as to the prosperity of India, and the progressive increase of profit upon all the sales. He stated the advantage to be derived from the commerce of Bengal, as well as China. Mr. Scott observed, that it cost the company above 1,000,000*l.* additional, on account of freight; but, in the event of peace, this would be saved, and consequently a much larger profit would arise upon the sales: besides, in times of peace, many more markets would be open for disposing of the commodities of India. Mr. Scott differed widely from an honourable baronet (Sir Francis Baring), in his opinion respecting the possession of certain late acquisitions. The Cape of Good Hope and the island of Ceylon were of the greatest importance, next to the possession of Bengal, for securing the empire of the east. With respect to the spice-islands, he thought it better that this country should have them than the French; though perhaps it was better that they should be left intirely free.

The various matters of fact stated by Mr. Dundas were now recorded,

and authenticated in the form of resolutions of the house of commons.

Mr. Dundas, at the same time that he presented these statements to the house of commons, wished the members to recollect that the accounts he then laid before them had come over in the course of the preceding spring; and observed, that, if they desired to have an accurate account of the whole revenues, to the latest period of the year to which these accounts belonged, he should produce another statement in the course of the ensuing spring; by which time, he hoped, accounts, to the latest periods, would be received. He, accordingly, on the fourteenth of July, 1797, presented a second statement of accounts. Upon a comparative view of the accounts presented this year, with the estimates on which the arrangements of 1793 were formed, it appeared, that

The estimated surplus of	£
1796-7 was	- 1,584,008
Which exceeded the estimate of 1793, by	- 70,431
The total of the estimate of receipts and sales of 1793 was	- 5,185,987
The total of the actual receipts of 1796-7 was	- 7,316,916
The nett excess of payments over the actual receipts for 1796-7 amounted to	- 1,882,965

Though these seemed to be falling off in the state of the company's affairs, there were several great contingent expences increased this year, not likely to occur again to any similar extent; particularly the expendi-

expenditure occasioned by the new military arrangement, and the military expeditions so happily planned and executed. It appeared, from Mr. Dundas's statements, that the company's assets abroad exceeded their debts by 660,000*l.*; and, that

if the whole of their affairs were wound up, they would receive an annual return of 950,000*l.* Mr. Dundas then moved various resolutions, corresponding to his various statements: all of which were agreed to.

C H A P. X.

Clouded Aspect of British Affairs in the End of 1796, and earlier Part of 1797.—Messages from His Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, relating to the Rupture of the Negotiation for Peace at Paris.—Addresses in Consequence moved to His Majesty.—Amendments proposed.—Debates.—Amendments rejected, and the Addresses carried by large Majorities.—Motion for Peace in the House of Lords.—Motion for the same End in the House of Commons.—Debates in both Houses.

WHILE either the improvidence of our councils, or the adversity of events, involved a necessity of heavy and even severe taxation, other discouraging circumstances accompanied or followed this evil in close succession. Difficulty crowded on difficulty, danger on danger. On the return of lord Malmesbury, towards the close of 1796, from the unsuccessful negotiation at Paris, the British funds suffered a greater depression than was experienced at any period of the American war.* Insurrections prevailed in many parts of Ireland, discontents in all: an unexampled run on the bank of England was followed by a suspension of payment in specie; a mutiny of unprecedented extent and inveteracy raged in the navy; symptoms of discontent began to appear in the army; the public dissatisfaction and alarm were expressed in petitions from all quarters, for a change of measures, if not of ministers; the wild and darkening forest

threatened to close around us. But vitæ and passages were opened for our escape: and temporary embarrassments and alarms, only served to prove the extent of our resources, and the influence of those virtues which still string the nerves of both private and public credit, and united Englishmen in the bonds of mutual confidence, and an attachment to their common country.

In the circumstances and temper of the nation, in December, 1797, an opinion very generally prevailed, that the embassy was sent over to Paris, by his majesty's ministers, for the sole purpose of amusing people with the fallacious hopes of peace, that they might the more easily procure money for the prosecution of the war. The adherents of the ministry, on the other hand, laboured by all means, whether of speaking or writing, to impress a conviction, that the rupture of the negotiation for peace at Paris was to be attributed to a systematical aversion

* The three per cent. consols, being so low as 51/.

and apprehension of peace, in the governing party in the French republic. His majesty's declaration, on this subject, was laid before the house of lords, by lord Grenville, on the 27th of December. The substance of this declaration was, "that the rupture of the negociation did not arise from the failure of any sincere attempt on the part of France; but from the determination of that government (meaning the French government) to reject all means of peace, by an obstinate adherence to a claim which never could be admitted; a claim, which that government rested on the constitution of its own country, to be received by all nations as paramount to every principle and law in Europe, as superior to the obligations of treaties, the ties of common interest, and the most urgent considerations of general security. His majesty, who had entered into this treaty, with good faith, had now only to lament its abrupt termination; and to declare, in the face of Europe, that whenever his enemies should be disposed to enter on the work of general pacification, nothing should be wanting, on his part, to contribute to the accomplishment of that great object, which was only retarded (meaning retarded only) by the exorbitant pretensions of his enemies." A similar message, on the same subject, was sent from his majesty to the house of commons. Authentic copies of all the papers, relative to the negociation, having been printed for the use of the members, his majesty's message, on that subject, was, on the 30th of December, taken into consideration, in both houses of parliament.

This message being read in the house of lords, lord Grenville, after

lamenting the failure of the negociation, proceeded to shew the sincerity of his majesty in that business, on the one part, and the insincerity of the French republic on the other. In conclusion, he moved an address to his majesty, containing assurances that "the lords were perfectly satisfied with his majesty's conduct in the whole of the negociation, and that he might place the fullest confidence in the wisdom and firmness of his parliament, on the tried valour of his forces by sea and land, and on the zeal, public spirit, and resources of his kingdoms, for vigorous and effectual support in the prosecution of a contest, which it did not depend on his majesty to terminate, and which involved in it the security and permanent interests of this country.

The earl of Guildford declared, that, in his opinion, the present was the most unfortunate day this country had ever experienced, that only excepted which had plunged us into the calamities of the present war. If the *status quo ante bellum* had been the principle agreed on, he was ready to admit that the French had departed from that principle: but this was by no means the case. The principle that was to form the basis of the negociation, was that of proportional restitution: and was there any man being, who could say that what we offered to the French, France, was an equitable demand? we asked of her to restore to our allies? His lordship concluded his speech, by proposing an amendment to the address, stating what he conceived to be blameable in the conduct of his majesty's ministers during the whole course of the negociation, charging them with insincerity in every part of the negociation, and

moving

[L 3]

moving that a committee might be appointed to inquire into the present calamitous state of the country.

The earl of Derby denied, as he always had done, any necessity, on our part, of going into the present war. He described the present distressful state of the country; and expressed his suspicions that the ministry were insincere in their late shew of negotiation. His lordship thought that Pondicherry in the East Indies, and Martinico, St. Lucia, and Tobago, in the West Indies, could never be considered as an equivalent for the Milanese and the Austrian Netherlands.

The earl of Liverpool said, that what we had offered to the French, was, in reality, an equivalent to what we asked of them to be given up. It was reported, that the revenue they received from their West-India islands, generally amounted to ten millions annually.—Why did not the French directory, when they were dissatisfied with the proposals from the British court, bring forward some counter-project of their own?

Lord Auckland declared, that, though he, from the beginning of this business, firmly believed that it would not be attended with any success, had yet been of opinion that it was right that the experiment should be made, for the satisfaction of the country. The experiment had been made, and the result was such as he had expected. He declared his conviction, that the defenders of the French republic were in such a state of distress, as not to be able to go through another campaign.

The earl Fitzwilliam said, that no circumstance had occurred to convince him, that the former proud

and dangerous principles of the French did not now exist in their full force. There could be no safety in fraternizing with such a people.

The duke of Bedford, among other shrewd remarks, observed, that lord Malmesbury, in his conversation with M. de la Croix, by hinting at an equivalent for the Netherlands, had, in a manner, admitted the plea of the directory, and that, in contradiction to the treaties subsisting between Great Britain and her allies. The French minister, at the same time, by conversing about an equivalent, proved that he virtually admitted that some equivalent might be accepted.—Lord Malmesbury, he observed, had requested a *contre projet*, whilst, at the same time, he persisted in refusing to enter upon any treaty in which the French were to retain possession of the Netherlands. From these circumstances, as well as that of lord Malmesbury being left without a discretionary power in any matter of importance, his grace inferred, that ministers were not sincere in the proposed negotiations for peace. He thought that before a renewal of the negotiation, ministers ought to have satisfied themselves, that the French directory had departed from the principle they avowed, when they refused to treat with Mr. Wickham. In his opinion, ministers had not only created suspicions, as to the sincerity of their intentions, but even afforded just grounds for accusation. They had acted on a principle of augmenting the power of great states, at the expence of those which were weaker; such, he said, was their idea of remunerative justice! By consenting to such a principle, Europe would sink into a miserable labyrinth

labyrinth of despotic arrogance; "a principle on which," said his grace, "I shall make no comment, but leave it to your conscience to decide."

The earl Spencer denied that lord Malmesbury, in his conversation with de la Croix, had proposed any *ultimatum*. The last note of the directory was actually the beginning of negotiation on their part. And, what was their proposal? "You shall accept the basis of our new-formed constitution, which engrafts a conquered country into an integral part of our territories. The principle advanced by force, would go to subvert all the acknowledged laws of nations. Whilst the directory were requiring an *ultimatum* from us, they were in fact giving one themselves.

The lord chancellor said, that the amendment in detail was nothing else than an exaggeration of the power of the enemy, encouraging to them, and depressing to the interests of this country. The inference to be drawn from it was, that this country must submit to whatever terms the enemy chose to impose. He denied the earl of Guildford's assertion, that the memorial presented to the French directory, was of a sophistical nature: for what could contain, in plainer terms, a more ingenious declaration of what England was disposed to surrender, and what to demand in behalf of her allies? But whatever might be the relative value of the compensations proposed, they had never, in fact, been brought under discussion. The proposals of England towards the enemy was generous and liberal: though France had made no conquests from us, yet England proposed to surrender back all the con-

quests made by that power, only on condition of her making suitable returns of the conquests made from the emperor. His lordship remarked, that the government of France had made no reply to the memorial which had been presented; the question of reciprocal compensations had never been fairly discussed: instead of this they required an *ultimatum* within twenty-four hours; and, in the very act of doing so, they recalled the very basis of the negotiation, to which they had previously agreed. He would put out of view the insolence and arrogance of the language they had used, and content himself with observing that their whole conduct and language discovered, on their part, a determination to avoid all discussion. Thus, said his lordship, have the government of France barred and double barred the door of negotiation against you. He proceeded to illustrate, what he called, the "immensity of our national wealth and prosperity." He concluded his speech, by a repetition of an observation he had made in the outset of it, that, at no former period of English history, when negotiations were broken off, as at Gertraydenburg, in the reign of queen Anne, did those who then opposed the ministry ever think of bringing forward a motion like that thing which he held in his hand.

On a division of the house, the amendment, proposed by the earl of Guildford, was rejected, by 86 against 8.

The earl Fitzwilliam, after a brief recapitulation of some of the arguments he had, on sundry occasions, urged before, for irreconcilable hostility to the French republic, moved an amendment to the ad-

dress; in substance, representing their dangerous principles. the necessity of persevering in the contest in which we were at present engaged, and the impropriety of courting any negociation of peace with France in its present state. Lord Fitzwilliam's motion was negatived without a division.

The order of the day, thirtieth of December, for taking into consideration his majesty's message, on the failure of the negociation for peace with France, in the house of commons, being read from the chair,

Mr. Pitt rose up, to move an address to his majesty, in consequence of his most gracious communication to that house. The motion, which it was his duty, he said, to make on that subject, unquestionably involved in it many great and momentous considerations. He grievously lamented the sudden stop which had been put to that negociation, by which, we had fondly hoped, that, we should at last have been relieved from the contest in which, for some time past, we had been engaged: a contest, into which we were forced against our will: a contest, produced by the repeated aggressions of an imperious enemy; a contest, undertaken, on our part, to maintain our rights and liberties as a nation, the very existence of our civil and political constitution, and the general policy and security of Europe. The failure of the negociation, he considered as a subject of regret and disappointment; but, he added, that it was regret without despondency; disappointment without despair. When we wish for peace, said he, we wish for a secure and permanent peace, and the secure and permanent possession of those blessings with which peace is

accompanied. If, with our ardent desire of peace, we have qualified the steps which we have taken to procure it, by a due regard to these objects, we shall not find that our endeavour has been without its advantage: we shall have proved, to all Europe, to whom ambitious and unreasonable pretensions ought to be ascribed. We may expect to see, as the result of such a conduct, England united, and France divided. In this question, we shall have to consider not only what has been the conduct of our own government, but to consider also the conduct of the enemy; in the manner in which our offers have been rejected, in the peremptory and abrupt manner in which the negociation has been broken off: your ambassador insulted, your propositions rejected, and even the semblance of terms not produced in return.

The two great considerations for the house, Mr. Pitt observed, were, first, what sentiments they ought to express to his majesty, on the present occasion; and, secondly, combining the efforts made by his majesty with the conduct adopted on the part of the enemy, what was the duty they were bound to perform, for the purpose of securing happiness and prosperity, liberty and independence? Mr. Pitt contrasted the sincerity and readiness with which the British government had entered into the negociation, and the reasonableness of the terms they had proposed, with the backwardness of the French to treat at all, and the extreme arrogance, insolence, and, indeed, absurdity, of their conduct, in superseding, in a treaty with independent powers, the law and usages of nations, by their

mal regulations: In fact, in conclusion of a long and speech, the main tendency was, to rouse an indignation at the present government. "The question is not, how you will give for peace? or how much disgrace you will suffer for the outset, how much delay you will submit to as a necessary evil? In these circumstances, are we to persevere with a spirit and energy of the British name; and of British character? or, are we, sending couriers to Paris, to throw ourselves at the feet of a proud and supercilious government, to do what they require, and to submit to whatever they may demand?"

I hope there is not a hand in the king's councils which would propose, that there is not in this house who would support the measure, and that there is not an individual in the British House who would act as the king's advocate. Having said this, he then addressed to his majesty, respecting the usual, the sentiments expressed in his message to the

honourable Mr. Friskine, after a satisfactory matter, respecting his nation and feelings, made remarks, of a personal nature, on the skill, eloquence, and general merit of Mr. Pitt; and after enforcing maxims respecting the manner of inquiring into the conduct of individuals, said, look back to the particular circumstances which were the origin of the war between Britain and the French re-

On the twelfth of December, his majesty met the parliament; at that time, M. Chauve-

lin, the ambassador of the French government, was then in England. His majesty, in his speech from the throne to both houses of parliament, complained of three things: first, "that the French had sent seditious missionaries into this country; secondly, they had meditated an invasion to Holland; and, thirdly, that they had interfered in opening the Scheldt." He begged the house to recollect, that, at that particular period of time, Belgium was in the possession of the French, though not as now; it was not then engrafted into the territory of France as an integral. At that time, all the correspondence between lord Grenville and the French ambassador was concealed from the house, though M. Chauvelin had given separate and satisfactory answers to all the complaints entertained by this court. He entreated that the king would bring to condign punishment those who disseminated seditious in his dominions, announced the determination of France to keep within her own limits, and to respect the rights of other nations. Notwithstanding this plain and specific disavowal, however, of all the grounds of hostility, war was declared upon France. At that time Belgium was not in her possession. He asked, then, whether France could be considered as the aggressor, who offered peace to this country, on terms, which the right honourable gentleman would be worshipped, as a god, if he could now procure?

Mr. Fox said, after a war of four years, which was stated to have been attended with many circumstances highly honourable and advantageous to the British arms; after an addition of no less than two hundred

dred millions to the national debt, and of nine millions to the permanent taxes of the country; after an enormous effusion of human blood, and an incalculable addition to human wretchedness, so far were we from having gained any object for which we had set out in the war, that the minister had, this night, come forward, in a long and elaborate speech, to shew that the only effect of all our efforts had been, that the enemy were become more unreasonable than ever in their pretensions, and that all hopes of peace were removed to a greater distance than ever.—It had been found, from experience, that, in proportion as the finances of the French had been acknowledged, even by themselves, to be reduced to the lowest ebb, in that proportion had their exertions been unparallded. Numbers of venal writers had been employed to prove the exhausted state of France, and how soon its present debility must infallibly terminate in total dissolution.—But while all this was demonstrated, year after year, upon paper, the French, like Autæus, thrown down upon his native earth, rose stronger from every fall.—Only wait, those calculators tell us, let Europe have the patience to wait but a little longer in arms. Soon the mine of paper-money being exhausted, the charm will disappear, and the French republic, destitute of every thing, will have no other resource than to disband their armies, before they revolt, and to restore their conquests before they are compelled to evacuate them.—The failure of such predictions did not discourage their authors.—They repeated their assertions with increased presumption, and boldly appealed still to future events.

—By such fallacious and impudent statements did the encouragers and abettors of them endeavour to mislead and impose upon the people of England; and such is the weakness of human nature, under the influence of strong prejudices, by such fallacious reasonings, perhaps, they endeavoured to fortify their own faith, staggering under the evidence of sense.

Whilst we, in every quarter which it was deemed most important to defend, had been losing city after city: whilst we had been actually driven from our possessions, which we conceived to be necessary to the security of our commerce; or to the balance of power, France, resourceless and dispirited, all the while avowing its own distressed situation, and speaking in the most respectful terms of our wealth and resources, had been constantly adding to its acquisitions, and aggrandizing its empire. France, at the present moment, appeared as the conqueror of most important and extensive territories! Belgium was annexed to her empire! Great part of Italy had yielded to the force of arms, and Holland was now united to the republic by ties of the strictest alliance! If, indeed, these acquisitions were to be regained to the cause of Great Britain, and her allies, by a lofty tone of argument; if the tide of victory was to be turned by the dexterity of debate, and the efficacy of our exertions bore any proportion to the insolence of our boasting, we need not yet be afraid to claim a decided superiority.

Mr. Fox, from a review of the history of the negociation, concluded that neither the French reluctance to treat, nor the failure of the

the negotiation, was entirely owing to the unreasonableness of the enemy. They have taken advantage, he said, of the situation in which their great success has placed them. If they should be able to continue their successes; if they should, in consequence, rise in their demands; there must be great alteration in the conduct of ministers, or our situation would be deplorable indeed. I cannot help, here, reflecting on the period of the American war. Men used then to say, it is not our fault; we are not to blame; it is all owing to the unreasonableness of the enemy that we do not obtain peace. Infatuated and self-abused men! They were afterwards, fatally for the interests of this country, convinced of the folly of their arguments, and obliged to accept of terms far more against them, than they might have obtained, had negotiations been offered long before they were.

But, on the other hand, Mr. Fox contended that there was a great deal of insincerity, artifice, and cunning, in the conduct of the British minister in that business. If the British minister had some reason to suspect the sincerity of the French directory, had not they, at least, equal grounds to entertain some doubts with respect to his views in the negotiation.—When lord Malmesbury, said Mr. Fox, in addressing the French minister, so often brings forward his profession of high consideration, I cannot but smile; when I recollect that lord Auckland was made a peer, merely because he declared that the men who are now addressed, in such respectful terms, "ought to be put under the sword of the law, and because he de-

nounced them as miscreants, and traitors to all Europe." The minister, he observed, whatever may have been his sincerity in the transaction, was no stranger to the advantages that may be derived from the idea of a pending negotiation. That he now feels those advantages nobody will dispute. I know that some weeks ago a very confident report was circulated, with respect to the probability of a peace. It would be curious to know how far lord Malmesbury, at that period, was influenced by any such belief. It does not appear, from the papers on the table, that, at that moment, he could reasonably hope for a successful issue to his negotiation. It seems dubious, indeed, from the inspection of those papers, whether lord Malmesbury was not sent over merely to shew his diplomatic dexterity; to fence and parry with Mr. de la Croix, in order to evince his superior skill and adroitness in the management of argument, and the arts of political finess; to confound the shallow capacity, and superficial reasoning, of the French minister, and to make the cause of this country the better. While lord Malmesbury was employed, thus honourably, in the display of his talents, at Paris, the minister had an useful object of policy to answer at home. It was found convenient, for the purpose of financial arrangements, to hold out the hope of peace, till such time as it was found that the appearance of negotiation might be renounced without any unfavourable effect, as to the supplies of the year.—When the French asked lord Malmesbury what terms he was prepared to propose, he was unprovided with an answer, and obliged to send to this country for instructions.

tions. What inference can be drawn from this conduct, on the part of ministers, but that, by thus bringing forward a futile, illusory, and unmeaning basis, they expected to disgust the French in the first instance, and so get rid of the negotiation? and, if the French, who must have felt themselves mocked by this treatment, and have been more and more assured of the insincerity of our ministers, had stopped all farther proceedings, would they not have been fully justified? Undoubtedly, ministers expected that they would have resented the insult, and have broken off the negotiation at the outset. They thus hoped to have obtained easy credit for their pacific intentions, and to have thrown upon the enemy the odium of a determined purpose of hostility, and an unreasonable rejection of the preliminary basis of negotiation. Unfortunately, however, for this project, the basis was recognized. The disappointment of ministers was evident: lord Malmesbury was unprepared how to act, and compelled to send for farther instructions. The question then became, "since the French have so unexpectedly accepted the basis we intended to be rejected, what can we find that they must be indispensibly called upon to refuse?" Lord Malmesbury, who had before no terms to propose, was now instructed to bring forward such as could not be supposed to undergo much discussion; such as could not readily fail to effect the purpose of being rejected. The three great powers of the continent of Europe, will all of them be left with considerable acquisitions? The king of Prussia has gained a third part of Poland; Russia has ob-

tained a considerable extent of territory from that unfortunate country; and, in addition to his share of the division, it is also proposed, that the emperor of Germany shall also be put in possession of Maestricht, or some other place. France is to be left with only Savoy, Nice, and Avignon. Is it fair that all the other powers should gain more than France? is the state of the war such as to justify this proposition? When Great Britain made a proposition so unreasonable, France took a step calculated to give confidence to the people in those countries she had annexed to the republic, by declaring that she could not, on any account, give them up. In the conference which took place between the British ambassador and the French minister, the former declared, that, the king of Great Britain would not recede from his demand, with respect to the Netherlands. Must not the French, in consequence of this declaration, have been induced to assume an equally resolute tone, with respect to their intention of keeping that territory; when, from the nature of the terms proposed, they perceived no likelihood of obtaining peace? As to the French minister having asked lord Malmesbury to give in his *ultimatum*, it evidently meant no more than that he should make a formal declaration of what he had said with regard to Belgium: a demand which could not surely be considered as unreasonable. Whatever the English ministry might think on that subject, the world at large would consider the memorial of lord Malmesbury as the *sine qua non* of the court of Great Britain, respecting Belgium. If, Mr. Fox proceeded, the house shall be of opinion, that Belgium is

is really entitled to be regarded as a *fine qua non*; that it is an object for which this country ought to continue the war till it has expended another hundred millions, and shed the blood of half a million more wretched beings: if the house think so, it ought openly to declare its opinion. If, on the contrary, the house shall think with me, that it is not worth the risk of this country, to expend such immense treasures of money and blood, in order to restore it to the emperor, who, after all, may perhaps, in a short time, be no longer our ally: then, let them act like men, and, by some fair and unequivocal amendment, convince the country, and shew the world, that they will not be longer subservient to such a dreadful waste of blood and treasure. But if it be true that the negotiation was broken off, on the ground that the retention of Belgium was made a *fine qua non*, on the one part; and its restoration to the emperor a *fine qua non*, on the other; I ask, on what ground was this done? Was the emperor a party to the negotiation? Here then is a *fine qua non* made in a matter intended solely for the benefit of the emperor, to which, nevertheless, he is not a party, and which we do not know whether he himself would absolutely insist on or not! Surely this might have been known before the negotiation was entered upon. When we were so often sending such immense sums to the emperor, millions after millions, some person or other, employed in those offices, might have asked the question. Had any one done so? No. I ask any impartial man, if this is not a mere mockery? but, says the right honourable gentleman,

with great emphasis, why did not the directory present a *contre projet*? To whom should they present it? was the emperor a party? No. They had, then, no one to present it to, for, every thing contained in our *projet* was for the emperor's benefit alone. I agree with the right honourable gentleman as to the principle, that a people who come into the power of another people, by the chance of war, cannot, by the law of nations, be disposed of lawfully, till the definitive treaty of peace is concluded; but this is very different from a people who are left at liberty to chuse a government for themselves, and who, after such liberty, voluntarily adopt the step of uniting themselves with their neighbours; and those, who, perhaps, at one time, might have claimed over them the right of conquest. The French, Mr. Fox observed, were now, and always had been, represented, by ministers, as a horde of assassins. Suppose the Corsicans had chosen the king of Great Britain for their king, and intreated, in the strongest terms, that they might not be given up to those assassins, would it be said, by the British minister, in a negotiation for peace, that Corsica was an object of restoration? Mr. Fox believed that it would not: and might not the French use the same arguments respecting Belgium? On former occasions, when the conquests in the West Indies were mentioned, as means of negotiation, the idea of the *status quo ante bellum* was turned into ridicule. Martineau, particularly, (though in this negotiation the minister had lowered his tone) was, on those occasions, not to be considered as a conquest in former wars; but as territory re-

ceived

ceived at the request of the inhabitants, who had desired to be taken under the protection of his Britannic majesty. Mr. Fox concluded his speech with moving, as an amendment to the address, that, after the words "returning his majesty thanks for his gracious message," there be inserted the following:

"That this house has learnt, with inexpressible concern, that the negociation, his majesty lately commenced, for the restoration of peace, has been unhappily frustrated.

"In so awful and momentous a crisis, the house of commons feel it their duty to speak to his majesty, with that freedom and earnestness which becomes men anxious to preserve the honour of his majesty's crown, and to secure the interests of his people. That, in doing this, they sincerely deplore, that they are under the necessity of declaring, that, as well from the manner in which the late negociation has been conducted, as from the substance of the memorial, which appears to have produced the abrupt termination of it, they have reason to think his majesty's ministers were not sincere in their endeavours to procure the blessings of peace, so necessary for this distressed country; and that all prospect of pacification seems intirely removed from their view: for, on the one hand, his majesty's ministers insist upon the restoration of the Netherlands to the emperor, as a *sine qua non*, from which they have pledged his majesty not to recede; while, on the other, the executive directory of the French republic, with equal pertinacity, claim the preservation of that part of their conquest, as a condition from which they cannot depart.

"That, under these circum-

stances, this house cannot help lamenting the rashness and injustice of his majesty's ministers, whose long-continued misconduct has produced this embarrassing situation, by advising his majesty, before the blessing of peace had been unfortunately interrupted, to refuse all negociation for the adjustment of the then subsisting differences, although, at that time, the Netherlands, now the main obstacle to the return of tranquillity, so far from being considered as an object of contest, was solemnly renounced, and the peace of Europe offered into his majesty's hands, upon the basis of that renunciation, and upon the security and independence of Holland, whilst she preserved her neutrality towards France.

"That this house has farther deeply to regret that, soon after the commencement of the war, when, by the vigour of his majesty's arms, with the assistance of those of his allies, the republic of Holland had been rescued from invasion, and the greatest part of the Netherlands had been recovered by the emperor; at a time, too, when most of the princes of Europe, with resources yet unexhausted, continued firm in their alliance with Great Britain, his majesty's ministers did not avail themselves of this high and commanding position, for the negociation of an honourable peace, and the establishment of the political balance of Europe; that, on the contrary, without any example in the principles and practices of this or any other nation, it is with pain this house recollects, his majesty's minister refused to set on foot any negociation whatsoever with the French republic, not upon a real or even alleged unwillingness on his part

part to listen to the propositions now rejected by her, or to any other specific proposal of indemnity or political security, but upon the arrogant and insulting pretence, that her government was not capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity amongst nations, and that, on this unfounded and merely speculative assumption, his majesty was advised to continue the war to a period when the difficulties in the way of peace have been so much increased, by the defect of most of the powers engaged in the confederacy, and by the conquests and consequent pretensions of the French republic.

“That this house, having thus humbly submitted to his majesty the reflections which his majesty’s gracious communication immediately suggest, feel themselves in duty bound, for the information of his majesty, and the satisfaction of an exhausted people, to proceed, with unremitting diligence, to investigate the causes which have produced our present calamities, and to offer such advice as the critical and alarming circumstance of the nation may require.”

Mr. Dundas, at the same time that he charged Mr. Fox with availing himself of his situation, as a member of that house, to plead the cause of the enemy, yet allowed that his amendment was unequivocal, fair, and open. He called upon the members to make a declaration, that they believed the ministry to have been insincere in the late negociation for peace. Upon that issue he, for his own part, would call on the members, as honest men, to give their opinion, whether they thought that ministers had omitted any measures that

might have procured peace with the country. He agreed that the expence of the war was great, but considered our success as equal to it. The emperor’s and our situation were thrown into a common stock. We were willing to relinquish our acquisitions from the French, to procure for his Imperial majesty the restoration of the territories he had lost. With respect to the possessions of Holland, in our hands, which were particularly connected with his share in the administration, and of the vast importance of which he had spoken on former occasions, it was his wish to keep both the Cape and Ceylon, but never his design to take from the Dutch their trade to the Cape; which was all that they were now capable of holding with advantage to themselves: for, as to the actual possession of the place, they were too weak to keep it. He appealed to the old French monarchy, for the truth of the assertion, that one acre of land in the Austrian Netherlands is equal in value to a whole province of France. And this he did, that the house might see how necessary it was for his majesty to demand, as a condition of peace, that they should be restored to France. Facts would best shew which party had been wanting in a real desire to promote peace. Did the French, in any period, come forward to negotiate, and were refused by us? If this had been the case, the backwardness of ministers to pacification must have been admitted; but the contrary was the truth: we had regularly used every means, from the note of Mr. Wickham, at Balle, to the late mission of lord Malmesbury, to bring about so desirable an event, without success.

Mr.

Mr. Grey said, that the fundamental evil, from whence all our misfortunes flowed, was, that peace never had been the real object of those who carried on the war. They went upon a system of extermination, which so irritated our enemies, that there was danger of our never having peace. Having taken a review of lord Malmesbury's letter to lord Grenville, he contended that M. de la Croix's proposition, of offering an equivalent to the emperor, for the Netherlands, in the secularization of the three ecclesiastical electorates, and several bishopricks in Germany and Italy, might be considered as an offer of terms of peace, or *contre projet*, and ought to have been attended to. However we might wish for the restoration of the Netherlands to the emperor, they were not to be regained by force. He considered the proposition, in the late negociation, of retaining the most important possessions of our former ally, Holland, as a most profligate trait in the late negociation. The offer of restoring Martinico and Pondicherry only, (for St. Lucia and Tobago were to be kept as an equivalent for our supposed claims on St. Domingo) for all the conquests made by France on the emperor, was a most extravagant proposition.

On a division of the house, Mr. Fox's amendment was rejected by 21 against 37. The original address was, of course, carried by an equal majority.

The general solicitude for peace, which prevailed at this time, being,

in a few weeks after, converted, by the stoppage of bank-payment in specie (already hinted at, and bye and bye to be particularly noticed), into a painful anxiety and many despondent forebodings of national bankruptcy and individual ruin.

The earl of Oxford was not deterred, by this defeat of the opposition, on the question of peace, and the means and conditions of obtaining it, from making a second attempt for the same end, trusting that a material change must have been produced in the mind of parliament by the general alarm, still waxing greater and greater, in all parts of the country. His lordship, on the twenty-third of March, called the attention of the house of lords to a motion, of which he had given notice some time before, on this subject. Peace, he said, was demanded by the voice of the country; and he was persuaded, that it might be obtained if sought with a sincere and honest intention. The government and people of France, he was convinced, were not less disposed than ourselves to enter into an amicable negociation. He then read some extracts from the correspondence between Mr. Wickham and M. Barthelemi; and the register of the decrees of the executive directory, which lay upon their lordships table; upon which he grounded his opinion, that the French directory are inclined to make peace.* His conclusion from the whole was, that the directory

was

* The extracts quoted were these:

In the Note (No. 2.) transmitted to Mr. Wickham, by M. Barthelemi, there is this passage:

"The directory ardently desire to procure, for the French republic, a just and honourable peace. The step taken by Mr. Wickham would have afforded to the directory a real satisfaction, if the declaration itself, which that minister makes, of his not having any

was disposed to peace, but that it was determined to keep the Rhine for the boundary of France. "And, my lords, he added, it has power to do it, and you have not the power to prevent it. You must, therefore, either make peace upon these terms, or persist in the war, which is certain ruin. I therefore move your lordships,

That a humble address be presented to his majesty, humbly to represent to his majesty, that, in the present most critical and alarming situation of the country, this house holds it to be its bounden duty to apprise his majesty of his own danger, and the ruin and confusion which threaten the whole nation.

That the shock, which has been lately given to public credit, must,

from the peculiar nature of our commercial system, deprive us of those means whereby we were enabled to hold so high a rank among the nations of the world, unless the country is speedily relieved from its present enormous expenditure, and its future prosperity insured, by an immediate, sincere, and lasting, peace.

"That this house begs leave, humbly, to represent to his majesty, that, upon a considerate and impartial review of the whole of the late negotiation, this house sees, with concern, that that negotiation was broken off by the conduct and demand of his majesty's ministers, and not by a want of disposition for peace on the part of France.

"That in answer to the impolitic note, delivered by Mr. Wickham,

any order, any power to negotiate, did not give room to doubt of the sincerity of the pacific intentions of his court. In fact, if it was true, that England began to know her real interest; that she wished to open again, for herself, the sources of abundance and prosperity; if she sought for peace with good faith, would she propose a congress, of which the necessary result must be to render all negotiation endless? or, would she confine herself to the asking, in a vague manner, that the French government should point out any other way whatever for attaining the same object—that of a general pacification.

Again, my lords, (No. 7.) extract from the register of the decrees of the executive directory:

"The executive directory, upon consideration of the Note, addressed to the minister for foreign affairs, by lord Grenville, dated Westminster, September 24, 1796, wishing to give a proof of the desire which it entertains to make peace with England, decrees as follows: The minister for foreign affairs is charged to deliver the necessary passports to the envoy of England, who shall be furnished with full powers, not only for preparing and negotiating the peace between the French republic and that power, but for concluding it definitively between them."

And, again, my lords, (No. 15.)

"The executive directory sees, with pain, that, at the moment when it had reason to hope for the speedy return of peace, between the French republic and his Britannic majesty, the proposal of lord Malmesbury offers nothing but dilatory or very distant means of bringing the negotiation to a conclusion.

"Nevertheless, the executive directory, animated with an ardent desire of putting a stop to the scourge of war, and to prove that they will not reject any means of reconciliation, declare, that as soon as lord Malmesbury shall exhibit, to the minister for foreign affairs, sufficient powers, from the allies of Great Britain, for stipulating for their respective interests, accompanied by a promise, on their part, to subscribe to whatever shall be concluded in their names, will hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which shall be submitted to them, and that the difficulties shall be removed, as far as may be consistent with the safety and dignity of the French republic."

the executive directory declare, that, yielding to the ardent desire by which it is animated to procure peace for the French republic, and for all nations, it will not fear to declare itself openly. Charged by the constitution with the execution of the laws, it cannot make, or listen to, any proposals that would be contrary to them. The constitutional act does not permit it to consent to any alienation of that, which, according to the existing laws, constitutes the territory of the republic.

“That it is impossible his majesty’s ministers could have misunderstood this declaration, for in the note, signed Downing-street, there are these words: ‘To a demand such as this is added an expressed declaration, that no proposal contrary to it will be made, or even listened to.’

“That six months after this his majesty’s ministers again made an overture of peace, but in so ungracious a manner that doubts might have been reasonably entertained of their sincerity; and after a variety of trifling disputes, unworthy a great nation, when the happiness of millions were depending, his majesty’s ministers demanded, and made, as their *sine qua non*, those very terms, which, before they began their negotiation, they knew would not be made, or even listened to:

“That, under all these circumstances, this house humbly, and most earnestly, entreats his majesty to enter into an immediate negotiation, upon such terms as France is likely to listen and accede to, and in such manner, and through the medium of such men, as shall leave no room to doubt the pacific intentions of his majesty.

“And this house begs leave, humbly, to assure his majesty, that it entertains no doubt of the success of such a negotiation, and that it feels confident, that after his majesty shall have been graciously pleased to restore to his people the blessing of peace, such retrenchments, and wise regulations, may be adopted, by the legislature, as will relieve the people from their burdens, remove every cause of complaint, of their being unequally represented; restore to them their ancient, venerable, and free, constitution; and thereby re-establish public spirit, and public confidence; and insure to his majesty the affections of his subjects, the glory, prosperity, and happiness, of his future reign.”

The question being put, lord Grenville observed that it was quite unnecessary to reply, in detail, to the extraordinary string of propositions which their lordship’s had just heard. He moved that the address of the thirtieth of December last might be read, which contained sufficient arguments against that part of the motion suggested by his lordship, and from which it would be seen, that so far from the negotiation being terminated by this country, it had been abruptly and insolently broken off by the French republic.—That address being read, the duke of Norfolk said, that he wished that the present address might go to the throne, as, without the adoption of such a motion, there was little probability of obtaining peace. The secretary of state had grounded his opposition to the motion of their lordship’s on its inconsistency with the address of December last. But, was there any thing to prevent a grave assembly from reconsidering its former resolutions;

solutions; especially as new circumstances had since occurred, which had an alarming influence on the commercial credit of the country, and tended to impair its ability of carrying on the war? He charged administration with indulging a spirit of intrigue, when the welfare not only of this but other nations of Europe was concerned, and when it should clearly be understood on what terms this country was willing to make peace. Administration was much to blame, in risking the events of war, by refusing to treat for peace, after the reduction of Valenciennes, since which time those events had turned in favour of the enemy. France, he said, had as good a right to retain Belgium, as this country to retain Canada, in 1783, or the Cape of Good Hope, in any treaty that might now be agreed on.

The marquis of Lansdowne lamented to see a motion of such importance passed over in the sluffling manner in which ministers seemed inclined to treat it. After the measures of distress, to which we had lately been obliged to recur, we ought not to adhere to the determination of December thirty, or of any former period.—It was idle, after the shock given to public credit, to talk of half measures. Nothing short of making bank notes a legal tender, with all the calamities incident to this step, could save us. The minister must know this, and only waited, perhaps, to have the call to do so, from the public. If so, he was ready for one, to make the call, and to share in the responsibility for a measure which alone could give us time to look about us. He did not despair of his country, but, the longer the system of

war was pursued, the difficulties, in the way of peace, would be increased. It was by relieving the balance of trade, by reviving commerce, by restoring public confidence, and, above all, by peace, that the dangers which threatened us were to be averted. He wished the present ministers might accomplish this point; but if they avowed that they knew not how, it would become them to surrender the task to those who did. He referred to the correspondence of lord Malnesbury, and observed, it was impossible to form a right judgement of the steps taken in that negotiation, when only a part of that correspondence was laid before the house, and the instructions and intentions of ministers were kept back: without this knowledge it was impossible to say which was the unreasonable party; but if it could be proved, by the documents, to be the enemy, it would unite the hearts and hands of the people in this country.

Lord Borlington did not at all approve the motion, which tended to depress the spirits of the people; nor of the words of it, which resembled those of the minutes of the executive directory more than the language of the British house of peers.

The earl of Guilford said, that his majesty's ministers, it appeared, persevered in their resolution not to enter upon any negotiation which should not make the restoration of Belgium a *sine qua non*. He who, during the whole course of the war, had questioned their sincerity in negotiating, must own that they were consistent in acting upon the address of December; since they had, by that method, secured themselves

from the means of attaining peace, and called upon the house to declare, that they would not negotiate for any that they were likely to obtain.

The earl of Spencer ridiculed the idea, that ministers were not sincere in their professed wishes for peace. A reference to the papers would shew that the proposals were not given as an *ultimatum*. The adoption of the motion, instead of accelerating peace, would retard it: as it would prove to France, and to Europe, that we were willing to make peace on any terms.

The earl of Guildford replied, that lord Malmesbury, though he desired M. de la Croix to suggest a *contre-projet*, had expressly made the surrender of Belgium a *sine qua non*. Now, if he understood diplomatic language, a *sine qua non* was an *ultimatum*.

The duke of Bedford also observed, that when ministry, through their ambassador, called for a *contre projet*, they had, at the same time, expressly declared, that the surrender of Belgium was a *sine qua non*. But what demonstrated the insincerity of ministers was, their not investing their ambassador with intelligible powers. He was incessantly dispatching couriers for instructions. When called on to present his terms, he had none to offer; and, at length, made a *sine qua non* of a matter which they had previously declared they would not concede as a principle. The duke believed, in his conscience, that the present ministers could not negotiate a peace on so good terms as other persons of more capacity, and more sincerity and truth, would be able to obtain.

The earl of Carlisle lamented the

degeneracy of the times, which were now so changed, as to make an address of gratitude and loyalty a matter of charge and suspicion. When he was young, no time was lost in approaching the throne with thanks. He professed, upon his honour, to believe that ministers were sincere in their wishes for peace: nor could he conceive a reason for them to be otherwise.

The marquis of Lansdowne reminded his lordship, that he had himself been sent on an embassy of peace to America, and doubts were entertained to this day of the sincerity of their mission.

Lord Grenville did not know in what diplomatic dictionary the noble lords had found that a *sine qua non* was synonymous with an *ultimatum*. A *sine qua non* meant only a condition not on any account to be given up or departed from. An *ultimatum*, the last and best terms of any kind that would be offered. A noble duke had insinuated now, as he had often done before, not only the insincerity but the incapacity of ministers, for their situations. He thanked God, however, that a very different opinion was entertained of his majesty's confidential servants, by that house, with the exception of four or five lords, as well as by more than three-fourths of the other house. The virtues, as well as talents, of the present ministers, he said, were known and acknowledged by the whole British nation: nor could the people of England be easily induced to think that the most proper persons to make peace were persons agreeable to the enemy.

The marquis of Lansdowne replied to this, that the men, proper to make peace, were not so much the men

men that the enemy might like. It was not favour that an enemy demanded, but candour: and this, he believed, was what they could not find in the present ministers of England.

The earl of Coventry declared that he could not but still consider England as undone, if she agreed to the surrender of Belgium.*

On a division of the house, the earl of Oxford's motion was rejected by 52 against 16.

It is highly worthy of observation, as truly characteristic of the selfishness of men, and especially of sovereign powers, that, in this negotiation, the ostensible source of the war, the interests of the injured parties in France, the blood royal, the nobles, and the clergy, were, if mentioned at all, only glanced at in an indirect and indifferent manner. Nor was much greater regard paid, on either side, to the interests or wishes of the French and English nations at large. It plainly appeared, from the published correspondence, between the negotiating parties, that notwithstanding their professions of a wish for peace, the most guarded precautions were practised by both sides, not to cede or yield any portion of territory upon which peace could be established between the two countries. Though a real patriot, statesman, or king, may sometimes arise for the consolation of the human race, it is in the nature of all governments and governors to be more solicitous about their own interests, as contra distinguished from those of the governed, than of the wider circle of their countrymen, and of human nature. But although governments,

like all bodies, are chiefly interested in the preservation and extension of their own power, although they be often, not to say for the most part, scandalously indifferent to the good of the communities, over whom, in the course of Providence, they are placed, it is not true, conversely, that all that is in opposition to government, is patriotic, humane, and just. Those inconsistencies and tergiversations in public, and that laxity of morals in private life, which had marked the characters of not a few of the members of parliament in opposition to the British administration, together with a flagrant desire of power, manifested in a constant endeavour to thwart the minister in every measure, important or trivial, right or wrong: these vices and follies, in certain individuals, diffusing, by the association of ideas a suspicious air, over even a constant adherence to pure principles, brought a general discredit and disgrace on the whole of what was formerly and by some is still, called, the whig party. A party was gradually formed in the nation, suspicious of both our ministerial and antiministerial factions. And this party, which appeared to be daily increasing, encouraged a small phalanx in the house of commons, to present themselves as a rallying post for all who were animated with a sincere and disinterested desire of peace, and the prosperity of the country. They disavowed all animosity and rivalry towards either of the two great parties, into which the legislature was divided. They recommended unanimity at home, and moderation, justice, and the enlarged views of a humane philosophy

* There is an ambiguity in this mode of expression; as the French were in actual possession. But his lordship's meaning is clearly determined by his apprehensions for the safety of England.

in our negotiations with our foreign enemies. From this elevated and dignified ground they looked around them, to see whether there yet remained any means, by which the negotiation, so abruptly broken off, might not be renewed. They were inclined to think that a temperate and cool reconsideration of the propositions tendered by lord Malmesbury, and rejected by De la Croix, would tend to a salutary purpose, and that it was possible for parliament, without violation or diminution of its dignity, to adopt some resolutions, which, while they strengthened the executive government, might be conciliatory in their nature, and pacific in their effect.

Previously to any trial of strength in parliament, the neutralists were at pains to explain and disseminate their principles, both in conversation, and by means of the press. The leading features of their plan, for peace, were, political safety on both sides, and the security of private property. "The liberty of the nation, like that of an individual, it was said, as defined by Montesquieu, is the right of doing every thing that the law of nations permits. If one nation could do what that law forbids, it would no longer possess liberty, because the other nations would, in like manner, possess this power. The rights of all nations, dependent and reciprocal, equally demand in each the protection of property: property, which, by its numerous relations, and the circumstances of its production, constitutes the bond of civil society, and the existence of public credit. This universal banker is equally necessary to the industrious poor, who leave their score with the bakers, to ministers,

who borrow millions, and to nations who exchange their productions."

"But where are we to find a law, by which the rights of nations are to be maintained and realized? The inviolability of property and public credit constitutes the wisdom, and forms the best end of human policy. And it is this basis of universal utility, that forms the most solid foundation of the law of nations.

"How was this great political truth to be exemplified, and forced at once on the comprehensions and adoption of mankind? By the explosion and the consequences of the French revolution. It was in vain that the people of France were represented by universal, or even numerical, suffrage. That representation, instead of respecting the laws of property, and maintaining public credit, violated and reversed its whole system. Adopting spoliation for plunder, they created the assignats, which consumed the finances of Europe. They maintained the war of France, till she conquered, and subsisted by foreign spoil. England, to meet the war of assignats, drew upon the finances of posterity. This country and France have reversely consumed their capital of the present, and that of future generations. Now France is beginning to draw upon posterity, and England to consume her capital of the day. But they have both to learn, that they have but one capital, namely, the produce of industry, and the soil for the support of life. Italy, Spain, Germany, Holland, America, and all the northern states are, eventually, sufferers in this great convulsion. Beside the ravage of war, the usual productions of England and France must cost them dearer. The spirit of insub-

insubordination is progressive, and the rulers of France have converted it into an instrument of conquest. How is the storm to be laid, and the revolution turned even to good? By convincing nations that they have, in reality but one general interest, which has been sacrificed in the general destruction; that, in order to prevent similar explosions in any one of them in future, they ought to maintain the inviolability of property and public credit; and that the permanent interests of every state depend on the general stock, and not upon a momentary superiority, or the little profits of a narrow rivalry.*

Since the æra of the constitution of 1795, it was farther urged, and the efficacious measures adopted for the suppression of anarchy, and the protection of persons and property, there cannot reasonably exist any difficulty relative to the form of government of the two nations, the one and the other of which have founded their political safety upon the same basis; taxes established through a constitutional representation. If those who govern the French republic be disposed to propositions of peace, in the spirit of philanthropy, and on the ground of mutual interest, the dispute, from that moment, will become a generous emulation in favour of the rights of humanity.—Commerce and agriculture will re-establish the bonds of reciprocal advantage: funds will be set apart for the relief of those who have served, or suffered, during the war: and a connection will be formed between the public creditor, the landed proprietor, and the industrious manufacturer, which

will compel them to support the tranquillity of their country, both external and internal. By a cessation of arms, said the patrons of these generous doctrines; by the display of a sincere and ardent desire of good neighbourhood, and justice and good-will to all nations, let us soothe, soften, and harmonize, the minds of Frenchmen into the same tone in which they were in the first stage of the revolution: when they abandoned the glory of conquest for the sublimer praise of a free constitution, to be framed, in all its relations, on the ground of morality.—“The friend of mankind, loosening from the shore, on an element, free and open, by nature, to all nations, and indulging sentiments which such a situation naturally inspires, casts his eyes on the one side to the cliffs of Dover, on the other to those of Calais, disjoined, like the French and English nations, from one another, though, like them, fundamentally the same, yet each retaining its position in peace. The soils of France and England are not at war with each other: nor the plants; nor the animals; nor the harmless peasants; nor the labouring poor, of any class; nor the commercial men, whose interests, rightly understood, are the same; nor, in general, the great body of the French and English.—Whence, then, the discord and din of arms? From the narrow ambition of a few individuals, who, from blind passion, or sordid avarice, sacrifice, to their selfish views, the good of their country. Is it not possible to animate, by the breath of unbounded philanthropy, few patriots of expanded souls in the

* See Correspondence between a Traveller and a Minister of State.

nations, who may rise superior to such cruel as well as contracted considerations, and controul the ambition of courts, by the nobler ambition of promoting the welfare of nations? In such hands might it not be expected, that a negotiation for peace might not yet be in vain.*

Such were the principles of a party which was formed, or forming, at this time, not only in the British parliament and nation, but in France, Germany, and other parts of Europe. They did not advise to throw away the arms of terror; but, on the contrary, through military preparation, on a grand scale,† to prevent the necessity of using them, in imitation of divine goodness, which “bends the bow that it may not shoot, and whets the sword that it may not strike.”‡

We cannot but express our entire approbation of the sentiments professed by these philanthropists. Their design was great and good, and undoubtedly capable of embellishment from poetical fancy, as well as of support from the profoundest views of political economy; of both of which the publication just quoted affords no mean specimens. It was thus that Plato called in the aid of music, and other arts to harmonize the discordant passions of men, by an appeal to the tenderest affections, and noblest principles, of human nature. Though we entirely agree with our philosophers, that the crisis to which Britain, with the whole circle of civilization, was brought, in 1797, was not a time for devotion to any party; and farther, that we

know not any party whose conduct is not more or less marked by folly, and whose patriotism is not more or less justly subjected to suspicion: yet, in the present selfish and luxurious age, when the profession of disinterested virtue is so generally discredited, and even the possession of it almost considered as a weakness, their project was, in truth, rather chimerical. That there should be so much wisdom and virtue in the nation, as to emancipate public affairs from the trammels of self-interest, factious combination, and private ambition, and place them in the best hands, brought together from all quarters, and united in patriotic and prudent plans of administration, was a thing scarcely to be expected. At the same time, it must be admitted, that to hold up to the view of the world, a plan so humane and so fair, has a tendency to soften the asperities of faction, as well as of national antipathy, and to prepare the minds of men and nations for the voluntary adoption of measures that must ultimately be obtruded by direful necessity. But, whatever may be thought of this project, it was introduced into the house of commons, with singular propriety, by

Mr. George Augustus Pollen, a young gentleman of a fortune decently independent, of manners irreproachable, good parts, and pure from all political intrigues and factions. Mr. Pollen, on the tenth of April, introduced a motion for a farther attempt towards pacification, by a speech of a conciliatory

* Thoughts on the late negotiation for peace.

† An union of force and finance throughout Christendom against anarchy, as formerly against the Turks.

‡ A maxim, or proverb, in the ordinances of the Hindoo legislator, *Mxru*.

nature; recommending unanimity at home, and such terms as might be likely to gain over to the side of peace the enemy, with whom we were engaged in so cruel a contest. After a modest exordium, befitting a young man, and a young member of parliament, Mr. Pollen said, when he looked at the other (the opposition) side of the house he could not withhold his admiration, from the talents of which many who sat upon it were possessed; but he regretted extremely that they were so often employed for the purposes of self-interest, and that the good of the public was so frequently sacrificed to the illiberality of party-spirit. The consequence was, that the debates were conducted with so much acrimony, and intermingled with so much personal invective, that even the speaker must have found it difficult to pursue the thread of the argument, and to preserve order and decorum in their proceedings. It was not for the empty hand to blame the prodigality of the full one, or for the person sitting safe upon the top of a rock, and viewing the ship tossed by the winds and the waves, rashly to censure the conduct of the pilot. It was to be recollected, that though the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) had sitten at the helm, while the vessel of the state was exposed to storms and tempests, and though the ship had sustained considerable damage, from the accidents which had befallen it, the pilot, perhaps, might not be to blame, and that, had it been in other hands, instead of being shattered, it might have been sunk. Instead of indulging in idle complaints, or peevish invective, he thought, that, at the present crisis, every hand ought to be active

in the service of the country, and every heart should glow with an ardent desire to extricate it from its present embarrassments. Having said this much in general, he proceeded to state the situation in which the country was placed. Having commenced the war in concert with several of the most respectable and powerful nations in Europe, we were deserted by almost all our former friends, and had now to contend against some who were at one time our allies. Instead of carrying our arms to the enemy's door, we were in daily terror of a hostile invasion; instead of calculating upon the ruin of the finances of our adversaries, and exhausting their resources, our whole attention was confined to the restoration of our own credit, and the salvation of our own independence. He was convinced, that the people of France were as earnest in their wishes of peace as the people of Great Britain. It might be asked, perhaps, that, if they were so desirous for the termination of hostilities, why did they not carry their complaints to the bar of the directory, and demand redress? To this he would reply, that they were taught to consider the ambition of England as the sole cause to which the prolongation of the war was to be ascribed, and, that it was to her thirst for aggrandizement the happiness of Europe was sacrificed. And, if this was the case, would a British house of commons permit that England, the parent of commerce; England, the source of every proud and every generous feeling, and the bright example of regular government and salutary regulation, should be branded as the interested author of all the

all the calamities which are at present abroad in the world? He trusted, that, on the contrary, England would be made to vindicate her character, in the face of Europe, and that it would be shewn to the present and to the future age, that the aspersions, in this instance, is as untrue as it is contradictory to her past history; and that even her enemies will be taught to look to her as the source of their advantages. But it was not merely our character, but our interests which were at stake. Public credit was shaken to its very foundation, and peace alone could restore it. It might be said, that the French nation were not sufficiently tranquilized, and that their government was not possessed of stability enough to insure the blessings of a permanent peace. His majesty had declared it to be capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity; and if there were any who could not adopt this opinion, he would ask, if they wished to persevere in the contest either till the present government of France was completely consolidated, or till a system, in which they could repose greater confidence, was established upon its overthrow? He advised

gentlemen to read the debates in the council of five hundred, and to learn moderation from the speeches of Dumas and Dumolard. As a specimen of the just and proper notions, which obtained in that assembly, he referred to the message, which was lately sent to the directory, demanding, of that body, an explanation of what they called an incendiary debarkation of prisoners upon our coasts; a measure which they justly reprobated as inconsistent with the laws of war. And, if these were the sentiments of moderation and justice, by which a French assembly was guided, would the house of commons of Great Britain be less inclined to the exercise of these dispositions? He trusted not."

Mr. Pollen proceeded to read an abstract, from a paper, contained in the *Redacteur*, of December, 1799, which he considered as the official sentiments of the French directory, on the late negociation for peace: the arguments contained in which, tended to prove, on one hand, the insincerity and ambition of England, in the late negociation; and, on the other, to prove how sincerely desirous the directory were of peace, on moderate terms.* Mr. Pollen, after reading this paper, observed,

* Taken from the *Redacteur*, Dec. 14, 1796, three days after lord Malmesbury's departure from Paris.

"The directory sets out with asserting positively, that the war has been, on their part, a defensive, and not an offensive one; and that peace is the only object of their vows and wishes.

"In enumerating the strong reasons they had for suspecting the sincerity of lord Malmesbury's mission, they particularly specify the perfidy of England, in exciting and supporting interior troubles, both in La Vendée and elsewhere. They mention likewise the forgery and fabrication of false assentats, the studied slowness and want of conciliation, as well as of candour and openness in the mode adopted by lord Malmesbury, for commencing a treaty; his want of authority on one hand, from any of the powers allied with Great Britain, while, on the other hand, he affected to include, not only Austria, but even Russia, among the parties to be consulted. It might, therefore, they say, be necessary to send couriers as far as to St. Petersburg, which, at that season of the year, could not be accomplished, with the answers returned, in less time than five
that,

that, either the allegations contained in it were founded on fact, or false. If founded on fact, then, the negotiation ought to be resumed on fair and candid principles: but, if false, the best mode of displaying the justice of the English government, to Europe and the world, and of exposing the unjust pretensions of the enemy, would

be, to publish a counter-declaration, stating the grounds on which the war was carried on. He called upon the side of the house, on which he sat, to defend their conduct, and the principles on which they acted, by shewing to the public, that it was not the inclination of the minister, but the interest of the nation that they consulted. He called on

weeks. That lord Malmesbury only proposed a vague principle of compensation, without any specific articles of reciprocal restitution, while their specific demands he only answered by ingenious evasion. They then enumerate the delays of messengers, and a private secretary sent to London. The want of signature to two memorials, sent in by lord Malmesbury; and, at length, when the *ultimatum* was demanded peremptorily, what does it contain? The first memorial demands,

1st. Restitution to the emperor of all his territories, without exception, as he held them before the war; consequently, the restitution of Belgium.

2d. The total annihilation of every treaty made by France with the princes of the German empire, as being fundamentally inadmissible, and contrary to the *Jus Publicum Imperii*, which makes it impossible to treat with any, excepting the head of the German empire. This, they say, would annihilate all the treaties between France and the elector of Hanover, the duke of Wertemburg and Brunswic, the landgrave of Hesse; and lastly, with the king of Prussia, in his capacity of elector of Brandenburg.

3d. The complete evacuation of Italy, including Savoy and Nice.

4th. A reservation in favour of Russia, by which that court may interfere at its pleasure, as a contracting party for the peace.

5th. The same to Portugal, and by which likewise France is to be precluded from demanding a sum of money as the price of peace from that court.

6th. Great Britain contests the validity of the cession by Spain, to the republic of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, as contrary to the peace of Utrecht.

7th. The restitution of the property of the emigrants forfeited or sold is obscurely, they say, and indirectly demanded, though in language and terms so ingeniously ambiguous as to leave matter of endless discussion.

What is the second memorial? For Holland, the British ministry demands a complete restoration of its ancient form of Government; the demolition or annihilation of all the treaties between France and the Batavian republic: lastly, the restoration of the stadtholder to all his dignities, offices, and possessions.

And what does England offer as the price of so many concessions, restitutions, and humiliations, on the part of France? The restoration to Holland of all her colonies? The indemnity to the Dutch for the past?

No!

She offers only a partial restitution of the Dutch colonies, reserving to herself the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon.

Finally, that if France will not consent to annul her treaties, made with the Batavian republic, she is in that case to make over or cede to the emperor all Holland has ceded to France in the late treaty between the two countries.

The directory then asks,

Is this a fair treaty?

Does it not demand from France the entire restitution of all that France has conquered during the war, without restoring all that England has acquired?

Does it not stipulate by induction, and by intalible though indirect and ambiguous means, the return of the emigrants, the restitution of their estates, the destruction of our constitution of 1795, and insure a counter revolution?

the

the other side of the house, not to defend the minister, but to defend their country: and he called upon both sides to co-operate in delivering their country from its present difficulties, and to act in such a way that every man in the house might be able to say, that, he had done nothing of which he was to be ashamed. He then moved, "that a humble address be presented to his majesty, representing to his majesty, that, upon mature deliberation, his faithful commons were of opinion, that his gracious and benign endeavours, to promote the restoration of the general tranquillity of Europe had failed of their effect either from misconception, on the part of the French government, or from the terms proposed having been ill-explained to the people of that country. His faithful commons, therefore, beseeched his majesty to adopt such measures as might tend, in the most speedy and effectual manner, to remove these misconceptions, and to vindicate the sincerity of his desire for the re-establishment of peace, in the eyes of Europe and of the world."

This motion was seconded by sir John Macpherson.

Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that no practical benefit whatever could arise either from the motion itself, or the arguments by which it was supported. A peace, he said, did not depend on the earnestness of their desires to obtain it, nor on any previous declarations of that house, which were rather apt to frustrate than accelerate the object which they solicited. It depended on the free but reasonable operations of the executive government, the disposition of the enemy, and the general posture of affairs, combined

with various other circumstances too numerous and too complex to be detailed. The honourable gentleman alleges, that he has reason to suppose, that, suffering as the French people must do under the inevitable horrors of war, they must earnestly and anxiously desire peace; and, on that ground, he assumes, that, a paragraph, which appeared, so long as December 24, in a French paper, tending to shake off from the directory the odium of the breach of the late negociation for peace, and throw it on this country, must have been an official manifesto, and published by special authority. He does not say, that he is perfectly satisfied of the authenticity of the statements in that paper; but he thinks them sufficiently authentic for calling in question the sincerity of the executive government of this country, in the late negociation; and he farther thinks, that something ought immediately to be attempted, to do away any impression that the statements in that paper might have on the opinions of the people of France, and of Europe in general. But it would be singular, by a manifesto, to refute a declaration which it had no authority to consider as official; to expose the British nation to a fresh insult, and to encourage the enemy to defeat the very practical measures which it had adopted for the restoration of tranquillity. It would appear, on inquiry, that ministers had not only performed the whole of what Mr. Pollen's motion proposed, but even gone beyond the direct terms of it. There might be a chance, he said, for making overtures of peace, which the executive government only know how to come at. Break down that paling, by an

an imprudent and hasty step, and that chance is utterly lost. He could not at present enter into a detail of particulars. He had no hesitation, however, in declaring, that the disposition of his majesty's ministers went beyond the purpose of the motion before them; and, that in consequence of dispatches received from his Imperial majesty, who had refused to negotiate for peace, but in conjunction with Great Britain, a confidential person was to be sent, from this country to Vienna, with instructions to enable the emperor to conduct farther negotiations, in concert with his allies. He, therefore, hoped that Mr. Pollen would withdraw his motion, rather than persevere in a measure which would tend to defeat the end which it proposed.

Colonel Porter disavowed all confidence in ministers. The chancellor of the exchequer had come to the house with a flourishing description of the state of the finances; and in a few weeks thereafter, we were found to be in a situation little short of bankruptcy. At all events, the present motion could do no harm; it should, therefore, have his support.

Mr. Addington had flattered himself that, after what had passed, Mr. Pollen would have withdrawn his motion. This motion, he observed, was founded on two grounds, stated in a French paper: first, the origin of the war, which was attributed to the British ministry; secondly, the insincerity of the British government in its overtures for peace. He made a variety of observations, tending to shew, that ministers were dragged into the war against their wills; and, also, that they had not neglected any feasible opportunities

or means of pacification. If we were to make any application for peace, he said, in our present circumstances, the enemy might suppose, that we were driven to it by the recent occurrences at the bank. It had been asked, what had been gained by the war? This was an improper question, as it was a war of defence: but, we had retained our character, achieved great conquests, and made a discovery of easy means of preserving internal tranquillity. We had nearly destroyed the marine of France, and given a severe blow to that of Spain. We had, in a great degree, quashed those dangerous principles that were abroad, and secured our honour, our liberty, and, he trusted, our constitution. These were some of the advantages we had gained by the war: and, on these grounds, he would vote against the motion, and move the order of the day.

Mr. Fox thought, as he knew the country also thought, that peace was the only means of averting our impending ruin. But what does the minister, who has had so large a share in producing your present calamities, propose to you to night? That you should still repose your confidence in him: still confide in those councils which have been so fatal. It seemed, Mr. Hammond, of whose abilities he had no doubt, was going to Vienna, and, on this the minister expected them to stop at once, in the performance of their duty. We are now to negotiate, says the minister, in conjunction with the emperor, and Buonaparte is to be negotiator for peace with us both. Do not put me under difficulties, by your untimely interference. To that, as a general principle, Mr. Fox had

had no difficulty in assenting, though perhaps he would not agree with the minister as to the extent to which that principle might be carried. The present question was not, whether any minister, under any circumstances, should have the confidence of the house, during a negotiation, but whether the present minister, under the present circumstances, should possess that confidence? A motion was made for peace, by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Wilberforce) two years ago. What was the language then? "Do not vote for this proposition, but trust in me." He prevailed with this house to do then what he asks you to do now; to confide in his sincerity. After a considerable lapse of time, a negotiation was at last attempted, through the medium of Mr. Wickham, and afterwards carried on by the embassy of lord Malmesbury. This negotiation became a subject of discussion in this house, which was told, after every means had been made use of to evade all measures that could lead to any serious negotiation, that there was not a heart in England so "profligate as to wish, nor a hand so dastardly as to sign, nor a man to be found so degenerate, as to be the courier of a commission to be sent to France, to stipulate for peace." We have tried our executive government enough, said Mr. Fox, to be confident we can do no good to our country, by trying such means any longer. Let us now try means that we have not tried. My opinion is, that, let who will be the negotiators for peace, certainly, still more if the present ministers are to be the negotiators, the chance of obtaining it will be infinitely increased, if parliament should give that nego-

ciation the sanction of its vote. But it seems the French will be encouraged if this house should interfere and dictate to the executive government. Will they really think worse of your energy, if they find that you are determined to take your own affairs into your own hands, instead of confiding to the present ministers. Will they really expect to make better terms of peace with the people of England, speaking to them through the medium of representatives, than with the present executive government? Do they expect more real care of the interest of the people of England from a reigning faction, than from the people themselves, speaking through the medium of their representatives? I apprehend the contrary; and that, as we should expect more justice from the French people themselves, than we do of any faction among them, so would they from the people of Great Britain; and, in that view, I should hope, that neither the republic of France would be hostile to Great Britain, nor the limited monarchy of this country be hostile to the just claims and true interests of the republic of France. I wish to know what better pledge you could give of sincerity to France, in your desire for peace, than to tell them, by a vote of the house of commons, that you are willing to negotiate: and what is more likely to lead to a restoration of tranquillity, upon a solid and permanent foundation?

Colonel Fullarton observed, that the present question, stripped of all diplomatic ambiguity, stood exactly thus: is this country prepared to admit, that Belgium shall not be restored to the emperor, and that the Rhine shall be the boundary of France? If not, the French will answer,

answer, come and take Belgium. These are not times for entrusting the most important interests of the country to plenipotentiaries who entrench themselves behind the ramparts of etiquette, and stalk on the stilts of ambassadorial mightiness. Undoubtedly, every returning sentiment of mutual forbearance and amity ought, by every practicable mode, to be encouraged. Perhaps, with this view, no better beacon or directory can be found, in the annals of negotiation, than the conduct of our Indian government, in the year 1781, when French, Dutch, Mysoreans, and all, were in arms against the English; and our interest in the east were, if possible, more unprosperous than they are at present on the continent of Europe. An honourable baronet, now a member of this house, then second in council, and afterwards governor-general in India, in conjunction with lord Macartney and sir Eyre Coote, intimated to the Mahrattas, that, unless in so far as might be necessary to support existing engagements with allies, the English government was determined, that their operations against the Mahrattas should be naval, and defensive merely. This they intimated to the Poonah government, and, from that moment, not a shot was fired between the Mahrattas and the English. There is one point, which must not be omitted. It is well known, that the French, from the commencement of the war, have resisted all ideas of treating collectively with the confederated powers: in so doing, they have proved their wisdom; for, by treating individually, they have detached every power from the confederacy excepting

Austria and England. If the French lose all hope of detaching these powers from each other, they can no longer have the same object left for persisting in that policy; at least, it may no longer be impracticable to devise means for bringing them to treat on general principles, and collective arrangements. This can hardly be effected without a congress, in some form or other. Under this impression, he would take the liberty of reading such a form of resolutions as he conceived would meet the object in view, not meaning, however, at all, to press them on the house at present:

Resolved, "That it is the opinion of this house, that, whenever a proper opportunity occurs, the most eligible mode of establishing the tranquillity of Europe, on a secure foundation, will be, by assembling a general congress, such as took place last century, previous to the peace of Munster. That the object of this congress ought to be, to specify and declare to all mankind the principles of right and wrong, which ought to govern the relations between independent states; to specify and declare to all mankind the principles of security, property, and public credit, which it is necessary to recognize, and render effectual, before any pacification can be negotiated with stability or honour.

"In the event of the Belligerent powers not acceding to this opinion, it will become this house to make known the grounds on which the war is continued, to ascertain the form on which it is to be conducted, and to declare the principles on which a cession of hostilities ought to be concluded, on the part of his Britannic majesty."

Sir

Sir William Pultney said, that what the parliament and the nation should require was not so much an immediate peace, as a secure one: and this object would be accomplished by patience under our sufferings, and perseverance in the contest. As long as the enemy retained Belgium and Holland there could be no security for England. Now was the moment to strain every nerve in the struggle; and he was more fearful that ministers would be too forward than too tardy in bringing matters to a termination. His complaint against them was that, on hearing the disasters that had befallen the Imperial arms, they had not immediately come down to the house, and called for a loan to invigorate the brave exertions of our illustrious ally.

Sir John Macpherson spoke to the following effect. He thought that it would not be a greater proof of moderation and justice, than of sound political wisdom, to declare that we stood up only in defence of our own rights and liberties, and not for the purpose of encroaching on those of other nations. He was anxious that such a declaration should be made, not only because it would contribute to give peace to this country, but to all Europe, and among other nations, even to our enemies. The interests of Britain would be best promoted by consulting not only our own advantage, but that of all the civilized world: by endeavouring not only to obtain from, but to extend to France, a just, honourable, and solid peace. The French government has ceased to be an incendiary assembly, sanguinary dictators, and a club of plunderers. It has assumed the form and the tone of regular governments. It has offici-

ally declared its respect for personal safety, property, and morals, and has denounced vengeance against the anarchists. It has likewise manifested an appearance of a wish for peace. It is for the French nation to realize the peace, of which their new government speaks to them with cautious reserve. And this object, a frank declaration on the part of the people of England, through their representatives, of a sincere disposition to peace, on a fair moral basis, equally conducive to the security and welfare of both nations, by awakening the sensibility, and gaining the confidence of the French nation, would materially tend to forward. The basis to which he alluded was a due regard to justice, private property, public credit, and the rights of nations. It was time for the English nation to open their eyes on the true object of the war: an object which ought to be as remote from the spirit of vengeance, as that of conquest. It points, on the contrary, to a reasonable agreement between the belligerent states; an agreement dictated by the force of their wants, and founded on the indispensable protection of the right of property, without which no state can be certain of providing for the subsistence of its subjects, nor of maintaining the security of its civil order. Commerce and modern finance having intermingled all property, even that of nations, it follows that public credit has become the universal depositary of civilized society. There is only one property, and one real finance in Europe, the circulation of which is as essential to the political body, as that of the blood to the human body; it was a violation of the right of property that produced the assignats,

assignats, and the assignats that produced the revolution, with all the miseries suffered by France, and inflicted on her neighbours. To shew a disposition, even a zeal for the settlement of a government in France, that should respect the rights of men and nations, would not be a greater blessing to that country, than to all Europe. The motion before the house had a happy tendency to harmonize the great body of the French and English people (who could not be said properly to be at war with each other, though their governments were) into peace and good neighbourhood, by discountenancing and disapproving the insinuations of insincerity, on the part of this country, in the late negotiation. It would assist ministers, in proving that the prolongation of

the calamities of war did not rest with Great Britain. To a motion of this tendency, he did not see why any objection should be made by either side of the house: as it was calculated to procure an essential advantage to the country, while it contributed to strengthen the hands of government. On these grounds, he thought himself justified in supporting the present motion.

Mr. Johnes could never forget the ignominious manner in which our ambassador had been dismissed, nor forgive the insult offered to the nation. The objects for which we contended were, our liberties, our fortunes, our religion, our God, and our king! On a division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Pollen's motion, 85: against it, 291.

C H A P. XI.

Nature of Money.—History of Bank of England.—Stoppage of Bank Payments in Specie:—Message thereon, from his Majesty to Parliament.—Debates on this Subject, in both Houses.—Measures for the Support of Public Credit, and the Relief of various pecuniary Embarrassments.—Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the State of the Bank.

GOLD and silver, and other precious metals, have a two-fold value: a value intrinsic, and a value conventional. They are valuable on account of their own qualities; and they are valuable as the signs and pledges of wealth. This distinction men learnt to make in the progress of commerce. And there was never an abstraction more curious in itself, or in common affairs more important in its consequences. The conventional, or arbitrary, value of gold and silver, the signs and pledges of wealth, has been taken off, has been abstracted from the solid metals, and transferred to paper: a very flimsy and unsubstantial body, and which may be considered as holding a middle place between matter and spirit. It is not, however, the paper that is, in fact, the substitute for money, but something still more exile; the promise, the act of the mind stamped upon it; so that money has come to be, not so much a substantial, or material, as a metaphysical thing; and so easily multiplied, that the number of paper-dollars in America, assignats in France, and bank notes in Great Britain, have almost exceeded calculation.

The bank of England, which has the greatest circulation of any bank in England, was originally projected by a merchant of the name of Patterson, and established in the year 1694. The company was incorporated by parliament, in the 5th and 6th of William and Mary, in consideration of the loan of 1,200,000*l.* granted to the government, for which the subscribers received nearly 8 per cent. By an act of the 8th and 9th of William III. they were empowered to enlarge their capital stock to 2,201,171*l.* By another act of 7th of Anne, they were farther empowered to augment their capital to 4,402,343*l.* on which they advanced 400,000*l.* more to government; in 1714 another loan of 1,500,000*l.*; and other loans in subsequent periods. Nor was the bank of England found to be a greater conveniency to government than this, with others called country banks, was to individual adventurers in manufactures and commerce, and every species of improvement.

But, in this country, as in others, different causes concurred to remind the world that there was a wide difference between money that possessed an intrinsic value, and money.

ney of the abstracted kind, which was merely conventional. A run was made on the bank of England which threatened its ruin. Government interfered for its preservation, and the minds of men began to be turned back from metaphysics to matter: from the sign to the thing signified. The spirit of adventure, in many instances, out-ran its capital,* and an increased capital stock required an increase in the circulating medium: but the immediate and principal cause of the shake that was given to the bank of England, in 1797, is unquestionably the present war, which, among other expences, to an unheard of amount, included large pecuniary remittances to foreign powers, but especially the emperor of Germany.

In the month of January, 1795, the court of directors informed the chancellor of the exchequer, that it was their wish, "that he would arrange his finances for the year, in such a manner as not to depend on any farther assistance from them." These remonstrances were renewed in the months of April and July, in the same year; and on the 8th of

October following, they sent a written paper to the minister, which concluded by stating, "the absolute necessity, which they conceived to exist, for diminishing the sum of their present advances to government; the last having been granted with great reluctance on their part, on his pressing solicitations." In an interview with the chancellor of the exchequer, which took place on the 23d of the same month, on the loans to the emperor being mentioned, the governor assured Mr. Pitt, "That another loan of that sort would go nigh to ruin the country." And on the 9th of February, 1797, the directors ordered the governor to inform the minister, "that, under the present state of the banks advances to government here, to agree with his request of making a farther advance of 1,500,000*l.* as a loan to Ireland, would threaten ruin to the bank, and most probably bring the directors to shut up their doors."

With this cause, another springing also out of the war, powerfully co-operated. This was the dread of an invasion, which had

* That the run on the bank was, in part owing to this cause, is rendered probable, by the many and great embarrasments of principal traders, noticed in a former volume. When from this and whatever other cause, there was a great scarcity, or more properly, a great demand for money, many merchants and tradesmen stopped, and others were on the brink of stopping payment, though their debts were found, on the strictest inquiry, to be greatly exceeded by their property. On this emergency, ministry, willing to nourish trade, the source of revenue, the source of their own power and influence, abroad and at home, very wisely advanced large sums of money to mercantile houses, on receiving deposits of goods into public warehouses: nor is it in very many instances, that they have appeared in so respectable a light, as when they assumed the character of paternal and patriotic pawn-brokers. The emperors of Germany, in pledging their copper-mines, as collateral securities for the payment of the bank notes of Vienna, have also appeared, on many occasions, in the respectable light of pawn brokers. Though pawn-broking has been disgraced by the baseness of little pawn-brokers, in the same manner as the law, the guardian of our properties and lives, has been degraded by vile attorneys, and other legal practitioners, yet there is nothing in the system of pawn broking, disgraceful, or incompatible with the highest virtue and honour. To advance money, or any thing else on deposits or pledges, is nothing more than the simple *quid pro quo*, the principle of barter, the first stage of commerce. At the same time that government afforded succour to trade, in this manner, it ordered a new coinage of gold and silver: in both ways, returning from refinement and abuse, to the original, and most natural medium of commerce.

induced the farmers and others, resident in the parts distant from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of those bankers with whom it was deposited. The run, therefore, commenced upon the country banks, and the demand for specie soon reached the metropolis. In this alarming state, the ministry thought themselves compelled to interfere, and an order of the privy council was issued on the 26th of February, prohibiting the directors of the bank from "issuing any cash in payment till the sense of parliament could be taken on that subject, and the proper measures adopted thereupon for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture."

On the following day, therefore, 27th of February, a message was delivered from his majesty to both houses of parliament, stating, "that an unusual demand of specie having been made, from different parts of the country, on the metropolis, it had been found necessary to make an order of council, to the directors of the bank, prohibiting the issuing of any cash in payment, till the sense of parliament could be taken on the subject." The order of council was read, along with his majesty's message; and lord Grenville, in the house of lords, rose to move, "that the communication from his majesty should be taken into consideration the following day."

The duke of Norfolk was of opinion that the desperate exigency, to which ministers had driven the country, was owing to the exportation of specie to the emperor of Germany and our other allies on the continent. He therefore moved,

that a humble address be presented to his majesty, to prevent the farther exportation of specie, until the sense of parliament should be taken on that subject.

Lord Grenville said, as their lordships had determined not to take the subject into consideration till next day, he did not wish to discuss it, as neither he nor the house were prepared for it. The necessity of acceding to the motion was urged by the earl of Guildford, and the earl of Moira, on the ground, that to decline this would have an ill effect on the public mind.

The duke of Norfolk put the question directly to lord Grenville whether it was intended to send money to the emperor? The secretary, persevered in his determination, not to discuss, that day, a subject that was to be taken into consideration the next. The question being put, the duke of Norfolk's motion was rejected by 54 against 5.

His majesty's message being again read, next day, lord Grenville, after much preface, which it is not necessary to our purpose to relate, informed the house, that he had two motions for their consideration; and first, "that a humble address be presented to his majesty, to return thanks for his gracious communication, and to assure his majesty, that he might rely with the utmost confidence on the wisdom of parliament, to call forth, in case of necessity, the extensive resources of the kingdom: this address was unanimously agreed to. Lord Grenville's other motion was for the appointment of a select and secret committee of nine lords, to examine and report, on the outstanding debts against the bank, the state of the funds for discharging the same; the

cause that rendered the order of council necessary, and which might justify the members of that house for taking the proper steps for the confirmation and continuance of that measure."

The duke of Grafton said, that ministers had gone to the extreme length of a measure founded in an assumption of power, unknown to the laws and constitution of the country. They would be obliged to have recourse to a bill of indemnity, to legalize their conduct; for, unless this could be obtained, the bank-directors were liable to an action from every individual to whom they refused payment.

Lord Grenville replied, that he had no objection to that measure; though the bank were not legally obliged to act upon the requisition contained in the order of the council.

The earl of Guildford thought, that there were parts of the inquiry proposed, which by no means required secrecy, that, on the contrary, they ought to be made as public as possible. If the bank was in such a flourishing state as was represented, it ought to be laid before the public, for the purpose of removing all ground of suspicion. The duke of Grafton spoke to the same effect. But the earl of Liverpool approved of a secret committee, where subjects of a delicate nature were to be investigated.

The duke of Bedford, considering the ill conduct of ministers throughout the war, and the alarming state to which they had reduced the country, thought it not improbable, that the measure in question was absolutely necessary; though he could not but remark, that, when

he read the order of council, he was astonished to find that the unusual demand for specie was imputed to ill-founded and exaggerated apprehensions of individuals, notwithstanding that ministers had been the cause of raising them. He was a friend to open discussion, as their lordships would thereby be enabled to form a judgement of facts within their own knowledge, and to ascertain how much of the present calamitous state of the country was connected with the bank. He did not know, he said, that there was any reason why the committee should be a secret committee. If there was, he was not prepared to admit it. Be that as it might, he could not conceive that their lordships were to determine a great national question, of such immense importance as the present, on the report of nine lords, be they whom they might. The words, as they now stood in the resolution proposed by the secretary of state, authorized the committee to report their opinion, of the necessity of confirming and continuing the measure adopted by the bank, in consequence of the order of council; which was neither more nor less than, that the bank should continue to stop payment, and to give only paper, instead of cash, when payment in money was demanded; a thing both inconsistent and alarming. His grace, therefore, moved, by way of amendment to lord Grenville's motion, to leave out all that part of it which related to the committee's reporting their opinion on the continuance of the measure. This amendment,

Lord Grenville said, he would certainly oppose, as it tended to
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take away an essential part of the original motion, and render the others of little use.

The duke of Norfolk strongly objected to a secret committee. If the bank were equal to all demands, it was for their honour that there should be no concealment. Any thing like secrecy would make a serious impression without doors. The duke of Grafton, too, was decidedly against the secrecy of the committee, and also against any report by the committee, on the necessity of confirming and continuing the measure adopted in the minute of council. He would therefore support the amendment proposed by the duke of Grafton.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, that noble lords would do him the justice to recollect, that not one session had passed over, since the year 1793, in which he had not, to use a vulgar but strong expression, *bored* their lordships with his prophetic admonitions. His mind had been early impressed with a most sacred reverence for that most delicate and indefinite thing, called, public credit. A small pamphlet, but a most able one, had been put into his hands, and recommended to his study: it was the production of a great and distinguished member of parliament and statesman (Harley, earl of Oxford). This noble author illustrated the nature of public credit, by saying, that it was to the people of Great Britain what the soul of man was to his body. It was pure soul: it was immaterial in itself; and yet it was that which gave to substance its functions. It was not the cause but the effect; it flowed from the happy organization of all the parts of the material body. It was

not to be created; it was not to be forced: its precise seat, in the body politic, could not be discovered; it at once prevailed over, and proceeded out of, the whole. It both gave and received its animation and its existence. It was not property, for no branch of the body could call it its own. It was not the king's credit; it was not the credit of parliament; it was public credit. It was that thing which sprung from the happy concoction of all the vital juices of the national frame, which proceeded from the nice distribution of our parts, and their mutual co-operation; which gave to the national system a sympathetic connection, an union of action, a correspondence, and promptitude, which, in matter of finance, is known by the name of punctuality. This public credit was the soul of England; it was that which carried the nation to a height infinitely beyond its numerical power. It was our credit that set all the calculations of political arithmetic at defiance; it derided the cold diffidence of those who judged of our means by the geographical limits of the island, or the visible number of its people. Public credit did not even look to security as its basis: it always connected security with punctuality. Many lords, with their 20,000*l.* a year, would find it difficult to procure the loan of 1,000*l.* on emergency, though they had perfect security to offer, when a neighbouring tradesman, with a capital of, perhaps, only a few hundreds, would find the loan with facility. Why was this? It was the known punctuality of the one placed against the known want of punctuality in the other: it was because the lender knew,

knew, that the merchant was tenacious of a credit, about which the nobleman was indifferent. This was the character of England: this it was that had distinguished it from all the other nations of the earth, and particularly from France; there, every thing had depended on the king's credit; here, all dependence was on the nation: there, a disorganized spirit of expence sheltered itself under the credit of the grand monarch; here, every thing contributed to, as every thing flowed again from, the fountain of public credit; and the administration of the country was, in reality, nothing more than a committee for the management of this credit. To ascribe the shock that had been given to it, to the idle stories of unfounded and exaggerated alarms, was ridiculous. It proceeded from deep, progressive, accumulated causes; causes which all thinking men had long deplored, and which had been growing to a head under the unhappy and ill-requited confidence which their lordships had placed in the king's ministers. It was material to endeavour to ascertain the causes that had brought us to this dilemma. One cause was manifest: the inordinate increase of expence, of places, and establishments in every corner of the empire. This had been growing to a height beyond every thing that the mind could conceive; it was incredible and scandalous; the increase of fees, of salaries, of places and pensions, of new boards of commission, and new appointments of all kinds, had not only served to open all the gates of waste and profusion, but to beat down and destroy all the check of control, and all the means of correction. Waste

and extravagance had been systematized; one scene of abuse countenanced and protected another, and all the corners of the earth were witnesses to the ruinous waste of the treasure of England. Another, and a still more dangerous, source of disorder, which had sprung up during the present administration, was the want of unity and correspondence among the different branches of office. This was the common observation; it was visible in every department; every office seemed to be lord of its own will, and every office seemed to have unlimited power over the purse of the nation; instead of their being, as the spirit of the constitution directed, under the constant check of the treasury. If he could trust to well-founded information, every branch of office projected its own schemes, had its own expeditions, and, of course, put its hand, at pleasure into the purse of the nation; nay, this distraction was not even confined to office at home; but, every man, in every one of our foreign settlements, had, also, his own projects, his own adventures, his own schemes of fortification, and his own sources of expence; so that every man, upon every foreign station, thought himself at liberty, and found himself so, to exercise unrestrained authority over the treasury of England. That this want of concordance, and want of correspondence, did actually subsist, not one of their lordships, who were in the habit of conversing generally in the world, would dispute. They had a glaring proof of it in a paper upon the table. Let any noble lord look at the paper of the extraordinaries of the army, and he would see the full confirmation of all that he had stated; and it

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was

was fair to reason, that, if this audacious abuse was suffered in one department, it would be practised in all. Another cause of our present shock was, undoubtedly, the war: it was contemptible to say, that, sending money out of the kingdom did not make us poorer; it was contemptible to tell us, that, because it did not go forth in specie, it was therefore no diminution of our wealth; it was a great and fatal source of decrease, it diminished the reproductive power of the country, and it was found in the annual deficiencies of our revenue; which again became another cause of the present dilemma; for, the minister had, year after year, to practice new expedients, for the concealment or the supply of this deficiency; and thus it was, that, year after year, they had been kept in a state of delusion, which, more than any thing else, was mortal to the delicate frame of public credit. It had been said, that, in this continued delusion, the minister had displayed want of integrity, as well as want of ability; that the delusions were too gross for mere folly to commit; and, that no rational explanation could be given, of the conduct in which he had persevered so long, except that he was both incapable and dishonest. He confessed, that, he did not incline to either of these suppositions: he could see no reason to believe that the minister could be indifferent to the fate of his country, nor did he imagine, that it could be mere want of ability, such intire ignorance of arithmetic as could make him calculate ten millions short of the sum that he wanted within two months. He believed, that it was not want of ability, but want of power; it was

that want of authority, over the other departments of expence, which ought to reside with the first lord of the treasury, and which, by want of intimate correspondence and connection with the other departments of office, he had fatally suffered to slip through his hands. It used to be the distinguishing feature of the British administration, that the treasury was its heart: it distributed the necessary nourishment to the other parts; and every thing flowed from it, as the commanding centre: the other departments were necessarily subordinate. The noble duke, in his eye, could, perhaps, be able to say, how insignificant a part a mere secretary of state had to play, when the first lord of the treasury exerted his powers, and thwarted the measures in which he did not coincide. (We suppose the noble marquis alluded to the duke of Leeds). But this central point of controul had been unhappily conceded, and the first lord of the treasury, which used to confer the title of premier, had now sunk into a resemblance of the treasurer of France, under the *ancienne regime*. In France, the treasury lay at the mercy of each department: the minister of marine, the minister of the exterior, the minister of the interior, and so forth, drew upon it at pleasure; and they all knew the consequences: inordinate expence, confusion, distrust, violation of faith, bankruptcy, and revolution. Such was the state of France, unhappily for England, we had made three stages in this fatal career. Good God! what a scene was opened to the eyes of Englishmen; he did not dare to approach the measure of Sunday last; he had not yet ceased to shudder at it; he would

would not dare to say one word as to its prudence; he only would admonish their lordships, that, upon the conduct of the legislature, in this momentous crisis, depended the fate of England. They were brought to a tremendous bank, where one single error, one single slip of the foot, would precipitate them to ruin. He had the utmost and most sacred confidence in the bank of England; their probity and their ability were undoubted: it was totally indifferent to him whether there was a secret committee or not; he was confident that they would safely come to the bar of that house, and prove, in the face of the world, that they were equal to all their own engagements; that they dreaded nothing but the interference of the state; and this interference it would be well for their lordships to guard against. This was the rock upon which alone we could stand. To the report of a committee of nine noble lords, who should confine themselves to the single object of examining the ability of this company, he had no objection: in his mind, too, it ought to be a secret committee, not because there ought not to be the utmost publicity in every thing that regarded the pecuniary state and circumstances of the nation, but because the bank of England was a private company, and parliament had no right to inquire and pry into their affairs. Taking it for granted, however, that it was at their own invitation and express desire, he had no objection to the appointment of a committee of nine lords, of high and known honour, who should strictly confine themselves to the examination of their funds and their engagements: no

farther. He would not venture one step beyond this examination, and, therefore, all the latter part of the motion, and every thing which looked like, or bore the least affinity to, force, he must object to. The only way in which the measure could be countenanced was, as a measure of persuasion: he was sorry to have been, in the order of council, so improper a term as the word "require;" it was a word unknown to the law, and which ought not to have been used; it was an importation from France. Requisition, carried with it the idea of terror, which could only be carried on by force. He deprecated this dreadful feeling; it ought to have been a recommendation, not a requisition, to the bank, and they must never lose sight of the necessary caution to be observed in this respect. The first error must be repaired; if an attempt shall be made to use force, we are gone as a people. "Mark my prophecy, my lords," exclaimed the noble marquis, "and do not disdain the counsel, while yet in time. If you attempt to make bank-notes a legal tender, their credit will perish. They may go on for a time; but the consequence is certain. No art, no skill, no power, can prevent their falling to a discount. We do not speak upon conjecture; the thing is matter of experience. A fever is as much a fever in London as in Paris, or Amsterdam; and the consequences of a stoppage of payment must be the same in whatever country it shall happen. The fall will be slow, perhaps, and gradual for a time: but it will be certain. A few months may bring to the recollection of your lordships, with contrition, the prophecy that I have

have now made you." He would conclude with saying, that, he had not had time to converse with several gentlemen, for whose authority on such subjects he had high regard; but, in meditating on the consequences of the measure, that morning, many horrible effects had presented themselves to his mind. The danger they had to apprehend from forgery was none of the least of the evils; we should have the reaction of the blow we had struck at France; we had made our base instruments adepts in the science, and it was not to be expected, that they would suffer the opportunity to pass unimproved. Another evil was, that of jobbing in bills and money. Adventurers of all descriptions would start up; the precious metals would disappear, and every article would bear two prices, one for money, and one for paper. Another, and a monstrous, evil would be, that it would open the door to unlimited expenditure, and we should have not merely the continuance of the war, but all the frantic and delusive expeditions, which were now projected, would be fatally put into execution. He warned them against the folly of attempting the Spanish South-America possessions. In three or four years, they would fall away from Spain themselves; a greater good could not be done to Spain, than to relieve them from the curse of these settlements, and make them an industrious people like their neighbours. A greater evil could not happen to England than to add them to our already overgrown possessions. He equally objected to our idle chimera of an expedition to Port Ferrajo, and to our disastrous conquests in the West Indies.

It was a clear candid proposition of peace, accompanied with a rigorous economy of expence, that could alone recover us from the shock that this order of council had given to public credit.

The lord chancellor came from the woollack to make a single observation upon the latter part of what fell from the noble marquis. He had deprecated the idea of forcing bank paper into circulation, by making it a legal tender. He thought it just necessary to say, that it never entered into the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to use any forcible means. It was impossible to say, in this stage of the business, what plan the wisdom of the legislature might devise, upon the report of the committee; but he could take upon himself to say, that it never yet had been conceived, that it would be wise or prudent to make bank-notes a legal tender.

The marquis of Lansdowne expressed considerable satisfaction at the information imparted to him by the noble and learned lord on the woollack, and said, he was extremely happy to find such were the feelings and sentiments of ministers. Had he known as much before he began his speech, it would have saved him, and the house, some time. He flattered himself that, by lenient measures, and persuasive means, the good sense of the country might be worked upon to produce the happiest effects.

The duke of Bedford's amendment being rejected, by 78 against 12, the original motion was carried without a division.

His majesty's message, relative to the situation of the bank, became, on the same day, February 28, a subject

subject of discussion in the house of commons. The chancellor of the exchequer moved an address to his majesty, returning him thanks for his most gracious communication, and assuring him, that the house would immediately proceed to take into consideration the object recommended in the message to their serious attention. This address, in the usual form of exact correspondence to the message, was carried, *nem. con.* Mr. Pitt then proceeded to introduce another motion, of which he had, as usual, given previous notice, with some observations relative to the state of the bank, and certain measures that it seemed to require. It had already been ascertained, he said, even in the short space that had elapsed since the minute of council had been issued, that the public confidence in the bank was unshaken: that no doubt was entertained, with respect to the solidity of the bank, or its ability to answer all the demands of its creditors. Yet it was undoubtedly incumbent upon the house, he said, at so important a period, to take the proper means to satisfy themselves, that the measures that had been taken, in consequence of the opinion of the privy council, had become indispensably necessary: and this the rather, that parliament was now to be called upon to confirm that opinion, and sanction the measure adopted by an act of the legislature. As to the degree of satisfaction to be required, and expected, with respect to the grounds of necessity on which the measure had been adopted, the state of the bank was a subject of inquiry of so critical and delicate a nature, that it could not, consistently with public safety,

be pushed to too great particularity, or minuteness of detail. The inquiry ought to be conducted in the most discreet manner, consistent with the necessary satisfaction of the house. It would be proper, then, that the business should be confided to a secret committee, and that they should be expressly instructed, by the house, not to push their inquiries too minutely into the particulars he had suggested, but to confine their investigation to such circumstances of the general state of the bank, as might be sufficient for the purpose in view. It was not for him, he said, to point out in what manner the members of the secret committee ought to exercise the important trust committed to them by the house: but, if it should be proved, by the evidence of the members of the bank direction, that the extent of the late demands on the bank, and the rapidity with which they were brought forward, were likely to occasion such a pressure, as not to leave a sufficient fund for the public service; and that their opinion, on this point, entirely coincided with that of his majesty's ministers; a strong argument would then, surely, be afforded, that the measure which the necessity of the times required, on the part of the executive administration, it was incumbent on the legislature to confirm and enforce. On these grounds he moved, that a secret committee be appointed to ascertain the total amount of the outstanding demands on the bank of England, and likewise of the funds for discharging the same; and that they do also report their opinion of the necessity of providing for the confirmation, and continuance,

of

of the measures taken in pursuance of the minute of council on the twenty-sixth instant: the motion being read,

Mr. Fox declared his expectation that the minister, who had conducted affairs in such a manner as to call for the measure now proposed, would not have been contented to pass, so slightly, over the nature of the present crisis, but would have thought it incumbent on him, at least, to give some general statement of the circumstances which had led to that situation of unparalleled, and unprecedented embarrassment, in which we were now placed. Every man, who read the proclamation of council, must have been struck with the reflection, that this was the first time that a measure had been adopted, by the executive government of this country, to prevent the bank from answering the demands of its lawful creditors: a measure which, he contended, would destroy the credit of the bank. If the measure was indispensably required, from the pressing exigency of the country, and the imperious consideration of public safety, an act of parliament was surely the only proper mode of effecting the purpose. The house of commons was that particular branch of the legislature which it was of most essential importance should be consulted on such an occasion. The neglect that had taken place in this instance was of the most mischievous example. The king, or executive government, by the present measure, had claimed a power to annihilate, by one breath, all the property of the creditors of the

bank. It might be said, that such a power would be equally dangerous in any branch of the legislature. But, it had been found, by experience, that whenever a power of this kind had been confided to a senate, or to a large body of men, it had been better preserved, and had presented fewer instances of abuse, than in those situations where the case was otherwise. The stability of credit had always been better maintained in republics, than in those governments where it depended merely on an individual, or on a small body of men only. With regard to the important point intended for the support of the bank, namely, that the public were to be called upon to guarantee the security of the bank-notes, Mr. Fox alleged, that every sanction given by the public to the credit of individuals, though for a time it might be attended with some advantage, would ultimately be found to be injurious and destructive. As to the secrecy of the intended committee, he said, while the credit of a corporation is entire, the public have no right to pry into their secrets: but, when once a failure has taken place, or a slur has been thrown upon its character, the best remedy, if the state of its affairs be, indeed, such as to bear a fair scrutiny, is, to bring it into the utmost publicity. The house, he observed, were called on to decide on the merits of the whole transaction; and that it was necessary, for enabling them to form their judgment on the case, that all the concerns of the bank should be investigated.

Let me beg of you not to imitate the blind confidence of the lords of the

the council, and to bestow your approbation on the mere representation of the necessity of the measure, but to have before you all the facts and arguments connected with the transaction, and to draw your conclusion from the result of a full and impartial investigation. Without these it is impossible that you can fairly absolve him from the imputation of the most gross misconduct. And, under the present circumstances, I feel it to be my duty to consider the chancellor of the exchequer as having violated the law of the land, and given a dangerous blow to the national credit. The necessity of the case must, indeed, be well ascertained before his conduct can be justified. It must be proved how far he had the means of knowing the danger that threatened the public service, and how far his information was of that serious and alarming nature to demand so extraordinary a precaution. I come now to another point. The directors of the bank often told the minister what the effect would be of his sending such vast sums of money abroad. They remonstrated against such conduct. I will not enter upon the detail of the advice that was given to him at these times; but we all know, and now feel the effect of his conduct: for he sent money abroad, not only against the opinion, and in defiance of the remonstrances of the bank, but against the known spirit, and palpably against the very letter of the constitution. Such has been the conduct of the chancellor of the exchequer; and I do say, we are now called upon, by the duty which we owe to the public, to give no farther credit to that minister for his statements in any public affair of finance, and more especially upon the sub-

ject which is now before us. We have for a long time had a confiding house of commons; I want now an inquiring house of commons. I say, that with a diligent, inquiring house of commons, even although it should be an indifferent one, with regard to talents, and with a minister of very ordinary capacity, we shall be able to do more for the service of the people of this country, than a house of commons composed of the best talents that ever adorned any senate, and a minister of the first abilities would be able to, if that house should implicitly confide in that minister. If, therefore, I have, in an uniform tone, called for inquiry, and the house has been as persevering, as certainly it hitherto has, in confiding, it is not wonderful that we are in our present condition. I say, that without inquiry into the cause of our calamities, the public neither will, nor ought to be satisfied. I say, farther, that the house, ought, for the sake of its credit with the public, to enter into a full inquiry upon this matter, for the authority of an inquiring is much greater than that of a confiding house of commons. It was our duty to retrieve our affairs, but, if the house persisted in confiding in ministers, our ruin was inevitable.

Mr. Hobhouse was afraid that bank paper would fall into as low a condition as assignats or mandats. He was of opinion that nothing less than a full and complete inquiry would answer any good purpose.

Sir John Sinclair referred to the journals in the year 1796; from which it appeared that there had been an inquiry into the affairs of the bank, but that not a partial one. In consequence of the good effects of this

this precedent, he could not help agreeing with Mr. Fox, that it would be proper to pursue the steps of the committee of 1796, by inquiring not only into the amount of the out-standing engagements of the bank, but into that of the property also. Sir John had learnt, from the chancellor of the exchequer, that it was the intention of government that the notes of the bank of England should be received from individuals by the public: from which circumstance, if the notes should fall in credit, the revenue must be diminished. The next point to be considered was, whether bank notes were to be considered as a legal tender from the public to the individual? Unless this were enacted into a law, it would be impossible to carry on public affairs, for there was not specie enough in this country to pay all the public creditors. The next point to be settled was, whether bank-notes should be considered as a legal tender from one individual to another. Unless they were so, he was persuaded that one half of the public might be sent to jail for debt, and that the other half would afterwards become bankrupts. But, the most important light in which these things should be considered in the aggregate, was the effect which the whole would have on foreigners. It would alter the price of every article purchased from foreigners abroad: it would affect the value of every article exported to foreigners from home. It would shake the credit of Great Britain in the farthest parts of Russia, and be felt in the remotest corners of the earth. He lamented that earlier measures had not been taken to prevent what had happened, especially as the danger had been long foreseen. He held

in his hand a copy of a letter which he had written to the directors of the bank, so long ago as the 15th of September, 1795, wherein such measures were proposed as probably would have prevented the sad necessity to which they were now reduced. This letter suggested the propriety of issuing bank-notes of 2*l.* and 3*l.* value, as well as notes of larger sums, that should not be immediately converted into specie. Since, however, the directors had not chosen to adopt any preventive measures of that kind, he trusted that if a committee should be appointed, it would consist of able and independent men, and not of persons, who, from their prejudices, habits, or connections, would wish either to support or oppose the present administration.

Mr. W. Smith could not conceive the justice of government in first making the bank a corporation of bankers, and afterwards exonerating them from paying the money deposited in their hands. The partnership between the government and the bank was compulsive and unjust, as being "a partnership of an insolvent government, which required a solvent company to bolster up its ruined finances." With regard to the utility of a secret committee, he would much rather take the word of the directors of the bank, as to the solidity and responsibility of their funds, than the report of the secret committee, who had only the power of making a partial inquiry.

Lord Wycombe said, that if the suspension of payment, required by the privy council, was intended to remove a public pressure at home, he should have no objection to accede to it. But as he thought all this was intended merely to cover a design

design of sending money to the continent, to carry on the war, he was bound in duty to give it his negative. The house should reflect on the evils which such a measure as this would not fail to produce. It would lessen the value of the paper currency of the kingdom. He had seen the misery which that had produced in other parts of the world, by raising most rapidly the price of all provisions,* and bringing on a train of evils with which that house was unacquainted.

Mr. Wilberforce Bird, who represented a manufacturing town, had instructions from his constituents, to inquire what method would be recommended to enable them to carry on their business, and to answer the many demands to which it exposed them. A rumour had gone abroad, that it was the intention of the bank, to issue small notes of one or two guineas each. He was exceedingly solicitous to know if the rumour had any foundation, as such an expedient would quiet the alarm, and relieve the manufacturers from present pressures.

Mr. Pitt replied, that it was his intention, before the house separated, to move for leave to bring in a bill, which might be carried through both houses very quickly, to enable the bank to issue notes below 5l. value.

Notes of this kind were accordingly issued in a few days. They were found to afford very great temporary convenience; but seem to have laid a foundation for many evils, particularly to the labouring

and other classes of the people, as well as to stipendiaries of all kinds; the very leisurely advancement of whose wages and salaries is usually very disproportionate to the rapid depreciation in the value of the national currency.

Sir William Pultney observed, that in 1793, the Newcastle bankers had declared, as now, that they must stop the payment of their notes in cash, under the pressure of temporary scarcity; but they soon obtained the necessary supply, and went on again as before. It was notorious to every body, that the bank had not always beside them cash for all their notes; for, if they had, why issue notes at all? However, he was of opinion, that the causes, which had contributed to place the bank in its present situation ought to be known. Though such a measure, as that adopted by administration, might do no harm for once, yet it was necessary to prevent it in future. It was certain that the country could not stand if the credit of the bank was shaken: it was therefore necessary to protect its stability, not by a partial, but full and particular investigation into the causes of its embarrassments.

Mr. Hussey said, let the chancellor of the exchequer pay all the money advanced by the bank, and their present embarrassment would cease. Let him pay the ten millions due to the bank, and every thing would resume its usual course.

Mr. Pitt, perceiving that some suspicions were entertained that the measure adopted for succouring pub-

* At the moment of writing this, June 19, 1800, the quartern wheaten loaf is 1s. 6d. and all other provisions and necessaries of life high in proportion. His lordship's prediction has thus been miserably verified.

lie credit, was designed to be permanent, assured the house, that nothing could be farther from his intention. However, while it continued, it ought to have the sanction of legislative authority. With regard to what was said by Mr. Hussey, "pay the bank, and all will be well," it was founded on a mistake: for, by the greater part of the sum due to the bank, was floating advances, not now made for the first time. Nor were there more advances now outstanding than there had been before on many occasions, prior to his coming into office.

Mr. Curwen, Mr. Brandling, and Mr. Balford, declared their opposition to a secret and partial inquiry into the present and alarming situation of the bank, in the strongest terms.

Mr. Sheridan did not conceive the measure that had been adopted for its relief, as a temporary expedient. He foresaw that the bank never would be able, afterwards, to defray its out-standing engagements in cash. For, how was it possible they could? since they were about to issue a greater quantity of paper, and their cash was seized on for the public service? He did not approve of appointing a committee to inquire into the affairs of the bank, as he had the firmest confidence in its solidity: but he deemed it highly expedient, that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the grounds on which the order of the privy council had been given. He was unfriendly to a committee for inquiring into the situation of the bank, but instead of opposing it would move an amendment, which consisted in an additional clause, instructing the committee, to "in-

quire into the causes which had produced the order in council, dated February 26, "providing for the confirmation and continuance of the measure contained in the order."

Mr. Dundas said, that the amendment proposed negatived the original motion. While Mr. Sheridan professed himself averse to an inquiry, he proposed to enlarge it, by adding a question respecting the causes of the embargo; which were alleged to be a total mismanagement in every department of finance. Thus an inquiry into every circumstance of the war, from its commencement, would be set on foot; and the first and great object of satisfying the public with respect to the solvency of the bank, would be delayed till the state of the nation, in every particular, could be ascertained.

Mr. Fox considered the two questions of the measures to be adopted, and the cause of the present situation of the bank, as inseparable. Until the house were apprized of what had produced the order of council, relative to the disorder, they could not possibly know how to apply the remedy.

Mr. Pitt observed, that though the motion and amendment comprized three distinct questions, yet Mr. Sheridan, by the tenor of his speech, had objected to that part of the motion which pressed an inquiry into the state of the bank. This inquiry, however, he wished to be made, with a view to shew that its ultimate resources were solid. And this he considered to be the more necessary, that Mr. Fox, at the same time that he had expressed his conviction that they were so, had yet stated their late conduct

conduct as an act of bankruptcy not to be remedied. When gentlemen cried up the solidity of a corporate body in one breath, and in the next imputed bankruptcy to it, an inquiry became necessary, in order to establish its reputation, for being equal to the discharge of all its engagements. Mr. Fox replied, that he had not applied the term of bankruptcy to the state of the bank, but to government, to which it had been long applicable. On a division of the house, Mr. Sheridan's amendment was rejected by 244 against 85. The original motion was then carried without a division, and a secret committee chosen by ballot.*

Mr. Fox then moved, "That it is the duty of this house to inquire into all the causes that have produced this extraordinary measure." This resolution being agreed to, Mr. Fox gave notice that he should, on the next day, move for the appointment of a committee to that effect. Accordingly, on the next day, March 1st. Mr. Fox moved; that a committee be appointed to inquire into the causes which had produced the order of council. This motion was seconded by general Walpole, and supported by Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Grey, Mr. Curwen, and Dr. Lawrence, but opposed by Mr. Pitt, on the ground that the committee, already appointed, was competent to every purpose of inquiry. The motion, on a division of the house, was lost;

the votes being, for it 53, against it 144.

A secret committee, for investigating the affairs of the bank of England, was also appointed on the second of March, by the house of lords.† On the sixth, the earl of Chatham brought up the report of that committee, which stated, that, on the twenty-fifth day of February last, there was a surplus of effects, belonging to the bank, beyond the total of their debts, amounting to the sum of 3,825,890*l.* exclusive of a permanent debt of 11,666,800*l.* due from government; that the bank of England had lately experienced an universal drain of cash; that this drain was owing to demands for cash from the country, arising from local alarms of invasion; demands had been, of late, progressively increasing, but particularly in the last week; and that there was every reason to apprehend that these demands, and the consequent progressive reduction of cash, would continue, and even increase; inasmuch, that there was reason to apprehend that, if it were to continue in the same proportion, the bank of England would be deprived of the means of supplying the cash which might be necessary for pressing exigencies of public service. On these grounds the committee stated it as their opinion, that it was necessary to continue and confirm the measures already taken, for such time, and under such limitations, as to

* The members chosen for this committee were, sir John Scott, Isaac Hawkins Browne, esq. C. Bragge, esq. John Anderson, esq. John Fane, esq. Thomas Grenville, esq. William Wilberforce, esq. William Wilberforce Bird, esq. Charles Grey, esq. sir John Mitford, William Hussey, esq. William Plumer, esq. Thomas Powis, esq. John Blackthorne, esq. Thomas Berry Bramstone, esq.

† Consisting of the lords Chatham, Winchelsea, Craham, (duke of Montrose,) Hardwicke, Liverpool, Sydney, Grenville, Oslory, and de Dunstanville.

the wisdom of parliament might seem expedient.*

The duke of Bedford contended for the necessity of appointing a secret committee, in order to inquire into the causes of the present embarrassments. He had an objection to a secret committee, being of opinion, that, in order to restore the confidence of the nation, the greatest publicity ought to be given to its proceedings. His grace therefore moved, "That a select committee, of fifteen peers, be appointed to inquire into the causes for issuing the order of council of 20th of February last."

Lord Grenville differed from the noble duke, not on the propriety of an inquiry, but on the distinction he made between a secret and a select committee. He was of opinion, that a secret committee was preferable; he therefore moved, as an amendment, that for *select*, the word *secret* should be substituted.

The duke of Norfolk had no objection to a secret committee, if it was openly appointed: but he objected to the mode of choosing a committee by ballot, because it was well known that such committees were chosen by the ministers friends. In the last committee, there were no fewer than three cabinet ministers, who were the very persons who signed the order of council in question, and two of whom were near relations of the minister. After a short conference, that ensued be-

tween the duke of Bedford and lord Grenville, his lordship's motion was agreed to: on which he moved, that the committee be chosen by ballot.

The duke of Bedford observed, that it was notorious, that the last committee was composed of those very persons whose conduct was implicated in the inquiry; and shameful, that men should be appointed judges of their own acts. He was, therefore, of opinion, that the committee should be openly nominated by their lordships, and made a motion to that effect. But, on a division of the house, the appointment of a committee, by ballot, was carried.†

The report of this committee was taken into consideration, in the house of peers, on the fifteenth of May. The duke of Bedford said, when he first read the order of council, ascribing the drain of cash from the bank to unfounded alarms of invasion; he doubted the truth of the allegation. But when he found that a committee, appointed by ballot to inquire into the circumstances which rendered that order necessary, was composed not only of the zealous supporters of administration but of members of that very cabinet on whose conduct they were appointed to decide, his doubts were confirmed. He therefore thought it his duty to move for another committee, with more extended powers than the former, which was agreed to. But the committee, as

* The whole of the report, from which these particulars are extracted, will be found in the Chronicle, in this volume, page 96.

† These are the names of the committee chosen. The lord president, [earl of Chatham,] the duke of Bedford, the earl of Derby, the earl of Westmoreland, the earl of Winchelsea, lord Graham, [duke of Montrose,] the earl of Guildford, the earl of Hardwicke, the earl Bathurst, the earl of Liverpool, lord Sydney, lord Romney, lord Auckland, lord Gwyder, and lord de Dunstanville,

before,

before, was composed almost intirely of their own supporters, with a due proportion of the members of the cabinet. He was disposed to doubt the matter contained in the order of council, from the beginning; and these doubts were confirmed by an investigation of the report of the committee. On the correspondence which had taken place between the bank-directors and the chancellor of the exchequer, he meant to propose certain resolutions: of which he proceeded to state the substance. His grace went through the different parts of the correspondence, and particularly adverted to the resolution of the court of directors of the eleventh of February, 1796, and Mr. Pitt's answer to it, in which he promises neither to make any farther loan, nor advances to the emperor, without previously consulting the bank; while, at the very moment, he was sending money to his Imperial majesty. After reprobating the conduct of administration, in the severest terms, and describing ministers as the despoilers of our fortunes! oppressors of the poor! and plunderers of the rich! he moved the first of the following resolutions:

I. That it appears to this house, that, subsequent to the month of June, 1795, and during the year of 1796, a great diminution was experienced in the specie of the bank of England.

II. That it appears to this house, that the governor, and deputy-governor, of the bank, did, at various times, represent, to the chancellor of the exchequer, the danger to the bank from the diminution of its specie, particularly at the following periods: (amounting to twelve, and which were particularly specified).

III. That it appears, that, during these periods, the directors of the bank frequently remonstrated with the chancellor of the exchequer, on the magnitude of their advances to government, anxiously requiring payment, or a considerable reduction of the same: but that, nevertheless, the chancellor of the exchequer not only neglected to comply with the object of these remonstrances, but, usually, under pretence of the necessity of the public service, renewed his demands for farther aid; and, that, under the exigency of the case, as stated to them by the chancellor of the exchequer, the directors of the bank were, from time to time, induced to consent to farther accommodation.

IV. That it appears, that the chancellor of the exchequer frequently solicited such farther accommodation, in the most anxious and pressing terms; declaring, that it was impossible to avoid the most serious embarrassment to the public service, unless the directors of the bank afforded the assistance he required.

V. That it appears, that, although by these means the directors of the bank were induced to comply with his demands, they generally expressed their reluctance in strong language; and, that they, at last, that is to say, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1796, thought it necessary, for their own justification, to request the chancellor of the exchequer to lay before his majesty's cabinet their most solemn and serious remonstrance; in which they declare, that, "sensible of the alarming and dangerous state of public credit, nothing could induce them to comply with the demand then made

upon them, but the dread of their refusal might be productive of greater evil."

VI. That it appears, that, during the above period, a considerable portion of the bank advances was occasioned by payments of bills of exchange, drawn on the treasury from abroad.

VII. That it appears, that it had seldom been the custom of the bank of England to advance, on the account of such bills, more than from 20,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* and that, even during the American war, such bills never exceeded, at any one time, the sum of 150,000*l.*; the wisdom of our ancestors having foreseen, and provided against, the mischief of similar advances, by a clause, in an act passed in the fifth year of William and Mary, by which the governor and company of the bank of England were restrained from advancing any sums of money, other than on such funds on which a credit is granted by parliament.

VIII. That it appears, that, from and after the year 1793, at which time an act of parliament passed, containing a clause, by which the directors of the bank are indemnified for the advances they had made out of the bills drawn from abroad, and exempted in future from the penalties of the said act of William and Mary, respecting such advances to government, the amount of treasury-bills, paid at the bank, continued progressively to increase; and that, between the first of January, 1795, and the twenty-fifth of February, 1797, sums, to the amount of upwards of 15,000,000*l.* were, at different periods, advanced to government, upon this head.

IX. That it appears, that the directors of the bank did, at various

times, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797, apply to the chancellor of the exchequer, for repayment of such advances, and represented to him the ruinous consequences, to themselves and to the public, of continuing the system of making treasury-bills payable at the bank; and that they even declared, they conceived it to be "an unconstitutional mode of raising money, and what they were not warranted by their charter to consent to."

X. That it appears that the chancellor of the exchequer did, at various times, in that period, undertake to reduce the advances on that head, within the sum of 500,000*l.* and likewise so to arrange his payments as to put an end to the account, but that nevertheless, the said promises never were kept by him, and that the advances on treasury-bills, on the 28th of February, 1797, amounted to 1,619,049*l.*

XI. That it appears to this house, that foreign remittances, to a much larger amount than ever were known in the most expensive wars, in which this country has been involved, have taken place since the year 1793.

XII. That the extent of such remittances occasioned, at so early a period as the end of the year 1794, and the beginning of the year 1795, great alarms in the minds of the directors, which they had at various periods communicated to the chancellor of the exchequer, and that on the third of December, 1795, the court of directors, under the apprehension that it was intended to grant a farther loan to the emperor, came to a resolution, by which they declare their unanimous opinion, that, should such a loan take place, it would be "most fatal in its consequences"

sequences to the bank of England." That they communicated such resolution to the chancellor of the exchequer, who assured them " he should lay aside all thoughts of it, unless the situation of things, relative to the bank, should so alter as to render such a loan of no importance or inconvenience to them."

XIII. That on the 5th of February, 1796, the chancellor of the exchequer, after stating, in conversation with the governor and deputation from the bank of England, his opinion of the necessity of the farther assisting the emperor, promised to take no steps in that business, without previously communicating to them his intention.

XIV. That on the 11th of February, 1796, the directors of the bank passed unanimously the following resolutions:

Resolved,

That it is the opinion of this court, founded on the experience of the effects of the late Imperial loan, that if any other loan or advance of money to the emperor, or to any other foreign state, should, in the present state of affairs take place, it will, in all probability, prove fatal to the bank of England.

The court of directors, therefore, do most earnestly deprecate the adoption of any such measure, and they solemnly protest against any responsibility for the calamitous consequences that may follow thereupon."

To which resolution, when communicated to him, the chancellor of the exchequer returned for answer, " That, after the repeated intimation which he had given to the governor, &c. of the bank, that no farther loan to the emperor would be resolved on, without previous communication with the bank, he did

not see any reason for these resolutions; that he did suppose they were adopted in a moment of alarm, and that he should consider them in that light."

XV. That, both from the general tenor of the said answer, and from its particular reference to the substance and matter of the resolutions then communicated to him, he gave the governors, &c. of the bank to understand, that he was bound by promise to them to negotiate no loan for the service of his Imperial majesty, nor to make any remittance, either to his said Imperial majesty, or any foreign prince, under any pretence whatsoever, without previously communicating such his intention to the bank of England; that the directors so understood him, and that, impressed with that belief, they abstained from making any farther remonstrances on this subject.

XVI. That, nevertheless, the chancellor of the exchequer, for some time prior to February 11, 1796, clandestinely remitted, and did for several months subsequent clandestinely remit, his said Imperial majesty, and other foreign princes, large sums of money, in defiance of his repeated promises, and in violation of his solemn engagement with the bank of England, and consequent upon their own resolution of the 11th of February."

XVII. That it appears, that if the said advances of the bank to government had been paid off when required, or considerably reduced, the bank would have been enabled to reduce, if expedient, the amount of its outstanding notes; and that such option would have been of essential service to its interests.

XVIII. That it appears from the evidence of the governor and deputy

puty-governor of the bank, that if the said advances had been paid off when required, or considerably reduced, the bank would have been enabled to give more extended aid to the mercantile interest of Great Britain, in the way of discount.

XIX. That it appears, that if the advances on treasury-bills had been paid off when required, and as the chancellor of the exchequer had promised, and the foreign remittances abstained from, as the chancellor of the exchequer had likewise promised, there would have existed no necessity for suspending the due and ordinary course of the bank payments in cash.

XX. That it appears to this house, upon an attentive examination of the evidence reported by the secret committee, upon a minute perusal of the correspondence between the governor and directors of the bank of England, and the chancellor of the exchequer, during the years 1795, 1796, and 1797; and after a thorough review of the whole circumstances of the case, that the neglect of the chancellor of the exchequer, in discharging or sufficiently diminishing the amount of the sums advanced to government, by the bank of England, his perseverance in directing treasury-bills of exchange, to an amount unexampled, to be paid at the bank, his frequent promises, and constant breach of those promises, to reduce their amount within the sum of 500,000*l.* and that the enormous amount of his remittances to foreign princes, in loans and subsidies, were the principal and leading causes which produced the necessity for the order of council on the 25th of February last.

The constitution of the com-

mittee, objected to by the duke of Bedford, was justified by the earl of Liverpool, from the propriety and necessity of their having, on all hands, and in every view the fullest information, and praised their conduct as the most impartial and candid. The chancellor of the exchequer, against whom a great part of the noble duke's charge was personally directed, had been examined upon oath, before the committee: the first instance in which a party accused, was desired to give evidence against himself, in any court, or before any magistrate. With regard to the capital point of discussion, the effect of the advances to the emperor, from the state of the exports and imports, and every other criterion of prosperity, there was no reason to believe, that a remittance, to double the amount that had taken place during the present war, could, in the increased wealth and commerce, and increasing balance of trade in our favour, have been followed by such consequences as had been ascribed to that measure: which, in itself was wise and expedient. To employ the enemy's arms abroad for the security of this country, had ever been considered as our true policy, by the greatest ministers who had guided the affairs of this country: Lord Godolphin, Mr. Pelham, and the immortal father of the chancellor of the exchequer, the late lord Chatham. Were it necessary to illustrate the position, that it was in this manner, by stretching out the arm of its power, and keeping the battle far from their own gates, that the English always had, and still might wage war with the greatest glory and success, he might appeal to the writings of a candid and impartial, as well as solid and penetrating

penetrating observer, the great Montefuieu. A great part of the cause, to which the stoppage and consequent distress were to be ascribed, was the increased demand for discounts. In time of peace, when money could be obtained for less than 5 per cent. people were willing to lay out their capital in discounts: but when 12 per cent. could be made of the money which, by discounts, produced only 5 per cent. the temptation to employ it in some other manner could easily be conceived. The present evil was, also, to be imputed in a great measure to alarm. Country bank-notes were the chief circulating medium in the country, and these, in the course of alarms of invasions, produced a run upon the bank of England, the receiver of the cash of the kingdom. The public circulation of the kingdom was about thirty-four millions, and it was not to be expected that cash to the amount of eleven millions, which was the amount of bank notes, was constantly to be kept in the bank. To impute the stoppage to the gradual advances made to the emperor, upon the immense circulation of this country, was altogether absurd. The great capital lately laid out in canals,* inclosures, and other im-

provements, proved at once the extent of the commerce and the wealth of the country, and shewed how such operations might, in times of embarrassment, press upon the general circulation of the country. Upon all these grounds he should move the previous question.

The earl of Kinnoul attributed much of the evil, that had of late befallen us, to an increased spirit of enterprize and speculation: any failures in which were, of necessity, accompanied with temporary embarrassments.

The earl of Guildford thought that the bank might have been enabled to go on: or, that if obliged, at last to stop, that it would have been better to shew to the public that its stoppage arose from its own want of cash, than its being proved that this event arose from the wants of government. The bank had repeatedly demanded of government repayment of their advances. It was one of the resources to which they had trusted for extraction from their embarrassments. They would have been enabled to go on if they had not been deceived by the chancellor of the exchequer. The earl of Guildford was followed in this debate by lord Auckland, the duke of Leeds, and lord Gren-

* It seems to be the duty of the annalist to embrace any natural opportunity that may occur, of recording proofs and examples of industry and enterprize, directed to the best ends: an union of private advantage with public benefit. Such proofs and examples are to be found, to a greater extent, in the history of canals, in this country than, perhaps, in any other species of adventures. Roads and canals are the arteries and veins of political society, which diffuse life and vigour throughout the whole body; and add to the satisfaction of the proprietor, the enlarged complacency of the patriot. The advantages of canals are particularly illustrated, by the prosperity diffused by the canals, for which we are chiefly indebted to the marquis of Stafford and to sir Edward Littleton, of Teddesley, bart. through the county of Stafford; and of which the shares become every day more and more productive. It appears that a vessel of 25 tons can be drawn on a canal by a single horse, of inferior quality, and whose labour is equivalent to that of forty of the best draught horses: so that the saving, in expenses and provisions, is immense.

ville, in opposition to the resolutions moved by the duke of Bedford: but nothing new, of any importance, was added to what had been urged by lord Hawkesbury. The previous question being put, on each of the resolutions, was carried. We now return to the proceedings of the house of commons on the same subject.

On the 3d of March, Mr. Bramstone brought up the first report of the committee, appointed to inquire into the state of the bank, which was, in substance, the same with that of the committee of Lords.* On the 7th of March, Mr. Bramstone brought up the second report of the committee stating it to be their opinion, also agreeably to that of the committee of lords, "that it was necessary to provide for the continuance and confirmation for a limited time, of the order in council, and submitting to the wisdom of parliament to determine the time for which such order should be continued." The two reports were taken into consideration, by a committee of the whole house, on the 9th of March. But, previously to the reading of the order of the day, Mr. Sheridan said that, according to the report of the committee, government was indebted to the bank, in various sums, independent of eleven millions, which the committee reckoned as forming so much of the capital stock of the bank: when, in fact, that eleven millions was no debt at all. Instead of being included in the capital stock of the bank, as a debt, it should have been reckoned as an annuity of

330,000*l.* per annum, being the stipulated interest for the other, during a certain term of years.—The order of the day being read,

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to make some observations on the two reports. With regard to the first, which related to the finances of the bank, he observed that, from the moment of its being made public, there appeared an almost general persuasion of their ultimate solidity and sufficiency. But there was another source from which he drew his conviction of the prosperous state of the bank. The merchants and bankers of London had shewn the solidity of the bank, by agreeing to support its credit, in the acceptance, for a time, of their paper, instead of specie. As to what had been alleged by Mr. Sheridan, the question was not whether the bank contained actual specie for all the demands which might be made upon them, but whether they had goods due to them, or property of any description which might be finally available to them in the liquidation of the debts owing to the public. It appeared, upon the report, that the bank was rich, was possessed of substance, far exceeding the demands of the public, and that the individuals composing the corporation would have a far greater sum to divide, if a division of property was to take place, than they had originally embarked; and therefore their security was ultimately good. With respect to the second report, it was his intention to refer to the committee, powers to enable them

* The amount of the demand on the bank was
Assets, not exclusive of the sum of 11,636,800*l.* of permanent debt,
due by government, amounted to

£. 13,770,390

17,597,280

So that there was a surplus of

3,826,890

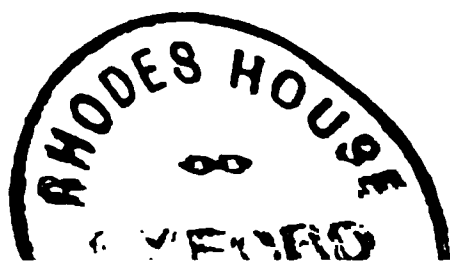
10

to enter into the examination and discussion of every circumstance which might be supposed, in any respect, deranged the ordinary channel through which the finances and resources of the country flowed, and to ascertain, not merely what related to the bank, but what was the real and undisguised situation of the country. He moved, then, for "leave to bring in a bill to continue and confirm, for a limited time, the restriction against the issuing of money in specie by the bank of England." This bill, the chancellor of the exchequer brought up again, on the 13th of March, under the title of "A bill for enabling the bank of England to issue notes in payment of demands upon them, instead of cash, pursuant to the late order of council to that effect: the bill was read a first time, and ordered to be printed. It was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house on the 22d of March, and in a farther committee on the 24th of March. When the clause which provided for the payment of the army and navy, in specie, came under discussion, Mr. Fox granted that their claims upon the public were great, but contended that the claims of the public creditor were at least equally so.

Mr. Whitbread saw a good reason why the navy should be paid in specie: but why the soldier should be paid in cash, when the day-labourer and working artificer were to be paid in paper, he could not comprehend, unless ministers preferred paying men with arms in their hands, in order to call on them to silence the murmurs of those who were disarmed. But the clause, after a few words from the chancellor of the exchequer, was agreed to.

The report of the committee of the bank-bill was brought up on the 27th of March: when Mr. Pitt proposed a clause, "providing that bank-notes should be received in payment, by the collectors in every branch of the revenue, during the restriction on the bank, from issuing payments in cash," which was agreed to. He then proposed another clause of great importance, the substance of which was, "that if any man offered a bank-note in payment of any demand, that offer should do away the effect of a personal arrest in the first instance. The clause did not go the length of making bank-notes a legal tender, nor to take away the power of the creditor to pursue, in course of legal process, means to obtain payment of his demand in cash: but it hindered him from proceeding to an arrest in the first instance; it saved the inconveniency of giving bail to an action. The condition of the creditor, by the clause was this, that the bank-note stood as a security for his demand, until he should, in a due course of law, obtain his judgement. This article being agreed to, Mr. Fox moved "That it shall not be lawful for the bank to issue any cash to government, by way of loan to any foreign power, pending the operation of the restriction laid on the bank, by the late minute of council."

The chancellor of the exchequer said, that he had no objection to the principle of the clause, but that he thought there should be some exception introduced into it, conferring power of issuing money to a limited amount, such as 600,000*l.* and that only on the credit of exchequer-bills, already authorized by a vote of parliament." The clause, with



with this exception, was agreed to. The house again resolved itself into a committee on the bank-bill, on the 31st of March; when the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to add a clause to the bill, the purport of which was, to allow the bank to repay, at different periods, in cash, those who might at their discretion hereafter deposit cash with the directors of the bank, so that no more than three-fourths of such sums should be repaid by the bank in cash, during the continuance of the present bill. This clause was opposed by Mr. Fox, and strongly supported by Mr. Thornton; after which it was agreed to without a division.

Mr. Pitt next introduced a clause to enable the bank, notwithstanding the present restriction, to issue, for the accommodation of private bankers and traders in the metropolis, a sum in cash not exceeding 100,000*l*. which was adopted without a division. The report was ordered to be received on the Monday following. On that day, however, it was farther postponed, but the bill was read a third time on the 4th of April. On that day, Mr. W. Bird presented a clause, by way of a rider, that in all cases where bank-notes might be tendered in payment of the rent, it should not be lawful for the person to whom the rent was due, if he refused such tender, to seek a remedy by way of distress. The clause was brought up and read a first and second time; but after some observations made by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Manning, it was negatived without a division.

Sir William Pultney next proposed a clause, the object of which was to require the bank, within a certain short period after the passing

of the act, to come forward, and to declare whether they wished the restriction to continue; and if they did not, that the prohibition should immediately cease.

The chancellor of the exchequer opposed the clause, and Mr. Fox supported it.

The house divided on the question, that the clause be brought up. Noes, 76; Ayes, 43.

On the third reading of the bill, April 7th, sir William Pultney moved an amendment to the clause, which limited the operation of the bill to the 24th of June, by leaving out that period, and substituting the sixth of May. This objection, to the length of the time allowed by the bill, as it then stood, was not grounded merely on the conviction that the time allowed, or indeed a much longer time, would not enable the bank to pay the demands on it in cash as formerly, but because our situation had become of so perilous a nature, that we ought not, on any account, to delay, a moment longer than is absolutely necessary, to take the most effectual means of placing this country on its former high and lofty footing of national credit. Sir William, who, on a former occasion, had stated, that our national and commercial credit might be re-established in a month, now stated to the house the means by which those ends were to be accomplished. His project was, to pass an act for opening an immediate subscription for another bank, whose operations should commence on the day after the period fixed for the bank to pay its notes in cash; but not to commence at all, in case the bank should, on that day, re-commence its payments in specie, and continue to pay cash freely. If our limits permitted

permitted we would give a fuller account than these few notes of a speech of considerable length on an occasion of great alarm, and fraught, with great genius or invention, as well as solid observation and penetration, into the nature and effects, common, probable, or possible, of banking. Though we have already exceeded our usual limits, in parliamentary affairs, on the present novel and important subject, we cannot help bringing what follows under the notice of our readers.

"I have said enough to shew, that government has been rendered dependent on the bank, and more particularly so in the time of war; and though the bank has not yet fallen into the hands of ambitious men, yet it is evident that it might, in such hands, assume a power sufficient to control and overawe, not only the executive government, but king, lords, and commons.

As the bank has thus become dangerous to government, it might, on the other hand, by uniting with an ambitious minister, become the means of a fourth estate, sufficient to involve this nation in irretrievable slavery, and ought, therefore, to be dreaded as much as a certain East-India bill was justly dreaded at a period not very remote. I will not say, that the present minister, by endeavouring, at this crisis, to take the bank of England under his protection, can have any view to make use hereafter of that engine to perpetuate his own power, and to enable him to domineer over our constitution: if that could be supposed, it would only shew, that men can entertain a very different train of ideas, when endeavouring to overturn a rival, from what occurs to them when intending to support and fix

themselves. My object is to secure the country against all risk, either from the bank, as opposed to government and the constitution, or as the engine of ambitious men, to maintain themselves in a dangerous power. I could wish to know, if any man thinks that his majesty would be at free liberty to change a minister, who had once obtained a decided ascendancy in the direction of the bank of England, retaining its monopoly?"

Sir William, having blamed the chancellor of the exchequer for not preparing the house and the public mind for the adoption of such a plan as he had to propose,

Mr. Pitt said, that this was not the time for entering on the various topics touched upon with so much ability and ingeniousness by the honourable baronet, whose speech was intended only to prepare the house for the practical developement of his plan: only he thought it fit to say, now, that when the honourable baronet had assumed, that his majesty's chancellor of the exchequer was wrong not to prepare the public mind for the reception of opinions, which, so far from entertaining before, he did not even now entertain, he had assumed more than the house would agree to. If, like the honourable baronet, he had been for several years convinced of those points, he would have been blameable indeed not to have disclosed them: but till he had formed those opinions, he could hardly be said to be wrong in not expressing them.

Sir William Pultney's motion being negatived, the bank-bill was passed, and in a few days thereafter carried through the house of lords without any alteration.

Sir

Sir William Pultney was not deterred, by the failure of his motion, for shortening the duration of the bank-bill, from moving for "leave to bring in a bill for the establishment of another bank, should the bank of England not open for payment in specie, on the 24th of June next." If they should not be able to open for payment at that period, there could be no ground for continuing their monopoly any longer: but if they should, no second bank would be established, and his proposal, at all events, would do no harm. He thought, however, that if another bank were instituted, it would aid the operations of the old bank. Scotland had two banks, and the affairs of the old one were much more prosperous since the establishment of the new. Though all the arguments were previously opposed to it, that could be urged against a new bank of England, on the present occasion, he contended that the monopoly of the bank was injurious; that an open competition would be of public service; and that, in several instances the directors of the bank had been improvident. Though Sir William's talents were admired, and many of his remarks approved, yet his motion was opposed by Sir Francis Baring, Mr. Samuel Thornton, the solicitor-general, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Manning. It was supported, though not in a very decided tone, by Mr. Sheridan; who, wished that some bank director would give him some farther information respecting the old bank. On the subject of banking in general, Mr. Sheridan said, that it would not be amiss, if mercantile people, and others, in their schemes for multiplying the sign of

wealth, would return, as much as possible, to the primitive principles of commerce: an example of which had of late been given on a grand scale by a society equally respectable for character and capital. He would be readily understood, he said, to allude to the Security Bank, lately established in Cornhill, by Messrs. Huchins and Hartfinck: an institution that had already been productive of great convenience to those who had occasion to borrow money on pledges, and which promised fairly to be of advantage also to those who lent it. This institution, which was likely to be followed by many others on the same plan, in different parts of the kingdom, might, perhaps, form no inconsiderable æra in the history of exchange and commerce.

Mr. Manning said that there was every reason to hope that the directors of the bank would soon be enabled to re-open it for payments in specie. Vast quantities of gold had flowed into the bank, as well from the country as from abroad, and the bankers felt no inconvenience from the want of it.—On a division of the house, there appeared for the motion 15, against it 50.

Guided by the unity of the subject, we have followed Sir William's plan to the period of its discussion, and rejection, though this has carried us somewhat beyond that of another business in the house of commons, originating in the stoppage of the bank, and which it will be sufficient to touch on in a very summary manner, as we have already given an account of the same business, as it was introduced, treated, and disposed of, in the house of peers. On the sixteenth of

of May, Mr. Grey, who had been a member of the committee, appointed by the house of commons, to examine into the necessity and the causes of the order of council, of February 26, and who dissented, on certain points, from the sentiments of the majority of that committee, felt himself called upon to explain the grounds on which that difference of opinion was founded. He felt it to be a task, which his public duty likewise imposed, to submit to the house, resolutions of a criminatory nature against the chancellor of the exchequer, founded on the proofs collected by the committee, and contained in their report, and which amounted to a charge of misconduct and guilt, which the house could not suffer to pass with impunity. Before he proceeded to open the nature of his propositions, he stated the difference of opinion between him, and, he believed, the whole of the committee. The object of its investigation comprehended two points: first, the necessity of the order of council; and secondly, the causes by which it had been produced. It was upon the first point that the difference alluded to existed. He had thought that the order of the council was not proper, and was not necessary. This opinion was founded on the closest observation of the state of the bank, and a thorough conviction that the interference of power was not the remedy by which its embarrassments could be obviated.—So much in explanation of his differing from the rest of the committee. With regard to the second point, the causes by which it had been produced; the committee had stated, that, whatever might be the effects

of other causes, whether progressive, or likely to cease, the dread of invasion had occasioned the drain, which had reduced the bank to the necessity of suspending their money-payments. What he, however, imputed, as a serious charge against the chancellor of the exchequer, was, that prior to this period, the affairs of the bank were so reduced, that a drain, which in other circumstances would not have produced that effect, had, in this instance, occasioned the immediate necessity of stopping payment. Instead of taking measures to counteract the danger of this, instead of exerting himself to provide a remedy for the evil which he had rendered probable, the chancellor of the exchequer had aggravated and accelerated the causes by which the event was ultimately produced. To support this heavy charge, he called the attention of the house to the evidence on the table, on which he proceeded to make various comments.—Mr. Grey, in conclusion of a long speech, observed, that we had experienced the bad effects of pursuing a system contrary to good faith. Under the conduct of ministers it had brought us to the brink of ruin. The profligate system of administration would be complete, if it should be crowned with the sanction of parliament. He then moved a series of resolutions, the same in substance with those that had been proposed, on the day before, on the same subject, in the upper house, by the duke of Bedford.

Mr. Pitt observed, that, however copiously the causes which had produced the scarcity of cash had been stated by Mr. Grey, they might be reduced to a few simple and plain points.

points. The motion, submitted to the house, appeared to him to rest on two grounds: first, the increased advances made by the bank on treasury-bills; secondly, the loans and remittances made to the emperor. He argued, at considerable length, that there were many other circumstances, and those very powerful in their operation, that had contributed to the extraordinary demand for cash, exclusively of those assigned by the honourable gentleman. — As to the alleged breach of promise to the bank, in sending remittances to the emperor, without meaning any personal application to himself, he required the house to weigh, with peculiar caution, an evidence arising out of a verbal correspondence, and in which one of the parties was absent, and not even consulted, when it was committed to writing, after an interval of two or three days. The advances to the emperor, which had taken place since the applications of the directors to him arose evidently out of a new state of existing circumstances, to which any discussion, on that subject, which had previously taken place between them, could not be applicable. — Mr. Grey's motion was supported by Mr. Fox, and Mr. W. Smith: but the previous question, moved

by Mr. Thornton, was carried by 206, against 66.

When a national bank stops payment, under a despotic government, there is ground for alarm, and despair; because there is none who can say to the despot, What dost thou? No third party to whom to appeal. If a national bank, or one under the influence and control of government, stop payment, in a free country, an inquiry, if not offered, may be demanded: an appeal may be made, by the creditors, to a third party: to that justice and good faith, and that regard to the maintenance of public credit, which, in the present age, constitute the spirit and strength of free governments. Whatever may be thought of the causes that rendered the interference of the privy council, in the affairs of the bank, necessary, there are few who will affirm, that this interference was not prudent and indispensable. They said no more than this:—"Check a precipitation, which may convert an imaginary, into a real, evil. Have patience for a limited and a little time, and of the responsibility of the bank and government you shall be fully satisfied."—The fulfillment of this prediction is a credit, at once, to the character of Englishmen, and of the British constitution.

C H A P. XII.

Causes of Discontents in the British Navy and Army.—Notices given of these Discontents.—Mutinous Combination among all the Ships in the Channel Fleet.—Organization of this Naval Democracy.—Petitions from the Mutineers to the Admiralty and the House of Commons.—General Alarm.—The Board of Admiralty transferred to Portsmouth.—Conciliatory Terms of a Return to Subordination and Duty proposed to the Seamen.—Demands of the Seamen.—Complied with.—In consequence of a Mistrust of Government, a fresh Mutiny.—Zealous, prudent, and successful, Exertions of the Earl Howe.—The Affairs of the Navy, with the Estimates of the additional Expences now become necessary, brought into the House of Commons.—Ministry accused of Procrastination and scandalous Neglect of Duty.—Motion for a Vote of Censure.—Negatived.—A Mutiny, more alarming still than that in the Channel Fleet, breaks out at the Nore.—A Board of Admiralty held at Sheerness.—Audacious Behaviour of the Mutineers.—The Lords of the Admiralty return from Sheerness to Town, without the least Success in their Endeavours for the Restoration of Order.—Transactions in the Fleet at the Nore.—Condemned by the Divisions of the Fleet at Plymouth and Portsmouth.—As well as by the Nation at large.—Intelligence of this produces, in the Ships Crews, at the Nore, Divisions, Terror, and Despair.—The principal Conductor of the Mutiny seized, condemned to Death, and executed.—Bill for preventing the Seduction of Soldiers and Sailors.

THE seamen and soldiers in the British navy and army had long complained of the smallness of their pay, and that, contrarily to the clearest justice, it continued the same as when the price of necessities, and of all articles, was incomparably lower than at the present period. They were not alone in this complaint; it was justified by the concurrence of all men. Those who endeavoured to exculpate government, alleged, the multiplicity of business, in which those at the helm were incessantly involved, and that, with the best in-

tentions, it was not in their power to remedy the abuses that had crept into the various departments of the state. But this exculpation was trite and obsolete in the opinion of the equitable part of the public; and the patience with which so resolute a class of men had so long submitted to a treatment which they did not certainly deserve, was much more an object of surprise, than the determination they came to finally, to insist upon, and to enforce a redress of their grievances.

Other causes have been assigned for the discontents that prevailed in the

the navy. The principal of these was, a rigorous discipline too severely maintained, and the harsh behaviour to the men of several of their officers, especially of those for whom they entertained little respect, and whom they represented as most forward, at all times, to exercise authority in the most odious manner. Another cause, not so frequently mentioned, but not the less real, was the striking disproportion observed in the distribution of prize-money: this they considered not only as inequitable, but as a proof of the contempt in which they were held by their officers; and yet, it was evident, that, to the bravery of the seamen, was principally due the success in most engagements.

These latent causes of discontent, by the contagion of a general spirit of inquiry into rights, natural and conventional, were kindled, in the navy, into an open flame.

That part of the fleet which led the way, in expressing discontent, was the division commanded by lord Bridport, and yet no symptoms of this nature had been perceived by the officers. Hence, it was surmised, that a spirit of dissatisfaction had been infused into the ships companies by those who had lately entered among them: several of whom were known to be of qualifications superior to the situation to which they were driven by unprosperous circumstances, and, in some degree, allured by the greatness of the bounties given. Of these, several were discovered afterwards to have been disqualified attorneys, and cashiered excisemen, clerks dismissed from employment, and other individuals in similar cases. It was also suggested, that, besides these, many persons had entered on-board the

ships, as common seamen, completely qualified to breed disturbances, by acting in that station, and selected, for that very purpose, by the enemies of government.

Certain it is, that the plan of operations, concerted among the disaffected, evinced great judgement and sagacity. They were conducted with spirit and ability, and plainly shewed, that the authors were persons of no contemptible capacities; as no measures could have been taken more effectually conducive to the end proposed.

The first notice given, of a dissatisfied spirit in the navy, was, to lord Howe. In the course of February and March, he received several letters, inclosing petitions, from different ships companies, in the channel fleet. They were anonymous, and asked for no more than an increase of pay, to enable them to provide better for their families. These petitions appeared obviously to proceed from one person: the style and hand-writing being the same in each. The novelty of the circumstance, however, induced lord Howe to make particular inquiry, from the commanding-officer at Portsmouth, whether any dissatisfaction prevailed in the fleet. He was answered in the negative, and the whole represented as a scandalous endeavour to give government to understand, that the navy disapproved of their conduct in that department.

The admiralty, to which lord Howe transmitted these petitions, seemed to be of the same opinion, and they were laid by without farther notice; when, suddenly the transactions that took place at Portsmouth shewed that they were only the prelude to proceedings of much more

more serious importance. On the return of the channel fleet into port, a secret correspondence was immediately settled between all the ships that composed it, which ended in an unanimous agreement, that no ship should lift an anchor till a redress of grievances was obtained. In this state the fleet remained till the fifteenth of April, when lord Bridport ordered the signal to prepare for sea: but, instead of proceeding to weigh anchor, three cheers were given, from the Queen Charlotte, as the signal for mutiny, and every other ship followed the example.

The officers of every ship exerted themselves with all the spirit and activity adequate to so extraordinary an emergency, to bring back their people to obedience; but all the motives they urged, and all the endeavours they used, were vain. The fleet being now in the complete possession of the seamen, every ship's company appointed two delegates, and lord Howe's cabin was fixed upon as the place where to hold their consultations. On the seventeenth, an oath was administered to every man in the fleet, to support the cause in which they had engaged: ropes were then reaved to the yard arm, in every ship, as a signal of the punishment that would be inflicted on those that betrayed it; and several officers were sent ashore who were particularly obnoxious to their respective crews.

In the mean time, though the admiral was restricted from putting to sea, he retained the command of the fleet in every other respect; the strictest discipline was maintained, and the severest orders and regulations enacted, by the delegates, for that purpose, enjoining the most re-

spectful attention to their officers, and threatening the faulty with rigorous chastisement.

On the eighteenth, two petitions, one to the admiralty, and the other to the house of commons, were drawn up, and signed by the delegates. They were both worded with the highest propriety of expression and respect. The petition to parliament stated, that, the price of all articles, necessary for subsistence, being advanced at least thirty per cent. since the reign of Charles II. when the seamen's pay was settled as at present, they requested that a proportionate relief might be granted to them. It represented, at the same time, that, while their loyalty to their king and country was equal to that of the army, nevertheless, the pensions of Chelsea had been augmented to thirteen pounds a year, but those of Greenwich still remained at seven. The petition to the admiralty contained a recital of the services done by the petitioners, and a warm declaration of their readiness to be true to their character as Englishmen and defenders of their country. It stated the low rate of their pay, and the insufficiency of their allowance of provisions, demanding an increase of both, together with the liberty of going ashore while in harbour, and the continuance of pay to wounded seamen till cured and discharged.

Such, in the mean while, was the alarm of the public, and particularly of government, that it was judged necessary to transfer the board of admiralty to Portsmouth, in order to be nearer at hand, to inspect the transactions on board the fleet, and to consult on the readiest and most likely means of quelling so danger-

ous a spirit of discontent, the consequences of which, if it were not timely suppressed, might prove ruinous to the nation in its most essential interests, by throwing open the channel, and all the neighbouring seas, to the uncontroled dominion of the French fleets and cruizers. These would not fail, upon the first intelligence of the variance between the British fleets and the government, to avail themselves, with all speed, of so favourable an opportunity of distressing the trade and the navigation of this country.

The first lord of the admiralty, earl Spencer, accompanied by lord Arden and admiral Young, repaired, accordingly, to Portsmouth, where they directly proceeded to take into consideration the petition that had been transmitted to the board. They authorized lord Bridport to inform the ships companies, that they would recommend it to the king, to propose to parliament an augmentation of pay, to the seamen in the navy, at the rate of four shillings a month to petty officers and able seamen; three shillings to ordinary seamen; and two shillings to landmen. Seamen wounded in action were also to continue in the receipt of their pay, till cured or declared unable to serve, when they should be allowed a pension, or admitted into Greenwich-hospital.

To this notification the seamen replied, by requesting that the long-established distinctions in the navy, of able and ordinary seamen, should be retained; the pay of the former to be raised to one shilling a day, and that of petty officers and ordinary seamen in the usual proportion: they also requested that the pay of the marines, while on-board, should be the same as of ordinary

seamen, and that the pensions of Greenwich-hospital should be increased to ten pounds.

On the twentieth of April, the lords of the admiralty notified to lord Bridport their compliance with the demands of the seamen, directing him to make it known through the fleet, and to require, in consequence, an immediate return of the people to their duty, on pain of forfeiting their right to smart-money, to pensions from the chest of Chatham, and to an admission into Greenwich-hospital, and of being made responsible for the consequences that might ensue from the continuance of their disobedience. They were informed, at the same time, that an unqualified pardon, for all that had passed, would be granted to every ship's company that should, within one hour of these resolutions being communicated to them, submit to their officers, and cease to hold farther intercourse with those who remained in a state of mutiny.

On the twenty-first, admirals Gardner, Colpoys, and Poole, went on-board the Royal Charlotte, in order to confer with the delegates, who explicitly informed them, that it was the determination of the crews, to agree to nothing that should not be sanctioned by parliament, and guaranteed by the king's proclamation. Admiral Gardner was so irritated by this declaration, that he seized one of the delegates by the collar, and swore he would have them all hanged, with every fifth man throughout the fleet. This behaviour of the admiral so exasperated the ship's company of the Queen Charlotte, that it was with difficulty he escaped with his life.

The

The delegates from the Royal George returned immediately to their ship, and informed their crew of what had happened; after some consultation, they resolved to summon all the delegates on-board their ship. This was forthwith done by hoisting the red, usually called, the bloody flag: a circumstance that struck terror through the fleet, as the signal was not generally understood; the officers, in particular, were apprehensive that some fatal designs were in agitation. The ships now proceeded to load their guns, to order the watch to be kept as at sea, and to put every thing in a state of defence.

On the following day, the ships crews directed two letters to be written, one to the lords of the admiralty, to acquaint them with the motives for their conduct on the preceding day, and another to lord Bridport, in which they styled him their father and their friend, and assured him of their respect and attachment. This induced him to return to his ship the next day, twenty-third, and to rehoist his flag, which he had struck during the confusions on the twenty-first. After a short and pathetic address to the crew, he informed them, that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, and the king's pardon for what had passed. After some deliberation, these offers were accepted, and every man returned to his duty.

From the twenty-third of April to the seventh of May, the fleet remained in due subordination; but, on that day, a fresh mutiny broke out. The seamen, from whatever cause it arose, had conceived a mistrust of government, and, apprehending a violation of the promises

made to them, renewed their former menaces. As soon as this alarming intelligence arrived, government dispatched, with all speed, a person of the highest weight and authority, to quell this unexpected tumult. This was lord Howe, an officer long held in the first degree of respect and esteem in the British navy, and personally beloved, by all that had served under him, for his humane disposition, as well as his many great qualities. His presence and exhortations wrought the desired effect, and happily dissipated the suspicions that were beginning to prevail. The circumstance which principally operated was, that numbers of those to whom he addressed himself had been the companions and instruments of the services he had rendered to his country. The many years during which he had filled important stations, and made a conspicuous figure in the navy; the many gallant actions he had performed, and, especially, the great victory on the first of June, 1794, were circumstances that carried a powerful impression on the minds of his fellow-seamen, and induced them to listen with confidence to his representations. Good order was happily restored, and they unanimously agreed, in consequence of the trust they reposed in his word and assurance that government would faithfully keep its promises, to return immediately to their usual subordination. Their fellow-seamen at Plymouth were induced, by this example, to submit in the like manner.

From the first breaking out of this mutiny, the public mind had been taken up with the means that would probably terminate it with most speed and success, and the generality

ality concurred in the propriety of a ministerial application to parliament, for a sum of money sufficient to defray the charge of augmenting the pay of the seamen belonging to the navy, which was universally considered as a measure of strict equity.

Conformably to the expectation of the public, the house of commons, on the eight of May, took into consideration the estimates, laid before it by ministry, for the purpose of that augmentation. Previously to the stating of them, Mr. Pitt expressed much repugnance to detail, as usual, the motives on which he founded the necessity of applying to the house for an addition to the public expenditure. He declared, that, on the present occasion, he did not find himself at liberty to enter into a detail of the transactions that led him to apply. They were such that he felt himself obliged to say, that he would trust their judgement would induce them to concur in his motion, without making it the subject of a long discussion: nor was he able to enter into a statement of the events that had more recently happened; and, if he were, he should feel a reluctance in doing it, as they were wholly, or in a great degree, to be ascribed to misrepresentations. To silence these, and to appease at once all discontent, nothing, in his opinion, would be so effectual as the unanimous decision of parliament on the proposal before them. He therefore thought it his duty to entreat the house to pass their silent judgement on the present case, while they coincided with the motion it occasioned him to make. He then moved for a total of four hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds, to answer the additional

pay and allowance to the seamen and marines in the navy.

The resolutions, to this intent, being read, Mr. Fox said, that he should certainly agree to them, but that his duty required of him not to give a silent vote. He differed from the minister in his notions of confidence. Every question relating to the public expenditure ought, in his opinion, to be fully discussed. The silence of ministers had produced the fresh disturbances in the fleet at Portsmouth, by exciting a suspicion of their sincerity. What motive, he asked, could have induced them to suffer a whole fortnight to elapse before their application for the interference of parliament, from which alone they could derive effectual assistance, in this critical conjuncture. Such a neglect, on the part of ministers, argued a degree of guilt as well as of incapacity, that would involve the house itself, were the resolutions to pass without a due censure on ministry. The house was in duty bound to inquire how far the admiralty had acceded to the petitions of the seamen, and whether they were satisfied; and the remedy proposed would effectually allay their discontents. The house had a right to complete information, and their privileges ought not, by an obsequious and unseasonable silence, to be given up to men who had proved themselves unworthy of their confidence.

Mr. Sheridan acknowledged himself convinced, by the circumstances of the case, of the necessity to vote with the minister, without insisting upon information; but contended, however, that the recent disturbances arose from the procrastination of ministry.

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On the following day, May 9, the subject was renewed by Mr. Whitbread, who declared, that, it appeared to him of such consequence, that he considered it his duty formally to inquire, why ministry had not, at an earlier period, applied to the house, and thereby prevented the dangers that had resulted from this neglect.

The answer of Mr. Pitt was, that every proper step had been taken to obviate the unhappy event that had taken place. The seamen's demands had been submitted to the king in council, with all requisite expedition: estimates of the sums that would be wanted had been duly made out, for the inspection and approbation of parliament; and every thing put into an official train. It was only, therefore, the customary observance of forms that had impeded the speed which would otherwise have been employed, could the effects of such a delay have been foreseen. The sooner, for these reasons, a bill should be passed, in order to accelerate their termination.

Mr. Fox recapitulated the particulars of this unfortunate business, in justification of the censure which he trusted the house would pass on the conduct of administration. He described, in strong colours, the perilous situation of some persons, of the highest rank and merit, in their professional character, in consequence of the present commotions in the fleet, affirming it to be the duty of the house to express its condemnation of those who had, by the rashness of their conduct, brought them into such imminent danger.

The strictures of Mr. Fox were seconded by a vote of censure,

moved by Mr. Whitbread, and, by, an animated speech in support of this motion, by Mr. Sheridan. He severely blamed the conduct of ministers, in postponing the consideration of the seamen's demands, urged with so many circumstances that rendered them highly critical and serious, to such objects as the Imperial loan and the marriage-portion of the princess royal, which were of such inferior importance to the nation, and ought, therefore, without hesitation, to have been laid aside till a business of such magnitude had been settled. He insinuated, that the dissatisfaction in the navy had been caused by encroachments on the rights of the seamen, or by attempts to abridge them of their comforts. He proposed that a joint committee of both houses should be appointed, on this occasion, with power to send for persons and papers, and to adjourn from time to time, and from place to place.

This proposal Mr. Pitt combated, not only as an innovation in the discipline of the navy, but as unconstitutional. It superseded, at once, the functions of the executive and legislative powers.—Mr. Whitbread's motion was negatived, by 237 against 63. After some farther altercation, the resolutions he had moved, relating to the increase of seamen's pay and allowance, were read, and a bill was ordered to be brought in for passing them into an act, together with a clause for the continuance of pay to wounded seamen till they were cured. The bill, as soon as it was framed, went through all the necessary formalities, and immediately received the royal assent, by commission.

Subsequent endeavours were made to prove the ministry guilty of gross neglect, in suffering a business of this nature to proceed with a dilatoriness that might, and ought therefore to have been avoided: but they exculpated themselves, by bringing forward evidence that their intentions were clearly to have acted with more speed, if unavoidable impediments had not prevented them.

The suppression of the disturbances among the seamen at Portsmouth, without recurring to violent measures, and by granting their petitions, occasioned universal satisfaction, and it was hoped that the causes of their discontent being thus effectually removed, no farther complaints would arise to spread alarm throughout the nation. But these reasonable expectations were in a short time wholly disappointed by a fresh mutiny that broke out in the fleet at the Nore, on the twenty-second of May.

The crews on that day took possession of their respective ships, elected delegates to preside over them, and to draw up a statement of their demands, and transmit them to the lords of the admiralty. These demands went much farther than those of the seamen at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and from their exorbitancy did not appear entitled to the same indulgence. On the sixth of June, in the morning, the fleet at the Nore was joined by the *Agamemnon*, *Leopard*, *Ardent*, and *Isis* men of war, together with the *Ranger* sloop, which ships had deserted from the fleet under admiral Duncan. When the admiral found himself deserted by part of his fleet, he called his own ship's crew together, and addressed them in the following speech:

“ My lads,

“ I once more call you together with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen, the disaffection of the fleets: I call it disaffection, for the crews have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of an enemy, is a disgrace which, I believe, never before happened to a British admiral; nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort under God is, that I have been supported by the officers, seamen, and marines of this ship; for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing those deluded people to a sense of their duty, which they owe, not only to their king and country, but to themselves.

“ The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which I trust we shall maintain to the latest posterity; and that can only be done by unanimity and obedience. This ship's company, and others, who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be the favourites of a grateful country. They will also have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the floating and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty.

“ It has often been my pride, with you to look into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us: my pride is now humbled indeed! my feelings are not easily to be expressed! our cup has overflowed and made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given

us this check, as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On him then let us trust, where our only security can be found. I find there are many good men among us; for my own part, I have had full confidence of all in this ship; and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct.

“May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world.

“But this can only be effected by a strict adherence to our duty and obedience; and let us pray that the almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking.

“God bless you all.”

At an address so unassuming, modest, and pious, and so well calculated, from its simplicity and truth, to touch the human heart, the whole ship's crew were dissolved in tears. They declared, by every expression they could devise, their resolution to abide by the admiral in life or death. Their example was followed by all the other ships; besides those already mentioned. And the admiral, notwithstanding the defection of so considerable a part of his squadron, repaired to his station, off the coast of Holland, to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet; and resolved, still, not to decline, should it offer him battle.

The principal person at the head of this mutiny was one Richard Parker, a man of good natural parts, and some education, and of a remarkably bold and resolute character. Admiral Buckner, the commanding officer at the Nore, was di-

rected, by the lords of the admiralty, to inform the seamen, that their demands were totally inconsistent with the good order and regulations necessary to be observed in the navy, and could not for that reason be complied with: but that on returning to their duty, they would receive the king's pardon for their breach of obedience. To this offer Parker replied by a declaration, that the seamen had unanimously determined to keep possession of the fleet, until the lords of the admiralty had repaired to the Nore, and redressed the grievances which had been laid before them.

In order to put an end, with all possible expedition, to a mutiny that appeared so dangerous, lord Spencer, lord Arden, and a lord Young, hastened immediately to Sheerness, and held a board, at which Parker and the other delegates attended: but their behaviour was so audacious, that the lords of the admiralty returned to town without the least success. The principal article of complaint, on the part of the mutineers, was the unequal distribution of prize-money, for the omission of which they much blamed their fellow seamen at Portsmouth. On the return of the lords of the admiralty, from Sheerness, a proclamation was issued, offering his majesty's pardon to all such of the mutineers as should immediately return to their duty; intimating, at the same time, that admiral Buckner was the proper person to be applied to on such an occasion. All the buoys, by order of government, were removed from the mouth of the Thames, and the neighbouring coast; from which precaution, any ships, that should attempt to get away, would be in danger of run-

ning a-ground. Great preparations, also, were made, at Sheerness, against an attack from the mutinous ships, which had manifested some strong indications of an intention to bombard that place: and furnaces and hot bails were kept ready.

Emboldened by the strength of men and shipping in their hands, and resolved to persevere in their demands till they had extorted a compliance, the mutineers proceeded to secure a sufficiency of provisions for that purpose, by seizing two vessels laden with stores, and sent notice ashore that they intended to block up the Thames; and cut off all communication between London and the sea, in order to force government to a speedy accession to their terms. They began the execution of this menace by mooring four of their vessels across the mouth of the river, and stopping several ships that were coming from the metropolis.

They now altered the system of their delegation, and to prevent too much power from being lodged in the hands of any man, the office of president was entrusted to no one longer than a day. This they did to secure themselves from the attempts to betray them, which might result from the offers held out to those in whom they were obliged to place confidence and authority, were those to possess such a trust for any time. They also compelled those ships, the crews of which they suspected of wavering in the cause, to take their station in the midst of the others. But, notwithstanding these precautions, two vessels eluded their vigilance, and made their escape.

These transactions, while they excited the greatest alarm in the na-

tion, were violently reprobated by the seamen belonging to the two divisions of the fleet lying at Portsmouth and at Plymouth. Each of them addressed an admonition to their fellow-seamen at the Nore, warmly condemning their proceedings, as a scandal to the name of British seamen, and exhorting them to be content with the indulgence already granted by government, and to return to their duty without insisting on more concessions than had been demanded by the rest of the navy.

But these warnings proved ineffectual. The reinforcement of the four ships lately arrived, and the expectation of being joined by others, induced them to persist in their demands. The committee of delegates, on board the Sandwich, came to a determination to commission lord Northesk, whom they had kept in confinement in the Montague, of which he was the commander, to repair to the king in the name of the fleet, and to acquaint him with the conditions on which they were willing to deliver up the ships. The petition, which he was charged to lay before the king, was highly respectful and loyal to him, but very severe on his ministers, and they required an entire compliance with every one of their demands, threatening, on the refusal of any, to put immediately to sea. Lord Northesk readily undertook to be the bearer of their petition, but told them, that, from the unreasonableness of their demands, he could not flatter them with the hope of success. Confiding in him, they said, as the seamen's friend, they had entrusted him with this mission, on pledging his honour to return, with a clear
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and positive answer, within fifty-four hours.

Lord Northwick departed accordingly for London, and was accompanied, by Lord Spencer, to the king. But neither of them was returned to the metropolis, a resolution being taken by the fleet, that the nation at large might be apprised of their proceedings, great divisions took place among the delegates, and several of the ships deserted the others, not, however, without much contest and bloodshed. The mutineers, despairing, now, of accomplishing their designs, struck the red flag, which they had hoisted as the signals of mutiny, and requested a free passage to the trade of the metropolis. Every ship was now left at its own command, and they all gradually returned to obedience, though, on board of some, violent fraggles happened between the mutineers and the loyal parties.

The principal conductor of the mutiny, Richard Parker, was seized and imprisoned, and, after a solemn trial, that lasted three days, on board of the *Neptune*, he was sentenced to death. He suffered with great coolness and intrepidity, acknowledging the justice of his sentence, and expressing his hope, that mercy might be extended to his associates. But it was judged necessary to make public examples of the principal and most guilty, who were accordingly tried, and, after full proof of their criminality, condemned and executed. Others were ordered to be whipped; but a considerable number remained under sentence of death till after the great victory obtained, over the Dutch fleet, by admiral Duncan: when his majesty sent a general pardon to those unhappy men; who were, at that pe-

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riod, confined on-board a prison-ship in the river Thames.

In the mean time, this dangerous mutiny had been a serious object of attention in parliament. On the first of June, a message was delivered from the king to both houses, to give them formal notice of the event, and to request they would adopt the necessary measures for the public security, and, particularly, to make more effectual provision for the prevention and punishment of attempts to excite mutiny and sedition in the navy, or to seduce individuals in the sea or land service from their duty and allegiance.

A bill was accordingly proposed by Mr. Pitt, the purport of which was, that persons who should endeavour to seduce either soldiers or sailors from their duty, or instigate them to mutinous practices, or commit any act of mutiny, or form any mutinous assemblies, should, on conviction, be deemed guilty of felony, and suffer death: the duration of the act was limited to one month after the commencement of the next session. The propriety of such a law, in the present conjuncture, appeared so evident, that it passed by an unanimous vote on the third of June.

Another motion was then made, by Mr. Pitt, to prevent all communication with the ships that should be in a state of mutiny, and to enact, that if, after the king's proclamation, any one should voluntarily continue in such ships, they should be declared mutinous and rebellious, their pay should cease, and they should forfeit that which was due to them.

The severity of that part of the bill, which restrained all intercourse with

with the mutinous seamen, was animadverted on by sir John Sinclair, who recommended the union of conciliation with terror, and suggested the appointment of commissioners, to grant pardons under particular circumstances.

The penal clause proposed for wilful and advised communication was death. This was opposed by Mr. Nichol, on the ground, that the intercourse with a person guilty of high treason, was not, by law, even a misdemeanour, provided it were not accompanied by open acts of aiding and abetting; the guilt incurred by such communication ought not, therefore, to extend, at most, beyond a misdemeanour, and the penalty not farther than in cases of this kind, and never beyond transportation at the very farthest.

To this modification of the severity proposed by the minister, Mr. Adair replied, that the punishment was only to attach to those who should hold communication, and intercourse, with persons declared in a state of mutiny, after the prohibition to communicate with them had been published; but Mr. Nichol observed, that the communications, liable to the penalty intended, ought to be more explicitly specified. To this observation the minister made answer, that communications by letters, or otherwise, which previously to a prohibition might have been innocent, came, nevertheless, under the imputation of guilt, after they had been prohibited. His opinion was, that men guilty of such atrocious acts of rebellion as the mutineers, ought to be completely separated from that country of which they had abandoned the cause. If they

valued the intercourse and communication with a parent, a wife, and other relatives and friends, they ought, before they were permitted to enjoy the sweets of those endearing connections, to reconcile themselves to their offended country, by returning to the allegiance they owe it. If we could, Mr. Pitt added, obtain new avenues to the hearts of those brave but deluded men; if we could rouse their generous feelings, and, by awakening the tender affections of nature, recall them to a sense of their duty, when they reflected on the happiness they were deprived of by departing from it, we should have made an effectual progress in bringing them to repentance and submission. These arguments prevailed, and the provisions in the bill were admitted as the minister had originally proposed, with the addition of the penalties annexed to piracy, which were moved by the solicitor-general. Several other clauses were added, for the purposes of punishment, or of pardon, as circumstances might require; and the duration of this act was, like the preceding one, against the seduction of people in the army or navy from their duty, limited to one month after the commencement of the next parliamentary session.

Two members opposed the passing of this bill, sir Francis Burdet and Mr. Sturt. The former objected to it, as tending to irritate the seamen, and drive them to acts of desperation and revenge, that might be attended with the most fatal consequences, and preclude all reconciliation: the latter insisted, that conciliatory measures would alone be effectual, in producing that cordial and speedy submission which the present

present circumstances demanded. He considered, also, the existing laws as fully sufficient for the case in agitation, without encumbering the penal code with odious additions. It was already, he observed, amply severe. Of thirty-six articles of war, near the half, seventeen, contained penalties and punishments of various kinds.

Whatever propriety there might be in the observations of these two gentlemen, the alarm and resentment of the majority, at the manner in which the seamen of the fleet at the Nore had enforced their demands, led them to adopt the coercive measures recommended by ministers. Fortunately for these, the divisions they had found means to create among the mutineers operated more powerfully towards their reduction than any other cause. Had they remained firmly united, government must have finally complied with most of their requisitions, especially with that which related to a more equal distribution of prize-money. This demand appeared, to the generality of men, founded upon the strictest equity. Had they confined their petition to this particular, it was thought, at the time, that they would have been seconded by the seamen of the whole navy. By demanding too much, they deprived themselves of that unanimous concurrence which they had expected. They not only incurred the disapprobation of their fellow-seamen, but forfeited the countenance of their other fellow-subjects, who, though convinced that they were entitled to better treatment in the article of prizes than they had hitherto experienced, were not inclined to abet them in this particular, while they accompanied it with

requisitions, the propriety and reasonableness of which were questioned by their warmest advocates.

The suppression of the mutiny at the Nore was truly a critical occurrence. The number of ships of the line, and of r resolute and experienced seamen that manned them, and in whose possession they were, presented the most formidable object of alarm. The combination of the ships companies at Portsmouth and Plymouth offered nothing dangerous in comparison of that which took place at the Nore: the demands of the former were strictly justifiable, and no inconvenience could arise from complying with them; but those of the latter aimed at innovations equally dangerous and mortifying to persons in authority, and would have occasioned essential alterations in the discipline and management of the navy.

A variety of opinions went forth of the real causes of both these mutinies; but, the first may be, without hesitation, ascribed to the popular maxims, prevailing every where, of the right, inherent in all men, to require an equitable treatment, and, if denied them, to obtain it by force, if other means appeared insufficient. The inequitable treatment of the common sailors in the navy was undeniable: it was a subject of ordinary discourse, and the wishes of the impartial public were daily expressed for a redress of their grievances. Nor did the seamen, in the petitions they presented, and by their conduct and demeanour towards their officers, in the course of the whole transactions, commit any act of insolence and disrespect. The utmost freedom they took was, to direct of their

their authority those whom they considered as inimical to the interests and claims of the common men, or such as had exceeded the bounds of due moderation in the exercise of their command, and rendered themselves obnoxious, by the unnecessary severity and the harshness of their behaviour. The readiness with which the whole multitude of the malcontents returned to their wonted submission, the moment they became satisfied that their petitions would be granted, evinced the sincerity of their professions of loyalty, and that they harboured no other views than of securing better usage than they had met with heretofore.

But the insurrection at the Nore was attended with far more menacing circumstances. The demands of the mutineers seemed, in some instances, to be framed with an expectation to be refused, and the behaviour of their agents appeared calculated to excite the resentment of their superiors, and to set them at defiance. They proceeded to acts of violence totally unnecessary and unjustifiable, and which amounted, in fact, to the commission of hostilities against their fellow-subjects.

Taking these various particulars into consideration, some persons strongly suspected, that there were, among the mutineers, individuals who acted the part of emissaries from the enemy, and strove to push them on to extremities. Certain it is, that, when the intelligence of the mutiny at Portsmouth arrived at Paris, it excited great satisfaction in the republican party. Sanguine hopes were immediately conceived, that it might prove the prelude of more serious insurrections: at all events, the desertion of the British navy was an incident that prognos-

ticated, in the imagination of the French, all kinds of disasters to this country. Deprived of this indispensable support, at a period when it was more than ever needed, Great Britain would lose, at once, its influence in the affairs of Europe, and sink into a state of absolute insignificance. That awe, in which it had kept surrounding nations, would vanish; none of them would any longer either dread its power or court its alliance: its very political existence, as an independent country, would become precarious, and nothing, in fact, of its former strength and importance would remain.

Such were the subjects of exultation, throughout France, on this critical occasion. They did not subside on the pacification effected by the prudent concessions of government. It was still hoped, in France, that causes of a similar nature to those that had produced the first mutiny, might give birth to a second. As, unfortunately for this country, they were not disappointed in their expectations, which had been loud, and expressed with much confidence, numbers were led to believe, that they had not been inactive in creating them.

The advantages that must obviously have resulted to the French republic, by fomenting discords of so fatal a tendency to this country, were undeniable. This induced people to think, that, conformably to the system which they had pursued so successfully in other countries, they would have exerted their noted talents for intrigue in encouraging and extending the variances that had arisen here. But, however inviting the opportunity that seemed to offer, it has not been dif-

discovered, on the acutest examination, that they had any direct hand in the late mutiny any more than in the first: though, doubtless, they heartily rejoiced in both, and would, had they been able, have acted in the manner imputed to them by those who indulged their suspicions.

For the combinations at Portsmouth and Plymouth there certainly was not only a plausible pretext, but, in truth, too much reason: but for that at Sheerness, which may be called the third, and most formidable, mutiny among the seamen, it was not im-

pelled by necessity, or provoked by unjust aggression or neglect. It was impatient of authority, factious, seditious, progressive in its demands, intent on civil discord and convulsion: it was, in a word, combined with the same spirit on shore which the mutineers at Portsmouth and Plymouth had raised to an unusual pitch of daring insolence. It was not the genuine spirit of the true English sailors; but that of malcontent incendiaries: * finally, it was the most emphatic proof that had yet been given to our nation of the influence

* At this time, the character of a British seaman had fallen very much in the public estimation. It was on this account, that a periodical writer, professedly unconnected with any party (and whose professions are, in truth, realized, by the thrusts he made very often at all parties) published the following *Character of an English Sailor*, which was copied into almost every newspaper and magazine in Great Britain and Ireland:

“ Having thus reprobated the mutiny at the Nore, we may be allowed to exhibit a true portrait of what an English seaman was, and, we hope, still is, or with good treatment still likely to be. Such a portrait, if contemplated with candour, will tend to awaken in all Britons a love of sailors, and in sailors a love of Britain.

“ A British sailor is thoughtless, and inattentive to what concerns his own happiness; but not indifferent either to the interest of his country, the glory of the navy, or the renown of the individual ship to which he belongs. He is cheerfully active, and prompt in the execution of his duty; patient of fatigue, as well as of the vicissitudes of weather and climate; steady and collected at his post, in the hour of danger; obedient, respectful, and attached, to the officer worthy to command him; faithful and true to his king and country. He has an open, honest, and faithful heart; he is courageous in action, and humane in victory; he is the life and soul of our commerce, the guardian and bulwark of the nation: yet, these men, the pride and the safety of their country, are, for the most part, pressed into the service, and too much exposed, when in it, to neglect, to misery, and to distress. They are exposed to an imperious, harsh, and ill-natured, mode of dispensing orders and carrying on duty, which sometimes drives generous spirits to despondency and despair: they are—but it is not our business to enumerate grievances; we would only observe, that for the eccentricities and ebullitions of seamen, especially, when, through the improvidence of government, they are contaminated by a mixture of the outcasts of the earth, there is some degree of excuse and indulgence. An universal venality and corruption, the natural offspring of luxury, has seized on all ranks at land; the greatest estates, united with the highest honours, have not exempted the greater part, by far, of our nobility, and, among these, even some of good private characters, from the imputation of selfishness, and a total disregard of the commonwealth; intrigue and effrontery are prominent in the conduct of our politicians at land; but many, nay most of these are lawyers and cautious, the sailors seek redress of grievances in their own way; full of danger—

Quosum hoc tam patula tendunt?

not to excuse mutiny, but to admonish the executive and judicial powers to temper authority, strengthened by the suppression of rebellion, with a recollection of what is due to the sailors, and also of what is prudent and safe for government.

“ The statesman ought to attend, not only to what is morally just, but to what is politically expedient. As cases are more numerous than laws, it becomes the legislator

influence of French opinion and example, and the rapid progress of popular claims and combinations.

The suppression of this rebellion illustrated the prudence and vigour of administration more than any other of their transactions at home or abroad had ever done. On the other hand, the systematic order and moderation of the sailors, and the cheerful return to obedience, of at least the great body of seamen, their claims being granted, illustrate the mighty advantages of a free government, in which men can assume the manly air of freedom, without abandoning themselves to the licentiousness and phrenzy of slaves broken loose from bondage. From this event, it was said, by many candid persons, far removed from enthusiasm of any kind, that there might not improbably be much less danger in complying with the numerous petitions, which had been presented, in the course of 1797, for a parliamentary reform, than was generally apprehended.

It is not often that governments anticipate the just complaints of the people, or any class of the people, by unconstrained acts of justice. It is not, commonly, until some intolerable grievance be on the point of an explosion, that must endanger the stability of their own power that they do much for the relief of human misery. The mutiny in the fleet would scarcely, perhaps, have sufficed, to have turned the attention of our ministry to the miserable pittance to which the gradual depreciation in the value of money had reduced the pay of the soldiers, that is, from privates to serjeants inclusive, if a disposition to claim a redress of this great evil had not become quite apparent in the whole army, particularly in the corps stationed in the near vicinity of London, and in other populous cities and towns; and if the interests and claims of the army had not been taken care of by the commander-in-chief, his royal highness the duke of York.*

to mount up from the particular circumstances of particular situations, to general principles, common to all. What is the effect of punishment? Is it the same in all cases? No: but different in different cases. When men are conscious of guilt, even a few examples of punishment strike terror. Where no such consciousness exists, whether from truth, error, or insensibility of disposition, even multiplied examples of severity serve only to heighten the resolution, and add fuel to the flame of martyrdom.—

“ In conscious virtue men are bold.” *

“ Grief is bold, and makes its owners stout.” †

“ Let not our design be misunderstood—we mean not to extenuate the guilt of the leading mutineers: but let the nature and the evidence of their crime be made plain to the whole world; and let every allowance be made to the unsuspecting credulity of sailors, who may, possibly, have been seduced to espouse a bad, under the idea of its being a just and honourable, cause. If delegates were to be punished, *quoad* delegates, this might occasion disapprobation, perhaps, and alarm! But the overt-acts of rebellion, and particularly the efforts to carry the British ships of war into the ports of France, may with safety, and ought, in justice and sound policy, to be punished.”

The industry of journalists is seldom more happily directed than it was, at such a time, in the publication of this paper.

* A statement of the former, and the advanced pay of the soldiers will be found among the State-Papers in this volume, page 252.

* Addison.

† Shakspeare.

C H A P. XIII.

State of Ireland, in its Relations, external and internal, a Subject in Debate in both Houses of Parliament.—Motion, by Mr. Whitbread, in the House of Commons, relative to the Invasion of Ireland.—Negatived.—Motion relative to the internal State and Discontents of Ireland, in the House of Peers, by the Earl of Moira.—Negatived.—Motion on the same Subject in the House of Commons, by Mr. Fox.—Negatived.

AT the same time that the opposition party in parliament arraigned the conduct of government, respecting events, still pregnant with danger, they condemned it, not less severely, respecting an event, the danger of which was happily past. This was the attempt to invade Ireland, of which we have given some account in our last volume, and which was frustrated, it was alleged, through physical accidents, and the folly of the enemy, rather than any prudence and providence in the British councils. It is proper to observe, in this place, that, on the third of March, the thanks of the house of commons were voted to admiral sir John Jervis, for his gallant and meritorious exertions, on the fourteenth of February last; and also to the vice-admiral, captains, and officers of the fleet under his command, for their gallant conduct and bravery on that most glorious occasion. The services of the seamen, marines, and soldiers, were also approved and acknowledged.

On the same day, after these votes were passed, Mr. Whitbread rose, and addressing himself to the speaker, said,

“No man in this house, sir, or in this country, can have a higher opinion than I have, of the courage, the gallantry, the skill, and ability of the gallant admiral, and the officers and seamen acting under him, who have achieved of action so eminently glorious. No man can be more desirous of conferring on him and them every praise, and every exalted distinction which such brilliant conduct deserves. At the same time, sir, that I say this, I must beg leave to observe, that such glorious annals of the events are by no means unprecedented in the British navy. However, sir, willing and desirous as I am to allow to this gallant action every possible degree of merit, and every praise which the most enthusiastic admirer of extraordinary victories can wish for or desire, I must beg leave to call the attention of the house to the circumstances which have just been related to us, concerning the situation and number of ships with which this gallant admiral has acquired so great, so brilliant, and so decisive a superiority. The inequality of ships on our part, under the command of sir John Jervis, is very great, almost, sir, in a proportion

portion answer to one. While, therefore, we view the splendour of this victory with every degree of admiration, and joyful exultation it so eminently deserves, it becomes us seriously to consider, whether the circumstance alone does not loudly call on us to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty, for his neglect of reinforcing the squadron which was in a service so distant as that of the Mediterranean, when he knew that the Spaniards added to the list of our naval adversaries. In my opinion, in the same degree of proportion in which we praise and admire the glorious victory which sir John Jervis has obtained—a victory, the consequences of which must be so valuable and important to the first interests of this country; in an equal degree ought we to affix blame and culpability for so gross and glaring a neglect as that of leaving him with such a prodigious inferiority of force. We are told, sir, by the right honourable secretary of state, in the detail which he has just given the house of this fortunate and gallant achievement, that with fifteen ships sir John Jervis has defeated a fleet of the Spaniards, which consisted of twenty-seven line of battle ships, of which he has taken four. Fortunate and glorious as this action has proved, to the reputation of the British navy, and those who command and conduct it, we cannot help calling to mind how dreadful it would have been the reverse of the fate of that memorable day, had victory declared itself in favour of the enemy. What, sir, at this moment must have been the sensations of the people of this country? What would they have said, if, in spite of the bravery, the discipline, the judgement, and glory of sir John Jervis—for glory, I maintain, sir, does not always consist in success—what would they have said, if, in defiance of all those superior abilities for which the character of the British officers and seamen are so eminently conspicuous, the reverse of the pleasing picture of this brilliant victory had this night been held up to us, and we had been told that sir John Jervis had been defeated, in consequence of the immense superiority of numbers in the fleet which the enemy brought into action against us? I have no doubt, sir, but the voice of the country at large would undoubtedly and inevitably have called loudly and universally for an impeachment of the first lord of the admiralty. I think, sir, that this house would, in such a case, have been pretty ready to join the voice of the people, and to second them in so necessary a measure. The unparalleled success which has attended the skill and bravery of our fleet, by no means alter the state of the question. It was the duty of the first lord of the admiralty, and of his majesty's ministers in general, to have taken care that our fleet should bear some degree of proportion to that of the enemy; and, therefore, it evidently appears, that the inferiority being so very great, it is high time an inquiry into the conduct of ministers should immediately take place, I hope, sir, the time is not far distant, nay, I flatter myself it is very near, indeed, when this house will think it necessary to go seriously and actively into an extensive and deep inquiry into the nation at large. Such an inquiry has long been wanted. The very momentous information which has been laid be-
fore

fore the house, and which has engaged their most serious and deliberate, as well as anxious consideration, since Monday last, shews, beyond a possibility of doubt, the inevitable necessity of inquiry, upon the broadest and most efficacious basis." Mr. Whitbread proceeded to notice the melancholy change that had taken place in the aspect of public affairs in the space of one week: public credit shaken to its foundation. The mismanagement, he said, of his majesty's ministers, had become notorious to every beholder, and the cry of inquiry into their conduct was not now confined to the members of opposition in that house alone, but was echoed back upon them from every corner of the kingdom. Having touched on the expences of the war, and the numerous captures of our merchant ships, though we had a fleet of more than five hundred ships of war, of various denominations, he came to speak of that particular neglect and misconduct, which more immediately gave rise to the present motion. The first intimation, on authority, he said, which that house received relative to the intention of the enemy to invade this country, was conveyed by his majesty's speech on the opening of the present session of parliament. Information had been received, through various channels, that Ireland was one object of the meditated attack. Yet it appeared from a letter from general Dalrymple, that, instead of any effectual means having been previously taken for an efficient defence, every thing remained to be done, even after the appearance of the enemy in Bantry-Bay: in which part of the country there was not any thing

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like an adequate force for her defence: not more, if so many, as three thousand regular troops, to oppose to the whole force of the French. The city of Cork was, therefore, in danger of falling into their hands, with all its stores and provisions: to the amount of nearly, if not quite, a million and a half. Mr. Whitbread, after these and other observations, went through a regular statement of the numbers of the French fleet, and those of our own, from the time of the enemy quitting the harbour of Brest, and a short time before. On the twenty-first, the enemy cast anchor in Bantry-Bay; so that they were at sea, and on the coast of Ireland, from the eighteenth of December, to the sixth of January. On the twentieth of December, news arrived in England, that the French fleet had quitted Brest. From the twenty-third to the twenty-fifth, the wind was favourable for the squadron, under the command of lord Bridport, to have sailed. It continued fair on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, after which it came a-head, and the fleet could not sail for some days. On the thirty-first, intelligence came to this country, that the French fleet was off the coast of Ireland; and, on the same day, exactly, admiral Colpoys, with the fleet under his command, arrived at Portsmouth. The reasons given for his return, with this squadron, are various and contradictory. One was, that his force was not sufficient to encounter those of the enemy. If that was a true reason, it furnishes an additional cause of inquiry into the conduct of ministers, and of the first lord of the admiralty in particular. What, when they had received information

of the active and extensive preparations going forward at Brest, shall we be told; after the large sums consumed in secret service-money, and with the immense navy in our possession; they ought not to have sent out fresh ships to reinforce that squadron? It is absurd on the face of it. Admiral Colpoys, however, must have received intelligence of the sailing of the Brest fleet. Did he fail in pursuit of them? Did he fail towards the coast of Portugal after, where it might, perhaps, have occurred to him they were gone? No. Did he sail after them towards the coast of Ireland? No: he sailed directly for Portsmouth, where he arrived on the very day that information was brought they were on the Irish coast. Another reason which has been given for the return of this squadron into port was, that it was short of provisions. In every view of every reason for its return, the most glaring misconduct and culpability stare us in the face. Is it possible to conceive, that in all the time admiral Colpoys lay with his squadron off Brest, either fresh ships, properly victualled, could not have been sent to relieve him, or transports, with provisions, have been forwarded to re-victual his fleet? The question answers for itself. Numerous, as well as various are the objections which have, from time to time, been made to any and every species of inquiry, pending a war. Notwithstanding all this, we have an instance, said Mr. Whitbread, of an inquiry having been granted, towards the close of the last war, in which the right honourable gentleman opposite to him, (Mr. Pitt) acted a very considerable part, in moving for various papers, in support of the motion. Mr.

Whitbread then said, I cannot conclude in more apt or proper terms, than by using the words of a celebrated predecessor of yours, sir, in that chair, who, after the failure of the fleet, in 1744, when he presented the bill of supplies, told the highest authority in this country, "that in circumstances so dismal and distressing, the house ought to exercise the best, and the dearest of their privileges, that of inquiring into the application of every part of the supplies." I therefore move, sir, "that it be referred to a committee, to inquire into the conduct of ministers, with respect to the late attempt of the French, in the invasion of Ireland."—To the charges of Mr. Whitbread, it was answered by

Mr. Dundas, who said, that it was impossible to decide, whether the object of the French fleet was Ireland or Portugal. It was the wisest measure that could be adopted, to divide our fleets, stationing one off Brest, for the purpose of watching the enemy, and intercepting the sailing of the expedition; and the other at home, to relieve it, if necessary. A fleet, under sir Edward Pellew, was appointed to cruise off Brest, and did actually cruise there. But notwithstanding the diligence and skill of the admiral, and the experience and courage of sir Edward, their exertions were in vain; for the state of the weather was such that it was impossible for the admiral to keep his own fleet under his observation, and the air was so hazy, that the fog-guns were continually fired. Could any man doubt sir Edward's inclination to have given, if possible, the intelligence to the admiral, that the enemy

enemy had put to sea; or that admiral Colpoys was not desirous to see it? Was it likely we should be unwilling, when he had a fleet, under his command, so superior to that of the enemy? It was the wisest resolution he could take, not to follow them to Portugal, or Ireland, till he knew their certain destination; and he kept his station for the chance of intercepting all, or part, of the fleet, in case of dispersion by a storm; he recollected also, that the circumstance of their having sailed would be known to the admiralty, and, by remaining where he was, he should receive such authentic intelligence as he could not otherwise expect to obtain. With regard to the charge of the want of provisions, Mr. Dundas could not but admit the squadron had remained longer on its station than was at first supposed necessary, and not relieved as soon as the admiralty had intended; the reason was, sir Roger Curtis should have been in port the beginning of November, and did not come till the eighteenth. He had been appointed to cruise off Rochford, where he remained a fortnight longer than was expected, to intercept the return of Richery's squadron from Newfoundland.

Sir Roger's squadron consisted of seven sail of the line, and was to have been sent to the relief of the fleet off Brest; but the wind was so adverse as to render it impossible for them to come to Spithead before the eighteenth of November. As to the interval which took place between the arrival of admiral Colpoys and the sailing of lord Bridport, the instructions of sir Edward Pellew reached the ad-

miralty on the twentieth of December; and on the twenty-first he received information of the sailing of the French fleet from Brest, and immediately returned for answer, that all the fleet would be ready four days after, namely, the twenty-fifth. [Here Mr. Dundas read the orders of the admiralty, issued on the twenty-first, and another order issued after, counteracting some part of them, and desiring him to proceed off Cape Clear immediately.] He wished it to be observed, that, although the French fleet arrived off the coast of Ireland on the twenty-first of December, intelligence of them was not received, in this country, till the thirty-first. The admiralty had taken the chance of finding admiral Colpoys on the station where they expected him to have been, off the Lizard, in case of any adverse winds removing him from the French coast. Lord Bridport had always been not only a gallant but a successful admiral; yet it so happened, that, although admiral Colpoys had been hovering, with his squadron, off Brest, to intercept the enemy upon their leaving that harbour, although lord Bridport afterwards proceeded off Cape Clear and the Irish coast with the same design; and although the Duke and the Majestic, with two other ships of war, were sent in search of them, they were so covered by the fog, and protected by fortune, as to escape them all. The honourable gentleman, Mr. Whitbread, had said, that Ireland was saved by the elements; but he should have remembered, that the same wind which dispersed the enemy, prevented our fleets from meeting them.

Mr. Dundas considered invasion as nothing but a bugbear; yet did not wish us to relax in our precautions on the one hand, or to despond on the other. Exclusive of our naval forces in the East and West Indies, the North Seas, and the Mediterranean, we have had fifty sail of the line for the defence of Britain and Ireland, and upwards of two hundred thousand men under arms. Hitherto both the government and force of this country had been calumniated; he hoped he had proved, satisfactorily, that no blame was imputable to the admiralty, or to the officers, though he by no means wished to prevent inquiry; their conduct, he thought, could well sustain the test.

Mr. Grey took occasion, from Mr. Dundas's *bugbear*, to animadvert, with great severity, that is, the severity, not of expression, but of truth, on the versatility of ministers in conjuring up, and magnifying, dangers, or in deriding real dangers as phantoms, just as it suited their purpose; whether to gain confidence, or provide for their own safety. He then observed, that in the place where an attack of the enemy was apprehended, and where it was actually made, there was neither a cavalry nor a supplementary militia bill; in a place where there was no apprehension of an attack, there were both.—With regard to the instructions sent to lord Bridport, to put to sea immediately, Why did he not do so, when the wind was fair, on the twenty-second, twenty-third, and twenty-fourth of December? It was no excuse to say, that his squadron was not ready, or that admiral Curvis had not returned from his cruise:

the admiralty ought to be impeached for not having a fleet ready to sail on the twenty-second.

Mr. Wyndham affirmed it to be impossible to keep a fleet, for any length of time, in such a state of preparation as to be ready to sail at a moment's warning, and that it would have been rashness to have sent lord Bridport out with an inferior fleet, when government did not know but that the French were out with sixteen sail of the line. He denied the possibility of Cork falling into their hands, even had the enemy landed; complimented the inhabitants of the southern parts of Ireland on their loyalty; and observed, that it was singular that those very men who were supposed the most oppressed, in that kingdom, had manifested the most firm attachment to government; while those in the north, who were not said to have any cause of complaint, had shewn a disposition to insurrection. He thought this went a good way towards proving, that it was possible for men to make groundless complaints against those by whom they were governed. He did not absolutely charge the opposition with evil intentions, when they talked of those parts of his majesty's dominions most liable to attack, but he wished them to recollect, that observations of this kind partook of the nature of a two-edged sword; they might happen to convey information to the enemy what place might be most successfully attacked, as well as expose the negligence of ministers. Mr. Wyndham insisted, on the whole, with the greatest confidence, on the impossibility of our being invaded, when we were in possession of so great a superiority of naval force.

Mr.

Mr. Fox, adverting first to the last part of Mr. Wyndham's speech, said, that, if members of that house, when they charged ministry with neglecting the defence of the country, were to be considered as holding out an invitation to the enemy to invade the country, they had better, at once, put an end to the forms, as they had done to the substance, of the constitution. The right honourable gentleman has talked of "two-edged tools." In a state of war, every complaint against administration must be of the nature of a two-edged tool. A complaint of weakness conveys information to the enemy. To whom then am I to make my complaint? and to state my opinion? I wish to know whether ministers are the only persons to be permitted to give advice? If what I hear be true, Ireland is, at this moment, more discontented than before the attempt of an invasion. I suppose I shall now be told, that I am holding out an invitation to the French. No, sir, I am not inviting the French: I am inviting his majesty's ministers to take measures for removing that discontent which the enemy may regard as an invitation. But we find that Ireland is divided into two parts: the contented and discontented. Upon that subject we shall hear more in future: but let not the right honourable gentleman, who spoke last, state his opinion as ours. I have said, that the Catholics were in a state of unjust exclusion; but I never have said, that the protestants had no reason for complaint, and that they were not excluded from the essence and substance of the British constitution. But, the right honourable gentleman says, "may not men have unreasonable grounds of complaint?"

Yes; but that is no reason for not removing their just grounds of complaint. Mr. Fox ridiculed the secretary of war's question, how could we possibly be invaded, having a superior naval force? when the subject proposed for inquiry was, how we came actually to be invaded? Without expressing dissatisfaction at the conduct of admiral Colpoys, he said, we ought to have had a second fleet at home, ready to sail from Portsmouth, as soon as news of the French fleet reached England.

Mr. Sturt said, that the repeated insults offered to our coasts fully justified the inquiry moved for. He asserted, that admiral Colpoys's ship, notwithstanding the positive assertion of Mr. Dundas to the contrary, did, in fact, come into port, for lack of provisions; particularly of fuel, which was as bad as any want: for, he did not think that the treasurer to the navy would like raw beef any more than the sailors. But he was astonished at nothing that this gentleman affirmed: so great was his boldness, confidence, and assurance. His whole statement of the security of Ireland was a misstatement; in proof of which he read a letter. He hoped in God he would not much longer have the direction of naval or other affairs. "He might wriggle and grin, [Mr. Dundas showing symptoms of uneasiness] and twist and toss his head about as much as he pleased, but he hoped it would soon be twisted somewhere else."

Mr. Pitt, after applauding and confirming all that had been advanced by Mr. Dundas, than which he thought there was nothing more necessary to be urged in the present question, observed, that the ge-

neral question was this, whether or not sufficient preparations were made by the admiralty to be ready against any possible expedition, which might be fitted out in the ports of France? It was admitted, he said, that either Portugal or Ireland was the point of attack: the one, our faithful ally; the other, as dear to us as Great Britain itself. What was the nature of our preparation? Why; we had our fleet actually watching the enemy on their coasts; and ready to follow them wherever they might go, in case the weather had permitted that we could have known their direction; and we had another fleet in such a forward state of preparation, as to have been ready to have sailed in five days after we knew that the Brest fleet had sailed, had the wind been fair. Had either one fleet or the other been so fortunate as to have met the enemy, what prodigies of valour might we not have expected? In respect to the navy of Great Britain, it ought to be recollected, how many and various objects, and what rich and important possessions, it had to protect. This circumstance must lessen our superiority in some points, especially, when the enemy had, so lately, been reinforced by the fleets of Spain. What more could be done than to have one fleet on the French coasts, and another ready for sea? Having no positive information of the destination of the enemy's fleet, occasioned by the mere circumstance of fogs and tempestuous weather, was it extraordinary that we should have been so long in the dark, and unable to find out their place of rendezvous, when the French admiral and general Hoche, who were in possession of the secret,

and failed in the same expedition; as well as other captains of the fleet, had, from the same causes of weather, never been able even to join it. Admiral Colpoys fleet was in a state and condition to follow the enemy, and the papers offered to be produced would prove it. Mr. Pitt concluded his speech, on this occasion, by complaining of Mr. Fox's manner of speaking, concerning Ireland, which he considered as violent and inflammatory. On a division of the house, on Mr. Whitbread's motion, the previous question, against it, was carried by 201 against 62.

On the same subject, a motion was made, on March 16, in the house of peers, by the earl of Albemarle. Before he proceeded, however, he assured the house, that he did not mean to offer, or even hint, the smallest disrespect, either to any of the gallant officers employed in any of our fleets, or to the admiralty. The only object he had in view was, an inquiry. It was the universal opinion that blame lay somewhere. It was only necessary for him to remind their lordships, that ministers must have been informed, even long before the meeting of the present parliament, that an invasion, of either Ireland or this country, or both, was intended. Why, then, was no fleet of ours stationed on the coast of Ireland for its protection? This question appeared to him to be of still greater importance, from what had fallen from the first lord of the admiralty, who had declared, his belief, "that if the thing was to be done over again." Lord Albemarle then entered into a circumstantial review of the whole proceedings of the enemies of our own fleets. The following

following are the most striking of his observations and arguments. On the twentieth of December, news arrived, in England, of the French fleet having left Brest; on the twenty-second, orders were sent to lord Bridport to sail immediately, with the fleet under his command; and, by a letter from his lordship to the admiralty, then on the table, it appeared, that lord Bridport could not sail till the twenty-fifth, on account of some of the ships of his squadron not being ready. He arrived, however, with his squadron, seventeen sail of the line, and some frigates. The French fleet consisted of eighteen sail of the line, several frigates, and numerous transports, all full of troops. Lord Bridport, after cruising in quest of the enemy, finally returned to port, without having fallen in with, or seen, a single ship of the enemy. The French fleet had remained at anchor, in Bantry-bay, some of them during a period of eleven or twelve days. On account of adverse winds, and very stormy weather, the greatest part of it was dispersed: but had a force of only five or six thousand men been able to effect a landing, it was very probable, from the internal state of Ireland at the time, that Cork, with all its stores and provisions, must have fallen into their hands. The earl of Albemarle said, that he had no doubt of the great anxiety of lord Bridport to sail as speedily as possible. He had been told, however, that our fleet was never known to have carried so little sail: from whence he could not but suppose, that this mode of sailing down the channel was adopted in consequence of orders received from the admiralty. If sufficient sail had been

carried, lord Bridport might have been off Bantry-bay two days sooner than he was. Another thing, which appeared very extraordinary, was, that after the noble admiral had found that the whole of the enemy's fleet had left the Irish coast, he still continued to cruise off Bantry-bay, during a day and a half, before he proceeded any where in quest of them. Lord Albemarle then adverted to the situation of the fleet under admiral Colpoys: many of whose ships were in great want of those essential articles on ship-board water and fuel. When the fog cleared away, and it was discovered that the French armament had set sail, admiral Colpoys had immediately sailed, with his squadron, for the Lizard, as the most likely place for gaining intelligence of the enemy: but, when he came thither, he found several of his ships so much in want of essential necessaries, and the weather such that he could not provide them from other; and, after sending away first one and then another, had afterwards found it most advisable to return with the whole. And, he actually arrived in port on the very day that lord Bridport sailed. It appeared very strange, that lord Bridport had not, much sooner than the twenty-second of December, been ordered out, with a fleet sufficient to have replaced all those ships, under admiral Colpoys, which were in want of necessaries, and taken the rest under his command, to have continued on that station; while other ships were sent out to him as they could have got ready. It was clear, from the whole face of the transactions that had passed, that, if admiral Colpoys had found his fleet in a suitable condition to have proceeded directly

to Ireland, he must have fallen in with the French fleet, and what account he would have given of them, in such an event, nor body would be at a loss to guess. Had lord Bridport sailed, even with nine sail of the line, when he first received orders so to do, nothing could have prevented his falling in with a very great part of the enemy's fleet, and thereby, totally annihilating all their hopes of any successful attempt at invasion. The earl of Albemarle concluded with expressing his firm persuasion, that the facts to which he alluded, and the particulars he had mentioned, were amply sufficient to induce their lordships to enter on the inquiry he was about to propose. He should, therefore, move, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the measures which had been taken by government for the naval defence of Ireland when an invasion was attempted."

The earl Spencer said; it was impossible for any government to obtain, at all times, correct information respecting the plans and designs of an enemy. In the present instance, the admiralty had acted according to the best of their information. With respect to admiral Colpoys's squadron being long at sea, he confessed, that he was friendly to the system of making fleets frequently change their station; in the present case, however, the squadron, under the command of that gallant admiral, had been kept out of port longer than usual, in consequence of sir Roger Curtis, who had gone in quest of admiral Richery, and who was to succeed admiral Colpoys on the Brest station, being a fortnight later of arriving in port than was expected. He affirmed, however,

that that fleet was not forced to come into port by a want of necessities, but that it was driven up the channel by tempestuous weather. After the French fleet had eluded the vigilance of admiral Colpoys, to whom he wished to give every degree of credit for his active and enterprising services on his station, he had adopted the wisest course it was possible for him to take. His lordship next proceeded to vindicate the conduct of the fleet under lord Bridport. As soon as the admiralty received intelligence of the sailing of the French fleet, orders were sent lord Bridport to prepare for sea, with all possible expedition. The ships under his command, however, could not be got ready till the twenty-fifth of December, five days after the date of the order. The earl Spencer read extracts from several letters from sir Peter Parker, the port-admiral at Spithead, the substance of which was, that the ships, destined to join lord Bridport, at St. Helen's, could not sail on account of the adverse winds. From all these circumstances, it so happened, that lord Bridport could not put to sea till the third of January; and it so happened, also, that the enemy eluded his vigilance: he could by no means allow, however, that Ireland owed its safety to the winds; on the contrary, it was the winds, and the winds only, that prevented the French fleet from being destroyed, either by admiral Colpoys or lord Bridport. Having entered into this explanation, he was persuaded their lordships would consider the paper upon their table as superseding the necessity of any inquiry. He should therefore give his decided negative to the motion of the noble lord.

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The earl of Carlisle did not think that the *selected documents* on the matter could communicate the satisfaction which was required. He lamented that ministers had not come forward with them sooner, and offered their explanations when it might have been possible to collect information from other sources, and especially when they had an opportunity of hearing what the noble lord who commanded the fleet knew on the subject. He wished to have it satisfactorily explained, why ministers, when they had information of the preparations made by the enemy and the sailing of the Brest fleet, had not provided a force, under lord Bridport, sufficiently strong to have been superior to the consequences of two ships (the Prince and the Sanspareil) running foul of one another, and which would have guarded against the delay which such accidents had occasioned? He wished likewise to know why it was four days before the fleet was ready to sail, after the news of the French fleet being at sea had arrived? Why, too, ministers had not given admiral Colpoys specific orders to make Ireland the chief object of his regard? It was the duty of ministers to watch over the safety of Ireland with the same care which was demanded for the safety of Great Britain. When they knew the designs of the enemy to be pointed against that country, why was not admiral Colpoys sent directly for its defence? Had they given such a positive order to admiral Colpoys, there would have been no occasion for any delay in lord Bridport's sailing, because, in proceeding directly to Ireland with the force he could muster, he must have fallen in with some of admiral Colpoys's squadron, which would have en-

abled him to face the French with complete success. Even after admiral Colpoys's return, why were not such ships as were fit for service again sent out to reinforce lord Bridport? The marquis of Abercorn, after severely arraigning the total negligence of ministers to take any measures for the defence of Ireland, laid, that, in order to establish the justification of ministers, the papers on their lordship's table ought to have proved four points: that this country had a sufficient fleet, ready for sea; that admiral Colpoys's fleet was sufficiently strong to keep the sea; that admiral Colpoys was sufficiently provided with stores and provisions; and that he had received particular orders to turn his attention to Ireland, and to proceed to that island, as soon as he should have received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed. None of these points, however, appeared from the papers. On the contrary, it was proved, that admiral Colpoys's fleet had been too long at sea; that it was not sufficiently provided with stores and provisions; and, above all, that no particular attention had been paid to Ireland, nor any positive orders given to admiral Colpoys to make its safety his principal object. Under such circumstances, the marquis could have no hesitation to vote for the inquiry.

The earl Spencer, with respect to admiral Colpoys, would only say, that if his fleet, together with that of lord Bridport, had gone to Ireland, the channel would have been left open to the Dutch fleet. One of the causes of lord Bridport's fleet not having been ready in time was, the damage which several ships sustained in a hard gale of wind in the channel.

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to Ireland, he must have fallen in with the French; and what account he would have given of them, in such an event, no body would be at a loss to guess. Had lord Bridport sailed, even with nine sail of the line, when he first received orders so to do, nothing could have prevented his falling in with a very great part of the enemy's fleet, and, thereby, totally annihilating all their hopes of any successful attempt at invasion. The earl of Albemarle concluded with expressing his firm persuasion, that the facts to which he alluded, and the particulars he had mentioned, were amply sufficient to induce their lordships to enter on the inquiry he was about to propose. He should, therefore, move, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the measures which had been taken by government for the naval defence of Ireland when an invasion was attempted."

The earl Spencer said, it was impossible for any government to obtain, at all times, correct information respecting the plans and designs of an enemy. In the present instance, the admiralty had acted according to the best of their information. With respect to admiral Colpoys's squadron being long at sea, he confessed, that he was friendly to the system of making fleets frequently change their station; in the present case, however, the squadron, under the command of that gallant admiral, had been kept out of port longer than usual, in consequence of sir Roger Curtis, who had gone in quest of admiral Richery, and who was to succeed admiral Colpoys on the Brest station, being a fortnight later of arriving in port than was expected. He affirmed, however,

that that fleet was not forced to come into port by a want of necessities, but that it was driven up the channel by tempestuous weather. After the French fleet had eluded the vigilance of admiral Colpoys, to whom he wished to give every degree of credit, for his active and enterprising services on his station, he had adopted the wisest course it was possible for him to take. His lordship next proceeded to vindicate the conduct of the fleet under lord Bridport. As soon as the admiralty received intelligence of the sailing of the French fleet, orders were sent lord Bridport to prepare for sea, with all possible expedition. The ships under his command, however, could not be got ready till the twenty-fifth of December, five days after the date of the order. The earl Spencer read extracts from several letters from sir Peter Parker, the port-admiral at Spithead, the substance of which was, that the ships, destined to joined lord Bridport, at St. Helen's, could not sail on account of the adverse winds. From all these circumstances, it so happened, that lord Bridport could not put to sea till the third of January; and it so happened, also, that the enemy eluded his vigilance: he could by no means allow, however, that Ireland owed its safety to the winds; on the contrary, it was the winds, and the winds only, that prevented the French fleet from being destroyed, either by admiral Colpoys or lord Bridport. Having entered into this explanation, he was persuaded their lordships would consider the paper upon their table as superceding the necessity of any inquiry. He should therefore give his decided negative to the motion of the noble lord.

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The earl of Carlisle did not think that the *selected documents* on the table could communicate the satisfaction which was required. He lamented that ministers had not come forward with them sooner, and offer their explanations when it might have been possible to collect information from other sources, and especially when they had an opportunity of hearing what the noble lord who commanded the fleet knew on the subject. He wished to have it satisfactorily explained, why ministers, when they had information of the preparations made by the enemy and the sailing of the Brest fleet, had not provided a force, under lord Bridport, sufficiently strong to have been superior to the consequences of two ships (the Prince and the Sanspareil) running foul of one another, and which would have guarded against the delay which such accidents had occasioned? He wished likewise to know why it was four days before the fleet was ready to sail, after the news of the French fleet being at sea had arrived? Why, too, ministers had not given admiral Colpoys specific orders to make Ireland the chief object of his regard? It was the duty of ministers to watch over the safety of Ireland with the same care which was demanded for the safety of Great Britain. When they knew the designs of the enemy to be pointed against that country, why was not admiral Colpoys sent directly for its defence? Had they given such a positive order to admiral Colpoys, there would have been no occasion for any delay in lord Bridport's sailing; because, in proceeding directly to Ireland with the force he could muster, he must have fallen in with some of admiral Colpoys's squadron, which would have en-

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The earl of Moira considered the real point in question to be, why admiral Colpoys had not received orders to proceed to Ireland, as soon as he received information that the French fleet had sailed. A noble earl (Spencer) had contended that, from the mass of intelligence which ministers received, it was impossible to decide on the real object of the enemy's expedition. But did not the noble earl know, that it was the province of talents and ability to deduce causes and consequences from the materials with which they might be furnished, and that on such occasions only true sagacity was to be discovered? He had been at Dublin when the preparations of the enemy were going on, and the arms, stores, and other articles with which they were provided, demonstrated the real point of their destination. That their design was to furnish the discontented in Ireland with arms was evident. But if the best means of securing Ireland had not been taken, this did not affect the admiralty exclusively, but the administration in general. He should vote for the inquiry in the hope that the house would proceed farther, shew to whom the disasters of the war were to be attributed, and why ministers did not seize and improve the favourable opportunities which were presented.

The earl of Liverpool maintained that a channel fleet, equal to that of the enemy, had always been deemed sufficient for our defence. Such was the understanding in the last and all our former wars. That the fleet under admiral Colpoys was fitted to face the enemy's was a point that did not seem to be much disputed. As to the place to which he was to direct his force, he begged leave to

say, that it was not intended for the defence of Ireland exclusively, but for every part of his majesty's European dominions. With regard to the question, where the fleet could be best stationed for general defence, he maintained that it had actually been stationed in a place and situation where it could operate to the best advantage for the defence of this nation, and was in readiness to come to the defence of Ireland, as soon as that of any other part. Admiral Colpoys had orders to intercept the enemy's fleet going to any part of the world, and although it appeared doubtful, at that time, whether they were intended for Ireland or Portugal, was it possible to imagine, that if admiral Colpoys thought they were going to Ireland, he had such orders as did not leave him at liberty to follow them to Ireland? The admiral, viewing all circumstances, formed the resolution of remaining on his station. From all the information he had, the admiral was right in so doing: and all that happened to disappoint his hopes and expectations was owing to the wind.

The duke of Bedford confessed that he was but little satisfied with the consolation held out by the noble earl, who spoke last, that it was always held sufficient in former wars for us to equal the enemy with a channel fleet; thereby insinuating that it would be sufficient for us to do so in this. Such doctrine appeared to him to be but frigid consolation, after the repeated assertions which had been made, that we had almost annihilated the maritime power of France. It had been said; that at the time the armament was preparing at Brest, it was uncertain whether it was intended for Ireland

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or for Portugal, and that the chance was equal. Now he would ask, whether, supposing the chance to be equal, there was a man in this world who thought it would be wise in us to put Portugal in the scale against Ireland? Whether there was a man upon earth rash enough to put these two chances upon an equality. With regard to the interest of this country in thwarting the expedition, admiral Colpoys, he had no doubt, acted well, according to the information and instructions he received; but he must contend, that, from the information which ministers received, he ought to have had positive orders to sail to Ireland: and here it was notorious, from the documents which ministers themselves had laid upon the table, that this fleet ought to have been in Ireland when the French were there; for ministers had early information of the Brest fleet being to sail, and probably, at least that they were destined for Ireland; indeed they could not even deny that they had information, or that they ought to have had it, considering the vast sums of money that they were allowed for obtaining intelligence. They might have judged, they ought, indeed, to have known, from the arms that were on board, and from the nature of the equipment, that it was destined for Ireland.

Lord Hood expressed his conviction, that the motion, if adopted by their lordships, could be of no service, but, would do mischief. He was convinced that every possible measure had been adopted, during the course of the war, by the naval department, for the good of the nation. He said, that, while his mental faculties, such as they were, continued, he should have been glad

to serve in the present just and necessary war, if he had been permitted to do so.

Lord Auckland could see no reason for considering what had happened on the coast of Ireland, as a miscarriage on our part. The advantage was all on our side. The enemy had failed in their expedition, and lost one-fourth of their ships, and nearly five thousand of their men.

The earl of Guildford observed, that some sort of inquiry had been judged to be necessary even by administration: for no sooner had the subject been mentioned in the house, than the noble lord, at the head of the admiralty, was ready to produce the papers that had been laid on the table. That these had been garbled, he would not say; but he would at least contend that, for the purpose of conveying information, they had been very badly selected. He could not find, in those papers, any good reason for admiral Colpoys being kept so long at sea. With respect to the real destination of the Brest fleet, the ministers were, he believed, the only persons who entertained any doubt. He concluded with observing, that, unless their lordships felt the propriety of the inquiry proposed, themselves, from the papers themselves, and the speech of the noble earl at the head of the admiralty, nothing that could be said on the subject, could have any effect on their lordship's minds.

Lord Grenville, after declaring the harmony and concert that so happily reigned among the ministry, and the share he himself had taken in the transaction in question, and his readiness to take also his share of responsibility attached to it, complained, that whenever any expedition

dition failed; the whole blame was thrown upon ministers, without stopping to ascertain, whether they were, in fact, guilty. It was supposed, that they could, at pleasure, command the winds and waves, and send a fleet up or down the channel at a moment's warning. It had been represented, though without loss on our part, as a national disgrace: yet whatever failure there was, it was on the side of the enemy; who had lost, in all, he believed, eleven armed vessels. It might have been supposed, from the manner in which some noble lords had spoken, that this was a complete triumph of the French fleet over ours: whereas, in fact, their only boast was, that they had succeeded in escaping from our fleet. When, before the administration of the present ministry, would the French have condescended to make such a boast? When, before the existence of the present ministry, would they not have considered it as a disgrace? Noble lords had complimented ministry justly, though unintentionally. "You have not, said he, been able to catch this miserable wreck of a French fleet." Who, exclaimed lord Grenville, made it a wreck? The present government. In no former administration, he observed, had this country ever been able to keep two fleets in the channel; each of them equal to that of the French: the one ready for sailing, the other blocking up Brest. But if noble lords supposed, that because our fleet was superior, the enemy, if the administration had directed it properly, could not have got to the coast of Ireland, he would refer them to two instances—one in 1689, in which year the French

landed in Ireland, notwithstanding that lord Torrington was at sea with a formidable fleet: and, one in the succeeding year, when the same attempt was made with success, although admiral Russel did every thing in his power to prevent it. As to Ireland, lord Grenville was ready to allow, that its defence, as well as that of England, depended on the fleet: but the internal state of Ireland, notwithstanding all that had been alleged, he had the satisfaction to assure their lordships, was by no means such as to render such an invasion at all alarming. The French affected to have some hopes of being joined in Ireland; but the event shewed how much they were mistaken. This was a convincing argument in answer to those who declaimed on the discontents in Ireland, and would, he hoped, prevent or he recollected in all future discussions on that subject. He begged leave, in justice to his majesty's ministers, to bring to their lordship's recollection, the different instances in which the naval undertakings of the French had, in the course of the present war, been defeated. The shameful and cowardly conduct of Richery, after he left Toulon, and the manner in which he avoided the British squadron till he was strengthened by the accession of a British fleet; the event of the first of June, one of the most memorable in the history of nautical affairs; and the late decisive victory, were evidence on which the defence of the country particularly depended. Whatever we might feel for the miscarriage of the undertakings of our allies on the continent, in our naval undertakings there was nothing but triumph.

amph. In the continental miscarriage we had, indeed, suffered some pecuniary loss, which could be easily repaired: and he was so far from regretting what had been thus expended, that were it possible to recall what was passed, he would vote for the assistance that had been actually given over again.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, that in Ireland it had been a prejudice to represent the government of this country, as careless of the sister kingdom. At present a new discontent had arisen, and gentlemen who were in the habit of corresponding with Ireland, knew very well, that they who had formerly taken the part of the government, were now forced to acknowledge that Ireland had been neglected. Applications had been made from thence for protection; and it must be confessed that country had been abandoned by England.—Ministers had pledged to keep up a great land force in Ireland, which they had withdrawn. In the last war, a pledge had been made, that a naval force should, in all future wars, be kept off the Irish coast; and were he minister now, he should think it necessary to station a fleet in the Cove of Cork immediately. An inquiry could not but be satisfactory in every point of view; satisfactory to admiral Colpoys, to lord Bridport, and to the profession at large. There were, besides, other persons concerned in the inquiry; the admiralty, the commissioners of accounts, and other inferior boards. It would not impede, but accelerate operations. Ministers, indeed, had shown some consciousness of the necessity of a mock inquiry at least, by their producing papers; and the first thing to be remarked on these papers

was the notorious want of intelligence. The noble earl had said, that he would resign when he could find a person daring enough to contend against the winds. What the public wanted was, not a man who could govern against the winds and waves, but one who would govern with them: this was the case in the present instance. The wind had been favourable; and all that had been wanting, was an admiralty capable of making use of it. On the 16th of December, admiral Colpoys received intelligence of the French having sailed, the wind continued fair, and if he had proper orders, he would have been off the Irish coast. Had the ships under lord Bridport been ready, the wind would still have been fair. The noble earl had talked of long nights; was it so great a reach of foresight to know that there were long nights in December? But the French fleet, it seemed, might have gone up the channel. In the first place, the wind was against them; but if they had, what would have been the case? They would have been under lock and key. The remainder of the subject lay in a very small compass; it turned upon two points. Why were not orders given to admiral Colpoys to go off Cape Clear? And why were not more ships kept ready at Portsmouth?

The earl Fitzwilliam said, that where there had been blame, there ought to be inquiry. Some expressions that had been thrown out of “greater care being required for England than Ireland” would make a deep impression on the minds of the people of that country; and he was sorry to have heard them.

Lord Grenville assured their lordships, that they might set their minds at rest on the subject of Ireland; which,

which, so far from having been neglected, had been the object of particular attention. The house having divided on lord Albemarle's motion, it appeared that it was rejected by 74 against 14.

The noble secretary's repeated assurances, respecting the security, external and internal, of Ireland, were not satisfactory to the members in opposition to government, nor to some not always or often in opposition, in both houses of parliament. Motions for inquiries into the internal state, and allaying the discontents, of Ireland were made, and gave rise to animated and long debates in both houses. Of these debates, however, it would be unnecessary and even nugatory to give other than a very summary account: as the explosion which soon after took place throws greater light on the situation of Ireland than was, at this time, enjoyed, proves or disproves the statements of facts, on which much of those debates was founded; and, on the whole, sinks much of the interest in those temporary and temporizing effusions, in the events which it produced, and the new spirit and order of affairs by which these have been succeeded. And here we shall take occasion, once for all, to observe, that, in relating the transactions of parliament, it is not so much our object to display the eloquence of the different speakers; which would swell our narrative to the size of several volumes,* as to pursue the thread of the main reasoning on which the main decisions turned,

or on which, at least, they were tested.

In the house of peers, the earl of Moira rose to make a motion, of which, as usual in all similar cases, he had given previous notice, respecting Ireland, on the twenty-first of March. The exordium of his lordship's speech turned on the delicacy that was to be observed, in agitating questions in which separate and independant legislatures, — in agitating questions in which the privileges and the independence of each other, were involved. Yet, when urgent cases render interference necessary, the delicacy, which may be observed, may remove every jealousy which might otherwise be excited; and it would be meritorious for the different parties mutually to manifest their attention, and their anxiety, for objects in which their common interests were concerned. On these grounds he had now risen, for the purpose of moving a humble address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to remedy the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and which create the most serious alarm for the dearest interests of that country, and of the British empire. — The extent and rapid increase of the discontents, which prevailed in Ireland, were subjects of sufficient notoriety to form the ground of this proceeding. He should abstain, therefore, from an enumeration of the particulars which had

* The curiosity of knowing what was said, on such and such an occasion, by such and such a speaker, will be best gratified by the newspapers and magazines of the day, and the annual volumes of parliamentary debates.

come to, his knowledge, and of which, indeed, he had recently been witness. In addressing his majesty, to the effect proposed, the house would not only exercise one of its most important privileges, but fulfill one of its most important duties. If it appeared that the counsellors, more immediately about his majesty's person, his majesty's ministers, had not given that advice which was calculated to ensure the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, it was the duty of their lordship's to approach the throne with advice more wise and salutary. But it might be said, What influence could such an address carry with it, to change the councils by which Ireland was governed? To prove the influence of the British cabinet he appealed to a recent fact: he meant the recall of the earl Fitzwilliam, at a time when all Ireland concurred in the measures which he pursued, when that country gave the fairest prospect of tranquillity, and the surest pledge of assistance and support to Britain, in the arduous circumstances in which she was placed.—It might be asked, What plan he wished to pursue? This, lord Moira observed, was indicated in the motion, he was about to make, itself. When they addressed his majesty to interpose his paternal care and benevolence, the known goodness of his nature left no room for doubt as to the result. It was by temper, equity and good faith, that the distractions of Ireland were to be appeased, and their affections conciliated. No good could be expected from a prosecution of the present system. He was confident, however, that the adoption of measures, calculated to impress

the people with confidence in government, would quickly call forth that fond affection of the inhabitants of Ireland to this country, which circumstances might cloud, but could not extinguish; inspire that zeal so necessary in the present moment; and furnish those resources which were requisite for the critical situation in which we were placed, and the arduous contest in which we were engaged. On these grounds he rested the motion which he was now to propose: "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to allay the discontents which at present subsist in his kingdom of Ireland, and which threaten the dearest interests of the British empire."

Lord Grenville said, in reply to lord Moira, that his motion could not be adopted without breaking the solemn contract which had been entered into between the two countries; without tearing asunder every bond of union and connection, and spreading distraction and division between the members of the British empire. He should, therefore, give his decided opposition to the present motion, and every proposition of a similar tendency. The motion he considered, first, as unnecessary; secondly, as mischievous. Under the first head he expatiated on the measures that had been taken by his majesty, in the course of a reign of thirty-six years, from year to year, to remove every ground of uneasiness or discontent which the situation of the Irish presented; the improved state of their commerce; their full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; the Catholics ad-
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mitted to the enjoyment of their property; a participation in every civil and social blessing, and even sharing in the right of voting for members of parliament. Nor were the people of Ireland insensible or ungrateful for the benefits they had received; their good dispositions, and contentment with their situation, he inferred from sundry circumstances, particularly, their readiness to resist and repel the threatened invasion.—With regard to the mischievous tendency of the motion, lord Grenville remarked a distinction between the subject of this, and the cases of common interest, stated by lord Moira, which were fair objects of negotiation. The motion was intended to be applied to the internal state of Ireland, and even, if he understood it rightly, to the frame of its independent legislature. Though the British legislature had restrained parliament from entertaining any bill which pretended, in any degree, to bind the inhabitants of Ireland; their lordships were now called upon to interfere in a point most exclusively relating to the internal state of that country. Such an interference was obviously improper: it was, besides, impossible for them to proceed with sufficient information, which lay much more within the reach of their own legislature. Farther still, the interference of the British legislature, instead of remedying the contents, which were alleged to prevail, would inflame them. It would induce the people of Ireland to imagine that their own legislature was indifferent to their welfare, and thus stir up the divisions which it was its object to appease. As the British legislature had given to Ireland the blessings of a free

constitution, the best way to fix their attachment to it, was, to engage their confidence in its sagacity. The earl Fitzwilliam admitted the improved state of Ireland. But whatever circumstances might have contributed to that prosperity, still there might remain room for something farther to be done.—The noble secretary had said, that the people of Ireland were not distracted and discontented, but tranquil and happy. Was it a proof of this, that acts of indemnity had been passed, in the Irish parliament, for proceedings beyond the law, which must have been called for by a conduct not very consistent with tranquility. If no circumstances of disorder appeared, why were whole parishes, baronies, and even counties, declared to be out of the king's peace? It was likewise stated, in the proceedings of the government in Ireland, that they were, in certain districts, disarming the people, from which it was evident they had been in arms.

The earl of Liverpool, after repeating and approving the reasoning of lord Grenville, put the case of a motion being made, in the Irish parliament, for the purpose of inducing it to interfere in the discussion of the great question of parliamentary reform, or Catholic toleration in this country. Now, he asked, would such a motion be taken by the British parliament? The motion, before their lordships, seemed to him to be as mischievous in its tendency, as unconstitutional in its principle, wherefore he would give it his most decided negative.

The earl of Moira granted, that the legislature of Ireland was independent, but still maintained, that

in every matter where the common interests of both countries was concerned, the British legislature had a right to interfere. He admitted, also, the advantages which Ireland had enjoyed, under the suspicious reign of his present majesty. But why should it be forgotten, that, notwithstanding all the generous liberality which the Irish had experienced from their sovereign, there was still a part of the boon unbeflowered? Was the house to be informed that the catholics of Ireland insisted on their right of being elected members of the legislature, on the ground, that, if they had some of their body in parliament, the persecutions which have existed would not have taken place? But here, perhaps, it would be said, that he was speaking of persecutions as vaguely as he had done of discontents; and that the one had as little foundation as the other. He knew, however, no fewer than ninety-one house-holders who had been banished from one of his own estates, after being plundered of their property, and some of them wounded in their persons. Of the existence of discontents he enumerated many proofs of the same kind with those that had been stated by the earl Fitzwilliam.

The earl of Guildford could not admit that ministers had shewn any attention to the interests of Ireland, since the refusal of the earl Fitzwilliam. If the advice proposed was not necessary to the king, of whose paternal care for his people he entertained no doubt, it was highly requisite to his ministers.

The earl Spencer was of opinion, that, if lord Moira meant to do any substantial good by his motion, he ought to have gone much farther,

and pointed out not only the nature of the discontents of the Irish nation, but the kind of measures which ought to be resorted to for removing them. The marquess of Lansdowne said, that, if the present was a subject of delicacy, ministers were the cause of it. There was nobody less inclined to question, or to infringe upon, the independence of the Irish legislature than he was; but there was a great difference between infringing upon that independence and acting in their capacity, as the great hereditary council of the king. The doctrine, which ministers had held forth, he was inclined to think, was much more calculated to foment jealousies between the two legislatures than the motion of the noble lord, were it carried into effect. "The lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as a minister, was accountable to the British as well as to the Irish parliament; and, therefore, they had a right to watch over the measures of his administration, and to censure or advise him as they might deem proper. The noble secretary had entered into a pompous and elaborate display of the advantages which Ireland had enjoyed under the reign of the present king. But he would ask him, whether the immunities which had been granted to Ireland had not been fully justified by the consequences; and that, too, after they had been refused by their own legislature? It was in the recollection of almost every noble lord, that, when a petition was presented to the Irish parliament, by a numerous and respectable body of that kingdom, the prayer of it was rejected, with something little short of indignation; but when deputies were sent over to

this country, they were graciously received, and their mission was attended with its desired effect. He confessed, that, upon the state of Ireland, he did not possess such accurate information as some of their lordships, but he had heard that some of the catholics had formerly been persecuted, by the protestants, in a horrid manner; that the former had been driven, by a small number of the latter, from their habitations in the north, but were now returning; that the protestants were now rebuilding those houses that had been destroyed, and that an union was now forming between them, which, if not attended to in time, might be productive of the most alarming effects. There were two descriptions of men in Ireland: the first description were well known for their daring spirit; there were not wanting persons among them celebrated in arms, in arts, and even in literature; they were men over whom courts could never have any influence, and who were to be led, not driven—such were the men in the north of Ireland. The whole south was characterized by unruly passions, which were always the prominent features of men unemployed. What the event might be, it was impossible to say; he warned them, however, that it might be such as to shake the empire to its centre! and was a subject which involved such consequences to be set aside by a few words about the independence of the Irish parliament? an expression, which, till of late years, used never to be heard of from ministers! The motion now before their lordships was couched in terms so wise, so prudent, and so moderate, that he could scarcely

have supposed that it could have been objected to. What was its purpose? It said, to his majesty, “ sire, you have, by a happy conduct, attached the people of Ireland to your family and government, by the same liberal and generous conduct by which your grandfather gained the affections of the Highlands of Scotland. There is but one small cause of discontent still remaining, and it is only necessary that you follow up those wise and salutary measures, which you have hitherto acted upon, to remove it.” This was all that the motion proposed. If it was done in time, the measures might be successful; but it ought to be recollected, that the longer the delay, the greater the danger.

The earl of Darnley observed, that the motion before their lordships, though couched in very general terms, and not appearing in itself to point to any specific object, yet, by the explanation given of it, by the lords who spoke in its favour, evidently pointed to the emancipation (as it was called) of the catholics. He thought there might be cases in which their lordships interference might be justifiable, but that the present was not one of them. There were discontents in Ireland; but by no means among the general mass of the people. The popular cry of catholic emancipation was made use of for covering designs for subverting government.

The duke of Bedford was sorry to say, that their lordships had too often listened to the trifling arguments and shifts of ministers, when any charge was exhibited against them, in that house. They must cease to listen to these shifts, if it

was

was their object to save the state from ruin. But it might be asked, what it was that he thought likely to restore happiness to the people of Ireland? "Restore to the people of Ireland the person you have recalled; give back to them the man whom they have tried, and whom they admire; act on the principles on which he acted, and then discontents will cease: if you do not, God only knows into how much more dreadful a state that unhappy country may be reduced."

Lord Grenville was of opinion, that the remedy, proposed by the noble duke, would have a tendency to create that which he seemed to dread: a disturbance in Ireland; for, that must necessarily be the tendency of recalling the present lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. If the talents, the virtues, and the exertions, of that noble lord were not sufficient to preserve the tranquillity of Ireland, he believed it would be out of the power of any other individual whatever.

The earl of Moira rose up to make a few observations on the main point in question: the contentment or discontentment of the people of Ireland. As their lordships could not try the veracity of one noble lord against another, the only way they had to decide, was, to refer to facts. His lordship again appealed to the various facts already mentioned or alluded to, by himself and the earl Fitzwilliam: parishes and whole counties out of the king's peace, and disarmed: insurrections in divers places, murmurs of discontent in all; and a general assembly, within fifty yards of the castle of Dublin, headed by persons whose talents and characters were of the very first class, and

who, after the most mature deliberation that could be had on such an occasion, resolved and declared it to be their firm persuasion, that there was no chance for the salvation of Ireland, without an intire and immediate change in the whole system of executive government. After this, the house divided; and the noble earl's motion was rejected by 72 against 20.

Two days after this decision, in the house of peers, the same subject, that is, the general state of Ireland was introduced, into the house of commons, by Mr. Fox, who prefaced his speech by calling to mind the part he had taken in a recognition of the complete independence of Ireland, and how much he naturally considered himself to be bound, in a particular manner, to follow up the principle on which it was founded. Though a variety of circumstances had concurred to produce the present disturbances in Ireland, he confined his observations to two or three leading points. These were, whether, in consequence of the concessions that had been made to Ireland, she had, in fact and substance, enjoyed the advantages of an independent legislature? Whether, in that form of a free constitution which they obtained, the people possessed that political weight to which they were entitled? And, whether, their just voice and influence had been promoted, by the alteration which had been effected? The people of Ireland were divided into two, though these unequal classes, the catholics and the protestants: neither of which enjoyed their just share of political power and influence. About nine years ago, a regular system was devised for enslaving Ireland.

Ireland. A person of high consideration was known to say, that, 500,000*l.* had been expended to quell an opposition in Ireland, and that as much more must be expended, in order to bring the legislature of that country, to a proper temper. This systematic plan of corruption was followed up by a suitable system of measures. It had been the system of government, by the sale of peerages, to raise a purse for purchasing the representation of the people of Ireland. It was offered to be proved, by Mr. Grattan, in the Irish house of commons, that one-half, or even a majority, of that house were creatures of the crown. The manner in which the political situation of Ireland, at that time, was viewed, by the Irish nation, was to this effect: "you have granted us an independent legislature; independent, certainly, of your parliament, but dependent on your executive government." Another proof of this substantial dependence on government was exhibited in the manner in which the demands of the catholics had, at different times, been treated. Their petitions, for a redress of some of the most oppressive grievances, had been rejected with haughtiness and insult. It was usual, Mr. Fox said, for men of consideration, in Ireland, to talk as if what had been done for the catholics was an act of necessity, which, on a fit occasion, would be recalled. Hostile suspicions were insinuated, not only against the lower order of catholics, but against men of the first respectability for character and fortune, and whose loyalty could not be questioned. Numbers were taken up for high treason; and, when acquitted, it appeared, that no ground of sus-

picion could ever have been entertained against them. What could be the effect of such proceedings, but to convince the catholics, that the concessions in their favour were extorted? that the hostile mind still existed, and that they were still marked out as the victims of the most cruel proscriptions and oppressions? Private animosities, too, arose, and produced those different classes of disturbers of the public peace, about which so much had been said. The remedies applied, tended to foment the disease. The authority of the laws was superseded. Those against whom it was thought convictions could be procured were taken up; and those whom it would have been impossible to convict were transported, in great numbers, without the ceremony of a trial, or the form of conviction. I know, said Mr. Fox, an opinion has gone forth, that the catholics have no substantial grievances to complain of; and, that, the presbyterians have still less. It is said, that the catholics can vote for members of parliament, and that they are not distinguished from the protestants otherwise than by an exclusion from being members of parliament, and from the high offices of state. If this were all, I should still say, they have a right to all the privileges possessed by the protestants. And to exclude them still from these, in their full extent, is a proof of continued hostility. But let us consider the matter in another point of view. It is invidiously objected, by government, to the catholics, that it is not civil liberty, but power and emolument that they pursue. To this I could answer, for the catholics, yes: nor is it any discredit to them to be actuated by such

such a desire. Civil liberty can have no security without political power. I know that distinctions have been made between civil and political liberty, and I admit that it is possible for whole classes, whole casts, of men to enjoy the one without possessing the other. Still, however, I assert, that it can only be by sufferance. The catholics, therefore, may justly say, that it is not this or that concession which will satisfy, but that which alone can give them security for its continuance. But it is objected to the catholics, that they are not only ambitious of power, but desirous of emolument. Why should not they who contribute so largely to the support of government be desirous of sharing in the emolument which it bestows? Are the catholics to be told, by a few monopolizing politicians, who engross all places, all reversions, all patronages, "oh! you base catholics, ye think of nothing but your private emolument; you perverse generation, who have already been permitted to vote for members of parliament, are you so base as to urge the disgraceful demand of a share in personal emoluments?" The catholics are men, and to be governed by the common motives that actuate human nature. For a small and interested minority to imagine, that they can monopolize all advantages to themselves, is a pretension which will not be admitted: mankind are not to be treated in this manner, and it is not now-a-days that such claims will pass current in the world. It has been said, that the catholics are entitled to vote for members of parliament. But, except in the counties, Mr. Fox observed, the representation of Ireland was in what is

here known by the name of close corporations. The catholics were carefully excluded from the corporations; so that their privilege of voting for members of parliament was almost entirely evaded.

Mr. Fox came next to consider the grievances of the presbyterians, the most numerous class, by far, in the north of Ireland. The discontent of the inhabitants of the northern parts of Ireland arise from two causes: one of them was the temporary pressure of a war, in which they were involved without interest in the contest, and the distresses which the calamities, with which it had been attended, had entailed upon their trade and commerce; the other had been the abuses which they conceived to exist in the constitution by which they are governed. The constitution of Ireland, they complain, does not resemble that of Great Britain; they have not a legislature by which the people are even virtually represented; and, as to political liberty, they enjoy as small a portion of it as those who live under monarchies, in which the principles of freedom have never been introduced. Whoever imagined that a practical resemblance exists between the government of Ireland and the English constitution, would find, that the Irish government was a mirror in which the abuses of this constitution were strongly reflected. The jobbing system of influence and patronage, for purposes of personal advantage, in Ireland, was an abuse which totally destroyed the spirit of the form of government, and was an abuse not to be endured. To suppose that a large, industrious, active, and intelligent, body of men can be governed

against the principles they had imbibed, and the prejudices by which they were guided, was an idea which history and human nature proved to be absurd. What, said Mr. Fox, is the actual situation of affairs with respect to Ireland? You have raised enormous burthens both in England and Ireland; you have produced great discontents. In fact, we are now precisely at the point in which we stood, in 1774, with America; and, the question is, whether we are to attempt to retain Ireland by force, instead of gaining her by concessions, and a full communication of all the blessings of a free constitution? Mr. Fox, having spoken highly of the administration and popularity of the earl Fitzwilliam, in Ireland, said, that he could scarcely conceive that any objection could be urged against the motion he was about to make, in point of form. The interests of this country and of Ireland were the same. Its affairs were conducted by ministers, and the British cabinet, and it was the privilege of that house to advise his majesty. If he were to justify the measure by precedent, he might quote the case of an impeachment of the earl of Lauderdale, by the English parliament, before the union, for the conduct of the government of Scotland. But why, said Mr. Fox, should I speak of forms, when the consequences of the discontents in Ireland may be a contest to be supported by Englishmen, and English money? I shall therefore move

“That a humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the disturbed state of his kingdom of Ireland, and to adopt such heal-

ing and lenient measures as may appear to his majesty's wisdom best calculated to restore tranquillity, and to conciliate the affections of all descriptions of his majesty's subjects, in that kingdom, to his majesty's person and government.” This motion was seconded, in a short, but very elegant as well as animated, speech, by

Sir Francis Burdett, who said, whoever has the slightest information, concerning the situation of Ireland must admit the propriety of this motion; but, without having been an eye-witness to the effects produced by the measures of the minister of that country, it is impossible to have an adequate idea of the magnitude of the evils arising from them. Whoever has seen Ireland, has seen a country where the fields are desolated, and the prisons overflowing with the victims of oppression; has seen the shocking contrast between a profligate extravagant government and an enslaved and impoverished people. One person now immured within the walls of a dungeon in Dublin-Castle, I have the honour to be connected with: for honour as well as happiness I shall ever esteem it. After a warm panegyric on the public and private virtues of Mr. O'Connor, sir Francis said, when such men become objects of hatred and fear to government, it is not difficult to ascertain the nature of that government. But perhaps, sir, I may be charged with speaking more like a discontented Irishman than a true friend to the interests of England. Sir, I speak like a friend to humanity and liberty, and like an enemy to cruelty and oppression. I believe the interests of Ireland and of this country to be the same. I believe it
for

for the interest of both countries, that both should be free. What was said, by a great man, respecting America is still more applicable with respect to Ireland, "I rejoice, said lord Chatham, in the resistance of America, because I believe three millions of men enslaved in that country would become the properest instruments for enslaving this." There is, sir, in my opinion, one way, and only one, for saving Ireland and England: that is, to divest the present minister of that power which he has so long and so fatally abused, and to call him to a strict account for his conduct, before the tribunal of his country. If we have not resolution, if we have not energy, if we have not the means to accomplish this, I know not whether the country can be saved; but this I know, that it is not worth saving. After the able speech that we have just heard, I shall content myself with seconding the motion.

Mr. Pitt asked Mr. Fox whether the parliament, by which the independence of Ireland was recognized, was more accommodating to the wishes of the dissenters of the north, or to the catholics of the south, than those of a subsequent period? Quite the contrary. Whatever alteration had since taken place tended more and more to include both dissenters and catholics within the pale of both civil and political liberty, than the principle recognized in 1782. But the main pillar of his defence of ministers, in their conduct towards Ireland, and ground of his objection to the present motion, was the unconstitutionality, the impropriety, and the dangers, to be apprehended from the interference of the British parliament

in the affairs of Ireland; topics on which he expatiated with his usual ability; but, in which, it is unnecessary to follow him, as we have seen them already discussed in the debates in the upper house. As to the main concession to be made, by way of remedy to the discontents and disturbances in Ireland, that of allowing to the catholics the privilege of sitting in parliament, this could not be done, without reversing the whole of its present form, and new-modelling the constitution from beginning to end: and, to make this change when such principles were abroad in the world, and were even prevalent in the country in which we lived, would be attended with the most dangerous consequences.

Colonel Fullarton, who had just come from Scotland, and that part of it which almost touches on Ireland, was astonished to find, in the metropolis, such an apparent indifference to the most alarming dangers; and wondered that so much time should be spent in debate, and so little in military preparation. General Hoche would find, in Ulster alone, 50,000 Irishmen united, with pikes in their hands, and arms concealed, busily employed in secret discipline, in order to qualify themselves for re-inforcing the French army.

Mr. Courteney believed, that there were, in Ulster, 50,000 men with arms in their hands, ready to receive the French; but not to support them. The people in that province, almost all presbyterians, had a strong spirit of liberty, and were attached to the popular, or, what had been called, the republican, branch of the constitution; yet they were not to be confounded with jacobins and banditti.

[R 4]

Lord

Lord Hawkesbury repeated and applauded the arguments of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Curwen thought that the present motion was so far from being mischievous, that even the discussion it had occasioned, would do good, inasmuch as it would shew the Irish nation, that there was a part, at least, of the British parliament, who were mindful of their interests.

Lord Wycombe thought that the disturbances, which had taken place in Ireland, manifestly proved a disaffection to the British government. Conciliation, instead of rigour, should have been tried: for it was time enough to employ force when mildness failed. He could have wished that the Irish parliament had been left, for the settlement of affairs, to themselves. But that, he well knew that, being for the most part, at the beck of the English cabinet, they had lost the confidence of the nation.

He really dreaded that, if the British parliament did not interfere, we might lose Ireland altogether: a loss that would be more severe to us than the loss of America.

Mr. Benjamin Hobhouse, made the following shrewd remark; that the chancellor of the exchequer seemed to have presumed in the whole train of his reasoning, that it was the object of the present motion to request the king's interference, exclusively of his Irish parliament. No, sir. It only prays his majesty, in connexion with the Irish legislature, to adopt measures of a lenient nature, with a view to appease the unhappy spirit of discontent which prevailed throughout the country.

Mr. Fox made some observations in reply to the principal arguments that had been advanced against his motion: on which the house divided. Ayes, 84; Noes, 220.

C H A P. XIV.

Petitions for the Dismission of Ministers.—Motion to that Effect in the House of Lords.—And in the House of Commons.—Motion in the House of Commons for a Reform of Parliament.—Motion in the House of Peers for considering the State of the Nation.—Prorogation of Parliament.

IN the midst of so many difficulties and dangers as assailed Great Britain at the same time in the stormy year, 1797, it was not possible that government, to whom, in every country, the people are apt to impute more than a just share of either the good or the evil that befalls them, could escape public and severe animadversion. Petitions were presented for the removal of his majesty's ministers, from almost every county, city, and town of note in England and Ireland.* The general dissatisfaction at the conduct of ministers, which, from the number and tenor of those petitions, appeared to prevail throughout the nation, encouraged the opposition-party, in parliament, to bring forward motions for a change in the administration. On the 27th of March, the earl of Suffolk declared, in the house of peers, that he considered it as his duty to himself, his family, his king, and his country, to move, "That a humble address might be addressed to his majesty, humbly requesting him to dismiss from his councils, his minister, the lord of the treasury, whose per-

nicious measures had deprived him of the confidence of the country."

Lord Grenville opposed this motion, and warmly defended his relation and friend, whom, he contended, had neither lost the confidence of the most respectable part of the public, nor deserved to do so. That the allies had not been so successful as they expected, he was ready to admit; and also that such accidents had happened as were incidental to all wars: but he hoped all parties would acknowledge that the exertions of this country had been unparalleled in the page of history, and had been attended with unparalleled success. Our naval victories had been more brilliant than ever before distinguished any age; and it appeared peculiarly hard, that all the honour, praise, and glory, should be reaped by individuals, whilst the censure, and all the responsibility were thrown on ministers.

The duke of Norfolk, in answer to lord Grenville, who had insinuated that the charges brought against Mr. Pitt, were not substantiated on facts, said that proofs of his misma-

* For specimens of which, see Appendix to the Chronicle, page 84.

which, so far from having been neglected, had been the object of particular attention. The house having divided on lord Albemarle's motion, it appeared that it was rejected by 74 against 14.

The noble secretary's repeated assurances, respecting the security, external and internal, of Ireland, were not satisfactory to the members in opposition to government, nor to some not always or often in opposition, in both houses of parliament. Motions for inquiries into the internal state, and allaying the discontents, of Ireland were made, and gave rise to animated and long debates in both houses. Of these debates, however, it would be unnecessary and even nugatory to give other than a very summary account: as the explosion which soon after took place throws greater light on the situation of Ireland than was, at this time, enjoyed, proves or disproves the statements of facts, on which much of those debates was founded; and, on the whole, sinks much of the interest in those temporary and temporizing effusions, in the events which it produced, and the new spirit and order of affairs by which these have been succeeded. And here we shall take occasion, once for all, to observe, that, in relating the transactions of parliament, it is not so much our object to display the eloquence of the different speakers, which would swell our narrative to the size of several volumes,* as to pursue the thread of the main reasoning on which the main decisions turned,

or on which, at least, they were rested.

In the house of peers, the earl of Moira rose to make a motion, of which, as usual in all similar cases, he had given previous notice, respecting Ireland, on the twenty-first of March. The exordium of his lordship's speech turned on the delicacy that was to be observed, in agitating questions in which separate and independant legislatures, — in agitating questions in which the privileges and the independence of each other, were involved. Yet, when urgent cases render interference necessary, the delicacy, which may be observed, may remove every jealousy which might otherwise be excited; and it would be meritorious for the different parties mutually to manifest their attention, and their anxiety, for objects in which their common interests were concerned. On these grounds he had now risen, for the purpose of moving a humble address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to remedy the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and which create the most serious alarm for the dearest interests of that country, and of the British empire. — The extent and rapid increase of the discontents, which prevailed in Ireland, were subjects of sufficient notoriety to form the ground of this proceeding. He should abstain, therefore, from an enumeration of the particulars which had

* The curiosity of knowing what was said, on such and such an occasion, by such and such a speaker, will be best gratified by the newspapers and magazines of the day, and the annual volumes of parliamentary debates.

come to his knowledge, and of which, indeed, he had recently been witness. In addressing his majesty, to the effect proposed, the house would not only exercise one of its most important privileges, but fulfill one of its most important duties. If it appeared that the counsellors, more immediately about his majesty's person, his majesty's ministers, had not given that advice which was calculated to ensure the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, it was the duty of their lordship's to approach the throne with advice more wise and salutary. But it might be said, What influence could such an address carry with it, to change the councils by which Ireland was governed? To prove the influence of the British cabinet he appealed to a recent fact: he meant the recall of the earl Fitzwilliam, at a time when all Ireland concurred in the measures which he pursued, when that country gave the fairest prospect of tranquillity, and the surest pledge of assistance and support to Britain, in the arduous circumstances in which she was placed.—It might be asked, What plan he wished to pursue? This, lord Moira observed, was indicated in the motion, he was about to make, itself. When they addressed his majesty to interpose his paternal care and benevolence, the known goodness of his nature left no room for doubt as to the result. It was by temper, equity and good faith, that the distractions of Ireland were to be appeased, and their affections conciliated. No good could be expected from a prosecution of the present system. He was confident, however, that the adoption of measures, calculated to impress

the people with confidence in government, would quickly call forth that good affection of the inhabitants of Ireland to this country, which circumstances might cloud, but could not extinguish; inspire that zeal so necessary in the present moment; and furnish those resources which were requisite for the critical situation in which we were placed, and the arduous contest in which we were engaged. On these grounds he rested the motion which he was now to propose: "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to allay the discontents which at present subsist in his kingdom of Ireland, and which threaten the dearest interests of the British empire."

Lord Grenville said, in reply to lord Moira, that his motion could not be adopted without breaking the solemn contract which had been entered into between the two countries; without tearing asunder every bond of union and connection, and spreading distraction and division between the members of the British empire. He should, therefore, give his decided opposition to the present motion, and every proposition of a similar tendency. The motion he considered, first, as unnecessary; secondly, as mischievous. Under the first head he expatiated on the measures that had been taken by his majesty, in the course of a reign of thirty-six years, from year to year, to remove every ground of uneasiness or discontent which the situation of the Irish presented; the improved state of their commerce; their full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; the Catholics ad-
mitted

to Ireland, he must have fallen in with the French, and what account he would have given of them, in such an event, nobody would be at a loss to guess. Had lord Bridport sailed, even with nine sail of the line, when he first received orders so to do, nothing could have prevented his falling in with a very great part of the enemy's fleet, and thereby, totally annihilating all their hopes of any successful attempt at invasion. The earl of Albemarle concluded with expressing his firm persuasion, that the facts to which he alluded, and the particulars he had mentioned, were amply sufficient to induce their lordships to enter on the inquiry he was about to propose. He should, therefore, move, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the measures which had been taken by government for the naval defence of Ireland when an invasion was attempted."

The earl Spencer said, it was impossible for any government to obtain, at all times, correct information respecting the plans and designs of an enemy. In the present instance, the admiralty had acted according to the best of their information. With respect to admiral Colpoys's squadron being long at sea, he confessed, that he was friendly to the system of making fleets frequently change their station; in the present case, however, the squadron, under the command of that gallant admiral, had been kept out of port longer than usual, in consequence of sir Roger Curtis, who had gone in quest of admiral Richery, and who was to succeed admiral Colpoys on the Brest station, being a fortnight later of arriving in port than was expected. He affirmed, however,

that the fleet was not ordered to come into port by a want of necessity, but that it was driven up the channel by tempestuous weather. After the French fleet had eluded the vigilance of admiral Colpoys, to whom he wished to give every degree of credit for his active and enterprising services on his station, he had adopted the wisest course it was possible for him to take. His lordship next proceeded to vindicate the conduct of the fleet under lord Bridport. As soon as the admiralty received intelligence of the sailing of the French fleet, orders were sent lord Bridport to prepare for sea, with all possible expedition. The ships under his command, however, could not be got ready till the twenty-fifth of December, five days after the date of the order. The earl Spencer read extracts from several letters from sir Peter Parker, the port-admiral at Spithead, the substance of which was, that the ships, destined to join lord Bridport, at St. Helen's, could not sail on account of the adverse winds. From all these circumstances, it so happened, that lord Bridport could not put to sea till the third of January; and it so happened, also, that the enemy eluded his vigilance: he could by no means allow, however, that Ireland owed its safety to the winds; on the contrary, it was the winds, and the winds only, that prevented the French fleet from being destroyed, either by admiral Colpoys or lord Bridport. Having entered into this explanation, he was persuaded their lordships would consider the paper upon their table as superseding the necessity of any inquiry. He should therefore give his decided negative to the motion of the noble lord.

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The earl of Carlisle did not think that the *selected documents* on the subject could communicate the satisfaction which was required. He lamented that ministers had not come forward with them sooner, and offered their explanations when it might have been possible to collect information from other sources, and especially when they had an opportunity of hearing what the noble lord who commanded the fleet knew on the subject. He wished to have it satisfactorily explained, why ministers, when they had information of the preparations made by the enemy and the sailing of the Brest fleet, had not provided a force, under lord Bridport, sufficiently strong to have been superior to the consequences of two ships (the Prince and the Sanspareil) running foul of one another, and which would have guarded against the delay which such accidents had occasioned? He wished likewise to know why it was four days before the fleet was ready to sail, after the news of the French fleet being at sea had arrived? Why, too, ministers had not given admiral Colpoys specific orders to make Ireland the chief object of his regard? It was the duty of ministers to watch over the safety of Ireland with the same care which was demanded for the safety of Great Britain. When they knew the designs of the enemy to be pointed against that country, why was not admiral Colpoys sent directly for its defence? Had they given such a positive order to admiral Colpoys, there would have been no occasion for any delay in lord Bridport's sailing; because, in proceeding directly to Ireland with the force he could muster, he must have fallen in with some of admiral Colpoys's squadron, which would have en-

abled him to face the French with complete success. Even after admiral Colpoys's return, why were not such ships as were fit for service again sent out to reinforce lord Bridport? The marquis of Abercorn, after severely arraigning the total negligence of ministers to take any measures for the defence of Ireland, laid, that, in order to establish the justification of ministers, the papers on their lordship's table ought to have proved four points: that this country had a sufficient fleet, ready for sea; that admiral Colpoys's fleet was sufficiently strong to keep the sea; that admiral Colpoys was sufficiently provided with stores and provisions; and that he had received particular orders to turn his attention to Ireland; and to proceed to that island, as soon as he should have received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed. None of these points, however, appeared from the papers. On the contrary, it was proved; that admiral Colpoys's fleet had been too long at sea; that it was not sufficiently provided with stores and provisions; and, above all, that no particular attention had been paid to Ireland, nor any positive orders given to admiral Colpoys to make its safety his principal object. Under such circumstances, the marquis could have no hesitation to vote for the inquiry.

The earl Spencer, with respect to admiral Colpoys, would only say, that if his fleet, together with that of lord Bridport, had gone to Ireland, the channel would have been left open to the Dutch fleet. One of the mistakes of lord Bridport's fleet not having been ready in time was, the damage which several ships sustained in a hard gale of wind in the channel.

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The earl of Moira considered the real point in question to be, why admiral Colpoys had not received orders to proceed to Ireland, as soon as he received information that the French fleet had sailed. A noble earl (Spencer) had contended that, from the mass of intelligence which ministers received, it was impossible to decide on the real object of the enemy's expedition. But did not the noble earl know, that it was the province of talents and ability to deduce causes and consequences from the materials with which they might be furnished, and that on such occasions only true sagacity was to be discovered? He had been at Dublin when the preparations of the enemy were going on, and the arms, stores, and other articles with which they were provided, demonstrated the real point of their destination. That their design was to furnish the discontented in Ireland with arms was evident. But if the best means of securing Ireland had not been taken, this did not affect the admiralty exclusively, but the administration in general. He should vote for the inquiry in the hope that the house would proceed farther, shew to whom the disasters of the war were to be attributed, and why ministers did not seize and improve the favourable opportunities which were presented.

The earl of Liverpool maintained that a channel fleet, equal to that of the enemy, had always been deemed sufficient for our defence. Such was the understanding in the last and all our former wars. That the fleet under admiral Colpoys was fitted to face the enemy's was a point that did not seem to be much disputed. As to the place to which he was to direct his force, he begged leave to

say, that it was not intended for the defence of Ireland exclusively, but for every part of his majesty's European dominions. With regard to the question, where the fleet could be best stationed for general defence, he maintained that it had actually been stationed in a place and situation where it could operate to the best advantage for the defence of this nation, and was in readiness to come to the defence of Ireland, as soon as that of any other part. Admiral Colpoys had orders to intercept the enemy's fleet going to any part of the world, and although it appeared doubtful, at that time, whether they were intended for Ireland or Portugal, was it possible to imagine, that if admiral Colpoys thought they were going to Ireland, he had such orders as did not leave him at liberty to follow them to Ireland? The admiral, viewing all circumstances, formed the resolution of remaining on his station. From all the information he had, the admiral was right in so doing; and all that happened to disappoint his hopes and expectations was owing to the wind.

The duke of Bedford confessed that he was but little satisfied with the consolation held out by the noble earl, who spoke last, that it was always held sufficient in former wars for us to equal the enemy with a channel fleet; thereby insinuating that it would be sufficient for us to do so in this. Such doctrine appeared to him to be but frigid consolation, after the repeated assertions which had been made, that we had almost annihilated the maritime power of France. It had been said, that at the time the armament was preparing at Brest, it was uncertain whether it was intended for Ireland or

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or for Portugal, and that the chance was equal. Now he would ask, whether, supposing the chance to be equal, there was a man in this world who thought it would be wise in us to put Portugal in the scale against Ireland? Whether there was a man upon earth rash enough to put these two chances upon an inequality. With regard to the interest of this country in thwarting the expedition, admiral Colpoys, he had no doubt, acted well, according to the information and instructions he received; but he must contend, that, from the information which ministers received, he ought to have had positive orders to sail to Ireland: and here it was notorious, from the documents which ministers themselves had laid upon the table, that this fleet ought to have been in Ireland when the French were there; for ministers had early information of the Brest fleet being to sail, and probably, at least that they were destined for Ireland; indeed they could not even deny that they had information, or that they ought to have had it, considering the vast sums of money that they were allowed for obtaining intelligence. They might have judged, they ought, indeed, to have known, from the arms that were on board, and from the nature of the equipment, that it was destined for Ireland.

Lord Hood expressed his conviction, that the motion, if adopted by their lordships, could be of no service, but, would do mischief. He was convinced that every possible measure had been adopted, during the course of the war, by the naval department, for the good of the nation. He said, that, while his mental faculties, such as they were, continued, he should have been glad

to serve in the present just and necessary war, if he had been permitted to do so.

Lord Auckland could see no reason for considering what had happened on the coast of Ireland, as a miscarriage on our part. The advantage was all on our side. The enemy had failed in their expedition, and lost one-fourth of their ships, and nearly five thousand of their men.

The earl of Guildford observed, that some sort of inquiry had been judged to be necessary even by administration: for no sooner had the subject been mentioned in the house, than the noble lord, at the head of the admiralty, was ready to produce the papers that had been laid on the table. That those had been garbled, he would not say; but he would at least contend that, for the purpose of conveying information, they had been very badly selected. He could not find, in those papers, any good reason for admiral Colpoys being kept so long at sea. With respect to the real destination of the Brest fleet, the ministers were, he believed, the only persons who entertained any doubt. He concluded, with observing, that, unless their lordships felt the propriety of the inquiry proposed, themselves, from the papers themselves, and the speech of the noble earl at the head of the admiralty, nothing that could be said on the subject, could have any effect on their lordship's minds.

Lord Grenville, after declaring the harmony and concert that so happily reigned among the ministry, and the share he himself had taken in the transaction in question, and his readiness to take all his share of responsibility attached to it, complained, that whenever any expedition

dition failed; the whole blame was thrown upon ministers, without stopping to ascertain, whether they were, in fact, guilty. It was supposed, that they could, at pleasure, command the winds and waves, and send a fleet up or down the channel at a moment's warning. It had been represented; though without loss on our part, as a national disgrace; yet whatever failure there was, it was on the side of the enemy; who had lost, in all, he believed, eleven armed vessels. It might have been supposed, from the manner in which some noble lords had spoken; that this was a complete triumph of the French fleet over ours: whereas, in fact, their only boast was, that they had succeeded in escaping from our fleet. When, before the administration of the present ministry, would the French have condescended to make such a boast? When, before the existence of the present ministry, would they not have considered it as a disgrace? Noble lords had complimented ministry justly, though unintentionally. "You have not," said he, been able to catch this miserable wreck of a French fleet." Who, exclaimed lord Grenville, made it a wreck? The present government. In no former administration, he observed, had this country ever been able to keep two fleets in the channel; each of them equal to that of the French: the one ready for sailing, the other blocking up Brest. But if noble lords supposed, that because our fleet was superior, the enemy, if the administration had directed it properly, could not have got to the coast of Ireland; he would refer them to two instances—one in 1689, in which year the French

landed in Ireland, notwithstanding that lord Torrington was at sea with a formidable fleet: and, one in the succeeding year, when the same attempt was made with success, although admiral Russel did every thing in his power to prevent it. As to Ireland, lord Grenville was ready to allow, that its defence, as well as that of England, depended on the fleet: but the internal state of Ireland, notwithstanding all that had been alleged, he had the satisfaction to assure their lordships, was by no means such as to render such an invasion at all alarming. The French affected to have some hopes of being joined in Ireland; but the event shewed how much they were mistaken. This was a convincing argument in answer to those who declaimed on the discontents in Ireland, and would, he hoped, prevent or he recollected in all future discussions on that subject. He begged leave, in justice to his majesty's ministers, to bring to their lordship's recollection, the different instances in which the naval undertakings of the French had, in the course of the present war, been defeated. The shameful and cowardly conduct of Richery, after he left Toulon, and the manner in which he avoided the British squadron till he was strengthened by the accession of a British fleet; the event of the first of June, one of the most memorable in the history of nautical affairs; and the late decisive victory, were evidence on which the defence of the country particularly depended. Whatever we might feel for the miscarriage of the undertakings of our allies on the continent, in our naval undertakings there was nothing but triumph.

emph. In the continental mis-
carriage we had, indeed, suffered
some pecuniary loss, which could be
easily repaired: and he was far far
from regretting what had been thus
expended, that were it possible to
recall what was passed, he would
vote for the assistance that had
been actually given over again.

The marquis of Lansdowne said,
that in Ireland it had been a preju-
dice to represent the government of
this country, as careless of the sister
kingdom. At present a new dis-
content had arisen, and gentlemen
who were in the habit of correspond-
ing with Ireland, knew very well,
that they who had formerly taken
the part of the government, were
now forced to acknowledge that
Ireland had been neglected. Ap-
plications had been made from
thence for protection; and it must
be confessed that country had
been abandoned by England.—
Ministers had pledged to keep up
a great land force in Ireland,
which they had withdrawn. In
the last war, a pledge had been
made, that a naval force should, in
all future wars, be kept off the Irish
coast; and were he minister now,
he should think it necessary to station
a fleet in the Cove of Cork immed-
iately. An inquiry could not but
be satisfactory in every point of
view; satisfactory to admiral Col-
poys, to lord Bridport, and to the
profession at large. There were,
besides, other persons concerned
in the inquiry; the admiralty, the
commissioners of accounts, and other
inferior boards. It would not im-
pede, but accelerate operations.
Ministers, indeed, had shown some
consciousness of the necessity of a
mock inquiry at least by their pro-
ducing papers; and the first thing
to be remarked on these papers

was the notorious want of intelli-
gence. The noble earl had said,
that he would resign when he could
find a person daring enough to con-
tend against the winds. What the
public wanted was, not a man who
could govern against the winds and
waves, but one who would govern
with them: this was the case in the
present instance. The wind had been
favourable; and all that had been
wanting, was an admiralty capable
of making use of it. On the 16th of
December, admiral Colpoys receiv-
ed intelligence of the French having
sailed, the wind continued fair, and
if he had proper orders, he would
have been off the Irish coast. Had
the ships under lord Bridport been
ready, the wind would still have
been fair. The noble earl had
talked of long nights; was it so
great a reach of foresight to know
that there were long nights in De-
cember? But the French fleet, it
seemed, might have gone up the
channel. In the first place, the
wind was against them; but if they
had, what would have been the
case? They would have been under
lock and key. The remainder of
the subject lay in a very small com-
pass; it turned upon two points.
Why were not orders given to ad-
miral Colpoys to go off Cape Clear?
And why were not more ships kept
ready at Portsmouth?

The earl Fitzwilliam said, that
where there had been blame, there
ought to be inquiry. Some expres-
sions that had been thrown out of
a greater care being required for
England than Ireland, would make
a deep impression on the minds of
the people of that country; and he
was sorry to have heard them.

Lord Grenville assured their lord-
ships, that they might set their minds
at rest on the subject of Ireland;
which,

which, so far from having been neglected, had been the object of particular attention. The house having divided on lord Albemarle's motion, it appeared that it was rejected by 74 against 14.

The noble secretary's repeated assurances, respecting the security, external and internal, of Ireland, were not satisfactory to the members in opposition to government, nor to some not always or often in opposition, in both houses of parliament. Motions for inquiries into the internal state, and allaying the discontents, of Ireland were made, and gave rise to animated and long debates in both houses. Of these debates, however, it would be unnecessary and even nugatory to give other than a very summary account: as the explosion which soon after took place throws greater light on the situation of Ireland than was, at this time, enjoyed, proves or disproves the statements of facts, on which much of those debates was founded; and, on the whole, sinks much of the interest in those temporary and temporizing effusions, in the events which it produced, and the new spirit and order of affairs by which these have been succeeded. And here we shall take occasion, once for all, to observe, that, in relating the transactions of parliament, it is not so much our object to display the eloquence of the different speakers, which would swell our narrative to the size of several volumes,* as to pursue the thread of the main reasoning on which the main decisions turned,

or on which, at least, they were tested.

In the house of peers, the earl of Moira rose to make a motion, of which, as usual in all similar cases, he had given previous notice, respecting Ireland, on the twenty-first of March. The exordium of his lordship's speech turned on the delicacy that was to be observed, in agitating questions in which separate and independant legislatures, — in agitating questions in which the privileges and the independence of each other, were involved. Yet, when urgent cases render interference necessary, the delicacy, which may be observed, may remove every jealousy which might otherwise be excited; and it would be meritorious for the different parties mutually to manifest their attention, and their anxiety, for objects in which their common interests were concerned. On these grounds he had now risen, for the purpose of moving a humble address to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to remedy the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and which create the most serious alarm for the dearest interests of that country, and of the British empire. — The extent and rapid increase of the discontents, which prevailed in Ireland, were subjects of sufficient notoriety to form the ground of this proceeding. He should abstain, therefore, from an enumeration of the particulars which had

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come to his knowledge, and of which, indeed, he had recently been witness. In addressing his majesty, to the effect proposed, the house would not only exercise one of its most important privileges, but fulfill one of its most important duties. If it appeared that the counsellors, more immediately about his majesty's person, his majesty's ministers, had not given that advice which was calculated to ensure the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, it was the duty of their lordship's to approach the throne with advice more wise and salutary. But it might be said, What influence could such an address carry with it, to change the councils by which Ireland was governed? To prove the influence of the British cabinet he appealed to a recent fact: he meant the recall of the earl Fitzwilliam, at a time when all Ireland concurred in the measures which he pursued, when that country gave the fairest prospect of tranquillity, and the surest pledge of assistance and support to Britain, in the arduous circumstances in which she was placed.—It might be asked, What plan he wished to pursue? This, lord Moira observed, was indicated in the motion, he was about to make, itself. When they addressed his majesty to interpose his paternal care and benevolence, the known goodness of his nature left no room for doubt as to the result. It was by temper, equity and good faith, that the distractions of Ireland were to be appeased, and their affections conciliated. "No good could be expected from a prosecution of the present system." He was confident, however, that the adoption of measures, calculated to impress

the people with confidence in government, would quickly call forth that fond affection of the inhabitants of Ireland to this country, which circumstances might cloud, but could not extinguish; inspire that zeal so necessary in the present moment; and furnish those resources which were requisite for the critical situation in which we were placed, and the arduous contest in which we were engaged. On these grounds he rested the motion which he was now to propose: "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to allay the discontents which at present subsist in his kingdom of Ireland, and which threaten the dearest interests of the British empire."

Lord Grenville said, in reply to lord Moira, that his motion could not be adopted without breaking the solemn contract which had been entered into between the two countries; without tearing asunder every bond of union and connection, and spreading distraction and division between the members of the British empire. He should, therefore, give his decided opposition to the present motion, and every proposition of a similar tendency. The motion he considered, first, as unnecessary; secondly, as mischievous. Under the first head he expatiated on the measures that had been taken by his majesty, in the course of a reign of thirty-six years, from year to year, to remove every ground of uneasiness or discontent which the situation of the Irish presented; the improved state of their commerce; their full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; the Catholics ad-

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mitted to the enjoyment of their property; a participation in every civil and social blessing, and even sharing in the right of voting for members of parliament. Nor were the people of Ireland insensible or ungrateful for the benefits they had received: their good dispositions, and contentment with their situation, he inferred from sundry circumstances, particularly, their readiness to resist and repel the threatened invasion.—With regard to the mischievous tendency of the motion, lord Grenville remarked a distinction between the subject of this, and the cases of common interest, stated by lord Moira, which were fair objects of negotiation. The motion was intended to be applied to the internal state of Ireland, and even, if he understood it rightly, to the frame of its independent legislature. Though the British legislature had restrained parliament from entertaining any bill which pretended, in any degree, to bind the inhabitants of Ireland; their lordships were now called upon to interfere in a point most exclusively relating to the internal state of that country. Such an interference was obviously improper: it was, besides, impossible for them to proceed with sufficient information, which lay much more within the reach of their own legislature. Farther still, the interference of the British legislature, instead of remedying the discontents, which were alleged to prevail, would inflame them. It would induce the people of Ireland to imagine that their own legislature was indifferent to their welfare, and thus stir up the divisions which it was its object to appease. As the British legislature had given to Ireland the blessings of a free

constitution, the best way to fix their attachment to it, was, to engage their confidence in its favour. The earl Fitzwilliam admitted the improved state of Ireland. But whatever circumstances might have contributed to that prosperity, still there might remain room for something farther to be done.—The noble secretary had said, that the people of Ireland were not distracted and discontented, but tranquil and happy. Was it a proof of this, that acts of indemnity had been passed, in the Irish parliament, for proceedings beyond the law, which must have been called for by a conduct not very consistent with tranquility. If no circumstances of disorder appeared, why were whole parishes, baronies, and even counties, declared to be out of the king's peace? It was likewise stated, in the proceedings of the government in Ireland, that they were, in certain districts, disarming the people, from which it was evident they had been in arms.

The earl of Liverpool, after repeating and approving the reasoning of lord Grenville, put the case of a motion being made, in the Irish parliament, for the purpose of inducing it to interfere in the discussion of the great question of parliamentary reform, or Catholic toleration in this country. Now, he asked, would such a motion be taken by the British parliament? The motion, before their lordships, seemed to him to be as mischievous in its tendency, as unconstitutional in its principle, wherefore he would give it his most decided negative.

The earl of Moira granted, that the legislature of Ireland was independent, but still maintained, that

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in every matter where the common interests of both countries was concerned, the British legislature had a right to interfere. He admitted, also, the advantages which Ireland had enjoyed under the auspicious reign of his present majesty. But why should it be forgotten, that, notwithstanding all the generous liberality which the Irish had experienced from their sovereigns, there was still a part of the boon unbeflowed? Was the house to be informed that the catholics of Ireland insisted on their right of being elected members of the legislature, on the ground, that, if they had some of their body in parliament, the persecutions which have existed would not have taken place? But here, perhaps, it would be said, that he was speaking of persecutions as vaguely as he had done of discontents; and that the one had as little foundation as the other. He knew, however, no fewer than ninety-one house-holders who had been banished from one of his own estates, after being plundered of their property, and some of them wounded in their persons. Of the existence of discontents he enumerated many proofs of the same kind with those that had been stated by the earl Fitzwilliam.

The earl of Guildford could not admit that ministers had shewn any attention to the interests of Ireland, since the refusal of the earl Fitzwilliam. If the advice proposed was not necessary to the king, of whose paternal care for his people he entertained no doubt, it was highly requisite to his ministers.

The earl Spencer was of opinion, that, if lord Mulcahy meant to do any substantial good by his motion, he ought to have gone much farther.

and pointed out not only the nature of the discontents of the Irish nation, but the kind of measures which ought to be resorted to for removing them. The marquís of Lansdowne said, that, if the present was a subject of delicacy, ministers were the cause of it. There was nobody less inclined to question, or to infringe upon, the independence of the Irish legislature than he was; but there was a great difference between infringing upon that independence and acting in their capacity, as the great hereditary council of the king. The doctrine, which ministers had held forth, he was inclined to think, was much more calculated to foment jealousies between the two legislatures than the motion of the noble lord, were it carried into effect. The lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as a minister, was accountable to the British as well as to the Irish parliament; and, therefore, they had a right to watch over the measures of his administration, and to censure or advise him as they might deem proper. The noble secretary had entered into a pompous and elaborate display of the advantages which Ireland had enjoyed under the reign of the present king. But he would ask him, whether the immunities which had been granted to Ireland had not been fully justified by the consequences; and that, too, after they had been refused by their own legislature? It was in the recollection of almost every noble lord, that, when a petition was presented to the Irish parliament, by a numerous and respectable body of that kingdom, the prayer of it was rejected, with something little short of indignation; but when deputies were sent over to

this country, they were graciously received, and their mission was attended with its desired effect. He confessed, that, upon the state of Ireland, he did not possess such accurate information as some of their lordships, but he had heard that some of the catholics had formerly been persecuted, by the protestants, in a horrid manner; that the former had been driven, by a small number of the latter, from their habitations in the north, but were now returning; that the protestants were now rebuilding those houses that had been destroyed, and that an union was now forming between them, which, if not attended to in time, might be productive of the most alarming effects. There were two descriptions of men in Ireland: the first description were well known for their daring spirit; there were not wanting persons among them celebrated in arms, in arts, and even in literature; they were men over whom courts could never have any influence, and who were to be led, not driven—such were the men in the north of Ireland. The whole south was characterized by unruly passions, which were always the prominent features of men unemployed. What the event might be, it was impossible to say; he warned them, however, that it might be such as to shake the empire to its centre! and was a subject which involved such consequences to be set aside by a few words about the independence of the Irish parliament? an expression, which, till of late years, used never to be heard of from ministers! The motion now before their lordships was couched in terms so wise, so prudent, and so moderate, that he could scarcely

have supposed that it could have been objected to. What was its purpose? It said, to his majesty, “ sire, you have, by a happy conduct, attached the people of Ireland to your family and government, by the same liberal and generous conduct by which your grandfather gained the affections of the Highlands of Scotland. There is but one small cause of discontent still remaining, and it is only necessary that you follow up those wise and salutary measures, which you have hitherto acted upon, to remove it.” This was all that the motion proposed. If it was done in time, the measures might be successful; but it ought to be recollected, that the longer the delay, the greater the danger.

The earl of Darnley observed, that the motion before their lordships, though couched in very general terms, and not appearing in itself to point to any specific object, yet, by the explanation given of it, by the lords who spoke in its favour, evidently pointed to the emancipation (as it was called) of the catholics. He thought there might be cases in which their lordships interference might be justifiable, but that the present was not one of them. There were discontents in Ireland; but by no means among the general mass of the people. The popular cry of catholic emancipation was made use of for covering designs for subverting government.

The duke of Bedford was sorry to say, that their lordships had too often listened to the trifling arguments and shifts of ministers, when any charge was exhibited against them, in that house. They must cease to listen to these shifts, if it

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was their object to save the state from ruin. But it might be asked, what it was that he thought likely to restore happiness to the people of Ireland? "Restore to the people of Ireland the person you have recalled; give back to them the man whom they have tried, and whom they admire; act on the principles on which he acted, and then discontents will cease: if you do not, God only knows into how much more dreadful a state that unhappy country may be reduced."

Lord Grenville was of opinion, that the remedy, proposed by the noble duke, would have a tendency to create that which he seemed to dread: a disturbance in Ireland; for, that must necessarily be the tendency of recalling the present lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. If the talents, the virtues, and the exertions, of that noble lord were not sufficient to preserve the tranquillity of Ireland, he believed it would be out of the power of any other individual whatever.

The earl of Moira rose up to make a few observations on the main point in question: the contentment or discontentment of the people of Ireland. As their lordships could not try the veracity of one noble lord against another, the only way they had to decide, was, to refer to facts. His lordship again appealed to the various facts already mentioned or alluded to, by himself and the earl Fitzwilliam: parishes and whole counties out of the king's peace, and disarmed: insurrections in divers places, murmurs of discontent in all; and a general assembly, within fifty yards of the castle of Dublin, headed by persons whose talents and characters were of the very first class, and

who, after the most mature deliberation that could be had on such an occasion, resolved and declared it to be their firm persuasion, that there was no chance for the salvation of Ireland, without an intire and immediate change in the whole system of executive government. After this, the house divided; and the noble earl's motion was rejected by 72 against 20.

Two days after this decision, in the house of peers, the same subject, that is, the general state of Ireland was introduced, into the house of commons, by Mr. Fox, who prefaced his speech by calling to mind the part he had taken in a recognition of the complete independence of Ireland, and how much he naturally considered himself to be bound, in a particular manner, to follow up the principle on which it was founded. Though a variety of circumstances had concurred to produce the present disturbances in Ireland, he confined his observations to two or three leading points. These were, whether, in consequence of the concessions that had been made to Ireland, she had, in fact and substance, enjoyed the advantages of an independent legislature? Whether, in that form of a free constitution which they obtained, the people possessed that political weight to which they were entitled? And, whether, their just voice and influence had been promoted, by the alteration which had been effected? The people of Ireland were divided into two, though these unequal, classes, the catholics and the protestants: neither of which enjoyed their just share of political power and influence. About nine years ago, a regular system was devised for enslaving Ireland.

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* The curiosity of knowing what was said, on such and such an occasion, by such and such a speaker, will be best gratified by the newspapers and magazines of the day; and the annual volumes of parliamentary debates.

come to his knowledge, and of which, indeed, he had recently been witness. In addressing his majesty, to the effect proposed, the house would not only exercise one of its most important privileges, but fulfill one of its most important duties. If it appeared that the counsellors, more immediately about his majesty's person, his majesty's ministers, had not given that advice which was calculated to ensure the happiness and prosperity of Ireland, it was the duty of their lordship's to approach the throne with advice more wise and salutary. But it might be said, What influence could such an address carry with it, to change the councils by which Ireland was governed? To prove the influence of the British cabinet he appealed to a recent fact: he meant the recall of the earl Fitzwilliam, at a time when all Ireland concurred in the measures which he pursued, when that country gave the fairest prospect of tranquillity, and the surest pledge of assistance and support to Britain, in the arduous circumstances in which she was placed.—It might be asked, What plan he wished to pursue? This, lord Moira observed, was indicated in the motion, he was about to make, itself. When they addressed his majesty to interpose his paternal care and benevolence, the known goodness of his nature left no room for doubt as to the result. It was by temper, equity and good faith, that the distractions of Ireland were to be appeased, and their affections conciliated. No good could be expected from a prosecution of the present system. He was confident, however, that the adoption of measures, calculated to impress

the people with confidence in government, would quickly call forth that fond affection of the inhabitants of Ireland to this country, which circumstances might cloud, but could not extinguish; inspire that zeal so necessary in the present moment; and furnish those resources which were requisite for the critical situation in which we were placed, and the arduous contest in which we were engaged. On these grounds he rested the motion which he was now to propose: "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal and beneficent interference to allay the discontents which at present subsist in his kingdom of Ireland, and which threaten the dearest interests of the British empire."

Lord Grenville said, in reply to lord Moira, that his motion could not be adopted without breaking the solemn contract which had been entered into between the two countries; without tearing asunder every bond of union and connection, and spreading distraction and division between the members of the British empire. He should, therefore, give his decided opposition to the present motion, and every proposition of a similar tendency. The motion he considered, first, as unnecessary; secondly, as mischievous. Under the first head he expatiated on the measures that had been taken by his majesty, in the course of a reign of thirty-six years, from year to year, to remove every ground of uneasiness or discontent which the situation of the Irish presented; the improved state of their commerce; their full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty; the Catholics ad-

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mitted to the enjoyment of their property; a participation in every civil and social blessing, and even sharing in the right of voting for members of parliament. Nor were the people of Ireland insensible or ungrateful for the benefits they had received: their good dispositions, and contentment with their situation, he inferred from sundry circumstances, particularly, their readiness to resist and repel the threatened invasion.—With regard to the mischievous tendency of the motion, lord Grenville remarked a distinction between the subject of this, and the cases of common interest, stated by lord Moira, which were fair objects of negotiation. The motion was intended to be applied to the internal state of Ireland, and even, if he understood it rightly, to the frame of its independent legislature. Though the British legislature had restrained parliament from entertaining any bill which pretended, in any degree, to bind the inhabitants of Ireland; their lordships were now called upon to interfere in a point most exclusively relating to the internal state of that country. Such an interference was obviously improper: it was, besides, impossible for them to proceed with sufficient information, which lay much more within the reach of their own legislature. Farther still, the interference of the British legislature, instead of remedying the contents, which were alleged to prevail, would inflame them. It would induce the people of Ireland to imagine that their own legislature was indifferent to their welfare, and thus stir up the divisions which it was its object to appease. As the British legislature had given to Ireland the blessings of a free

constitution, the best way to fix their attachment to it, was, to engage their confidence in its favour. The earl Fitzwilliam admitted the improved state of Ireland. But whatever circumstances might have contributed to that prosperity, still there might remain room for something farther to be done.—The noble secretary had said, that the people of Ireland were not distracted and discontented, but tranquil and happy. Was it a proof of this, that acts of indemnity had been passed, in the Irish parliament, for proceedings beyond the law, which must have been called for by a conduct not very consistent with tranquility. If no circumstances of disorder appeared, why were whole parishes, baronies, and even counties, declared to be out of the king's peace? It was likewise stated, in the proceedings of the government in Ireland, that they were, in certain districts, disarming the people, from which it was evident they had been in arms.

The earl of Liverpool, after repeating and approving the reasoning of lord Grenville, put the case of a motion being made, in the Irish parliament, for the purpose of inducing it to interfere in the discussion of the great question of parliamentary reform, or Catholic toleration in this country. How, he asked, would such a motion be taken by the British parliament? The motion, before their lordships, seemed to him to be as mischievous in its tendency, as unconstitutional in its principle, wherefore he would give it his most decided negative.

The earl of Moira granted, that the legislature of Ireland was independent, but still maintained, that
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in every matter where the common interests of both countries was concerned, the British legislature had a right to interfere. He admitted, also, the advantages which Ireland had enjoyed, under the auspicious reign of his present majesty. But why should it be forgotten, that, notwithstanding all the generous liberality which the Irish had experienced from their sovereign, there was still a part of the boon unbestowed? Was the house to be informed that the catholics of Ireland insisted on their right of being elected members of the legislature, on the ground, that, if they had some of their body in parliament, the persecutions which have existed would not have taken place? But here, perhaps, it would be said, that he was speaking of persecutions as vaguely as he had done of discontents; and that the one had as little foundation as the other. He knew, however, no fewer than ninety-one house-holders who had been banished from one of his own estates, after being plundered of their property, and some of them wounded in their persons. Of the existence of discontents he enumerated many proofs of the same kind with those that had been stated by the earl Fitzwilliam.

The earl of Guildford could not admit that ministers had shown any attention to the interests of Ireland, since the recall of the earl Fitzwilliam. If the advice proposed was not necessary to the king, of whose paternal care for his people he entertained no doubt, it was highly requisite to his ministers.

The earl Spencer was of opinion, that, if lord Moira meant to do any substantial good by his motion, he ought to have gone much farther;

and pointed out not only the nature of the discontents of the Irish nation, but the kind of measures which ought to be resorted to for removing them.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, that, if the present was a subject of delicacy, ministers were the cause of it. There was nobody less inclined to question, or to infringe upon, the independence of the Irish legislature than he was; but there was a great difference between infringing upon that independence and acting in their capacity, as the great hereditary council of the king. The doctrine, which ministers had held forth, he was inclined to think, was much more calculated to foment jealousies between the two legislatures than the motion of the noble lord, were it carried into effect. The lord-lieutenant of Ireland, as a minister, was accountable to the British as well as to the Irish parliament; and, therefore, they had a right to watch over the measures of his administration, and to censure or advise him as they might deem proper. The noble secretary had entered into a pompous and elaborate display of the advantages which Ireland had enjoyed under the reign of the present king. But he would ask him, whether the immunities which had been granted to Ireland had not been fully justified by the consequences; and that, too, after they had been refused by their own legislature? It was in the recollection of almost every noble lord, that, when a petition was presented to the Irish parliament, by a numerous and respectable body of that kingdom, the prayer of it was rejected, with something little short of indignation; but when deputies were sent over to

this country, they were graciously received, and their mission was attended with its desired effect. He confessed, that, upon the state of Ireland, he did not possess such accurate information as some of their lordships, but he had heard that some of the catholics had formerly been persecuted, by the protestants, in a horrid manner; that the former had been driven, by a small number of the latter, from their habitations in the north, but were now returning; that the protestants were now rebuilding those houses that had been destroyed, and that an union was now forming between them, which, if not attended to in time, might be productive of the most alarming effects. There were two descriptions of men in Ireland: the first description were well known for their daring spirit; there were not wanting persons among them celebrated in arms, in arts, and even in literature; they were men over whom courts could never have any influence, and who were to be led, not driven—such were the men in the north of Ireland. The whole south was characterized by unruly passions, which were always the prominent features of men unemployed. What the event might be, it was impossible to say; he warned them, however, that it might be such as to shake the empire to its centre! and was a subject which involved such consequences to be set aside by a few words about the independence of the Irish parliament? an expression, which, till of late years, used never to be heard of from ministers! The motion now before their lordships was couched in terms so wise, so prudent, and so moderate, that he could scarcely

have supposed that it could have been objected to. What was its purpose? It said, to his majesty, “ sire, you have, by a happy conduct, attached the people of Ireland to your family and government, by the same liberal and generous conduct by which your grandfather gained the affections of the Highlands of Scotland. There is but one small cause of discontent still remaining, and it is only necessary that you follow up those wise and salutary measures, which you have hitherto acted upon, to remove it.” This was all that the motion proposed. If it was done in time, the measures might be successful; but it ought to be recollected, that the longer the delay, the greater the danger.

The earl of Darnley observed, that the motion before their lordships, though couched in very general terms, and not appearing in itself to point to any specific object, yet, by the explanation given of it, by the lords who spoke in its favour, evidently pointed to the emancipation (as it was called) of the catholics. He thought there might be cases in which their lordships interference might be justifiable, but that the present was not one of them. There were discontents in Ireland; but by no means among the general mass of the people. The popular cry of catholic emancipation was made use of for covering designs for subverting government.

The duke of Bedford was sorry to say, that their lordships had too often listened to the trifling arguments and shifts of ministers, when any charge was exhibited against them, in that house. They must cease to listen to these shifts, if it
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was their object to save the state from ruin. But it might be asked, what it was that he thought likely to restore happiness to the people of Ireland? "Restore to the people of Ireland the person you have recalled; give back to them the man whom they have tried, and whom they admire; act on the principles on which he acted, and then discontents will cease: if you do not, God only knows into how much more dreadful a state that unhappy country may be reduced."

Lord Grenville was of opinion, that the remedy, proposed by the noble duke, would have a tendency to create that which he seemed to dread: a disturbance in Ireland; for, that must necessarily be the tendency of recalling the present lord-lieutenant of that kingdom. If the talents, the virtues, and the exertions, of that noble lord were not sufficient to preserve the tranquillity of Ireland, he believed it would be out of the power of any other individual whatever.

The earl of Moira rose up to make a few observations on the main point in question: the contentment or discontentment of the people of Ireland. As their lordships could not try the veracity of one noble lord against another, the only way they had to decide, was, to refer to facts. His lordship again appealed to the various facts already mentioned or alluded to, by himself and the earl Fitzwilliam: parishes and whole counties out of the king's peace, and disarmed: insurrections in divers places, murmurs of discontent in all; and a general assembly, within fifty yards of the castle of Dublin, headed by persons whose talents and characters were of the very first class, and

who, after the most mature deliberation that could be had on such an occasion, resolved and declared it to be their firm persuasion, that there was no chance for the salvation of Ireland, without an intire and immediate change in the whole system of executive government. After this, the house divided; and the noble earl's motion was rejected by 72 against 20.

Two days after this decision, in the house of peers, the same subject, that is, the general state of Ireland was introduced, into the house of commons, by Mr. Fox, who prefaced his speech by calling to mind the part he had taken in a recognition of the complete independence of Ireland, and how much he naturally considered himself to be bound, in a particular manner, to follow up the principle on which it was founded. Though a variety of circumstances had concurred to produce the present disturbances in Ireland, he confined his observations to two or three leading points. These were, whether, in consequence of the concessions that had been made to Ireland, she had, in fact and substance, enjoyed the advantages of an independent legislature? Whether, in that form of a free constitution which they obtained, the people possessed that political weight to which they were entitled? And, whether, their just voice and influence had been promoted, by the alteration which had been effected? The people of Ireland were divided into two, though these unequal, classes, the catholics and the protestants: neither of which enjoyed their just share of political power and influence. About nine years ago, a regular system was devised for enslaving Ireland.

Ireland. A person of high consideration was known to say, that, 500,000*l.* had been expended to quell an opposition in Ireland, and that as much more must be expended, in order to bring the legislature of that country to a proper temper. This systematic plan of corruption was followed up by a suitable system of measures. It had been the system of government, by the sale of peerages, to raise a purse for purchasing the representation of the people of Ireland. It was offered to be proved, by Mr. Grattan, in the Irish house of commons, that one-half, or even a majority, of that house were creatures of the crown. The manner in which the political situation of Ireland, at that time, was viewed, by the Irish nation, was to this effect: "you have granted us an independent legislature; independent, certainly, of your parliament, but dependent on your executive government." Another proof of this substantial dependence on government was exhibited in the manner in which the demands of the catholics had, at different times, been treated. Their petitions, for a redress of some of the most oppressive grievances, had been rejected with haughtiness and insult. It was usual, Mr. Fox said, for men of consideration, in Ireland, to talk as if what had been done for the catholics was an act of necessity, which, on a fit occasion, would be recalled. Hostile suspicions were insinuated, not only against the lower order of catholics, but against men of the first respectability for character and fortune, and whose loyalty could not be questioned. Numbers were taken up for high treason; and, when acquitted, it appeared, that no ground of sus-

picion could ever have been entertained against them. What could be the effect of such proceedings, but to convince the catholics, that the concessions in their favour were extorted? that the hostile mind still existed, and that they were still marked out as the victims of the most cruel proscriptions and oppressions? Private animosities, too, arose, and produced those different classes of disturbers of the public peace, about which so much had been said. The remedies applied, tended to foment the disease. The authority of the laws was superseded. Those against whom it was thought convictions could be procured were taken up; and those whom it would have been impossible to convict were transported, in great numbers, without the ceremony of a trial, or the form of conviction. I know, said Mr. Fox, an opinion has gone forth, that the catholics have no substantial grievances to complain of; and, that, the presbyterians have still less. It is said, that the catholics can vote for members of parliament, and that they are not distinguished from the protestants otherwise than by an exclusion from being members of parliament, and from the high offices of state. If this were all, I should still say, they have a right to all the privileges possessed by the protestants. And to exclude them still from these, in their full extent, is a proof of continued hostility. But let us consider the matter in another point of view. It is invidiously objected, by government, to the catholics, that it is not civil liberty, but power and emolument that they pursue. To this I could answer, for the catholics, yes: nor is it any discredit to them to be actuated by such

Such a desire. Civil liberty can have no security without political power. I know that distinctions have been made between civil and political liberty, and I admit that it is possible for whole classes, whole casts, of men to enjoy the one without possessing the other. Still, however, I assert, that it can only be by sufferance. The catholics, therefore, may justly say, that it is not this or that concession which will satisfy, but that which alone can give them security for its continuance. But it is objected to the catholics, that they are not only ambitious of power, but desirous of emolument. Why should not they who contribute so largely to the support of government be desirous of sharing in the emolument which it bestows? Are the catholics to be told, by a few monopolizing politicians, who engross all places, all reversions, all patronages, "oh! you base catholics, ye think of nothing but your private emolument; you perverse generation, who have already been permitted to vote for members of parliament, are you so base as to urge the disgraceful demand of a share in personal emoluments?" The catholics are men, and to be governed by the common motives that actuate human nature. For a small and interested minority to imagine, that they can monopolize all advantages to themselves, is a pretension which will not be admitted: mankind are not to be treated in this manner, and it is not now-a-days that such claims will pass current in the world. It has been said, that the catholics are entitled to vote for members of parliament. But, except in the counties, Mr. Fox observed, the representation of Ireland was in what is

here known by the name of close corporations. The catholics were carefully excluded from the corporations; so that their privilege of voting for members of parliament was almost entirely evaded.

Mr. Fox came next to consider the grievances of the presbyterians, the most numerous class, by far, in the north of Ireland. The discontent of the inhabitants of the northern parts of Ireland arise from two causes: one of them was the temporary pressure of a war, in which they were involved without interest in the contest, and the distresses which the calamities, with which it had been attended, had entailed upon their trade and commerce; the other had been the abuses which they conceived to exist in the constitution by which they are governed. The constitution of Ireland, they complain, does not resemble that of Great Britain; they have not a legislature by which the people are even virtually represented; and, as to political liberty, they enjoy as small a portion of it as those who live under monarchies, in which the principles of freedom have never been introduced. Whoever imagined that a practical resemblance exists between the government of Ireland and the English constitution, would find, that the Irish government was a mirror in which the abuses of this constitution were strongly reflected. The jobbing system of influence and patronage, for purposes of personal advantage, in Ireland, was an abuse which totally destroyed the spirit of the form of government, and was an abuse not to be endured. To suppose that a large, industrious, active, and intelligent, body of men can be governed

[R 3]
against

against the principles they had imbibed, and the prejudices by which they were guided, was an idea which history and human nature proved to be absurd. What, said Mr. Fox, is the actual situation of affairs with respect to Ireland? You have raised enormous burthens both in England and Ireland; you have produced great discontents. In fact, we are now precisely at the point in which we stood, in 1774, with America; and, the question is, whether we are to attempt to retain Ireland by force, instead of gaining her by concessions, and a full communication of all the blessings of a free constitution? Mr. Fox, having spoken highly of the administration and popularity of the earl Fitzwilliam, in Ireland, said, that he could scarcely conceive that any objection could be urged against the motion he was about to make, in point of form. The interests of this country and of Ireland were the same. Its affairs were conducted by ministers, and the British cabinet, and it was the privilege of that house to advise his majesty. If he were to justify the measure by precedent, he might quote the case of an impeachment of the earl of Lauderdale, by the English parliament, before the union, for the conduct of the government of Scotland. But why, said Mr. Fox, should I speak of forms, when the consequences of the discontents in Ireland may be a contest to be supported by Englishmen, and English money? I shall therefore move

“ That a humble address be presented to his majesty, that his majesty will be graciously pleased to take into his royal consideration the disturbed state of his kingdom of Ireland, and to adopt such heal-

ing and lenient measures as may appear to his majesty's wisdom best calculated to restore tranquillity, and to conciliate the affections of all descriptions of his majesty's subjects, in that kingdom, to his majesty's person and government.” This motion was seconded, in a short, but very elegant as well as animated, speech, by

Sir Francis Burdett, who said, whoever has the slightest information, concerning the situation of Ireland must admit the propriety of this motion; but, without having been an eye-witness to the effects produced by the measures of the minister of that country, it is impossible to have an adequate idea of the magnitude of the evils arising from them. Whoever has seen Ireland, has seen a country where the fields are desolated, and the prisons overflowing with the victims of oppression; has seen the shocking contrast between a profligate extravagant government and an enslaved and impoverished people. One person now immured within the walls of a dungeon in Dublin-Castle, I have the honour to be connected with: for honour as well as happiness I shall ever esteem it. After a warm panegyric on the public and private virtues of Mr. O'Connor, sir Francis said, when such men become objects of hatred and fear to government, it is not difficult to ascertain the nature of that government. But perhaps, sir, I may be charged with speaking more like a discontented Irishman than a true friend to the interests of England. Sir, I speak like a friend to humanity and liberty, and like an enemy to cruelty and oppression. I believe the interests of Ireland and of this country to be the same. I believe it
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for the interest of both countries, that both should be free. What was said, by a great man, respecting America is still more applicable with respect to Ireland, "I rejoice, said lord Chatham, in the resistance of America, because I believe three millions of men enslaved in that country would become the properest instruments for enslaving this." There is, sir, in my opinion, one way, and only one, for saving Ireland and England: that is, to divest the present minister of that power which he has so long and so fatally abused, and to call him to a strict account for his conduct, before the tribunal of his country. If we have not resolution, if we have not energy, if we have not the means to accomplish this, I know not whether the country can be saved; but this I know, that it is not worth saving. After the able speech that we have just heard, I shall content myself with seconding the motion.

Mr. Pitt asked Mr. Fox whether the parliament, by which the independence of Ireland was recognized, was more accommodating to the wishes of the dissenters of the north, or to the catholics of the south, than those of a subsequent period? Quite the contrary. Whatever alteration had since taken place tended more and more to include both dissenters and catholics within the pale of both civil and political liberty, than the principle recognized in 1782. But the main pillar of his defence of ministers, in their conduct towards Ireland, and ground of his objection to the present motion, was the unconstitutionality, the impropriety, and the dangers, to be apprehended from the interference of the British parliament

in the affairs of Ireland; topics on which he expatiated with his usual ability; but, in which, it is unnecessary to follow him, as we have seen them already discussed in the debates in the upper house. As to the main concession to be made, by way of remedy to the discontents and disturbances in Ireland, that of allowing to the catholics the privilege of sitting in parliament, this could not be done, without reversing the whole of its present form, and new-modelling the constitution from beginning to end: and, to make this change when such principles were abroad in the world, and were even prevalent in the country in which we lived, would be attended with the most dangerous consequences.

Colonel Fullarton, who had just come from Scotland, and that part of it which almost touches on Ireland, was astonished to find, in the metropolis, such an apparent indifference to the most alarming dangers; and wondered that so much time should be spent in debate, and so little in military preparation. General Hoche would find, in Ulster alone, 50,000 Irishmen united, with pikes in their hands, and arms concealed, busily employed in secret discipline, in order to qualify themselves for re-inforcing the French army.

Mr. Courteney believed, that there were, in Ulster, 50,000 men with arms in their hands, ready to receive the French; but not to support them. The people in that province, almost all presbyterians, had a strong spirit of liberty, and were attached to the popular, or, what had been called, the republican, branch of the constitution; yet they were not to be confounded with jacobins and banditti.

[R 4]

Lord

Lord Hawkesbury repeated and applauded the arguments of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Curwen thought that the present motion was so far from being mischievous, that even the discussion it had occasioned, would do good, inasmuch as it would shew the Irish nation, that there was a part, at least, of the British parliament, who were mindful of their interests.

Lord Wycombe thought that the disturbances, which had taken place in Ireland, manifestly proved a disaffection to the British government. Conciliation, instead of rigour, should have been tried: for it was time enough to employ force when mildness failed. He could have wished that the Irish parliament had been left, for the settlement of affairs, to themselves. But that, he well knew that, being for the most part, at the beck of the English cabinet, they had lost the confidence of the nation.

He really dreaded that, if the British parliament did not interfere, we might lose Ireland altogether: a loss that would be more severe to us than the loss of America.

Mr. Benjamin Hobhouse, made the following shrewd remark; that the chancellor of the exchequer seemed to have presumed in the whole train of his reasoning, that it was the object of the present motion to request the king's interference, exclusively of his Irish parliament. No, sir. It only prays his majesty, in connexion with the Irish legislature, to adopt measures of a lenient nature, with a view to appease the unhappy spirit of discontent which prevailed throughout the country.

Mr. Fox made some observations in reply to the principal arguments that had been advanced against his motion: on which the house divided. Ayes, 84; Noes, 220.

C H A P. XIV.

Petitions for the Dismission of Ministers.—Motion to that Effect in the House of Lords.—And in the House of Commons.—Motion in the House of Commons for a Reform of Parliament.—Motion in the House of Peers for considering the State of the Nation.—Prorogation of Parliament.

IN the midst of so many difficulties and dangers as assailed Great Britain at the same time in the stormy year, 1797, it was not possible that government, to whom, in every country, the people are apt to impute more than a just share of either the good or the evil that befalls them, could escape public and severe animadversion. Petitions were presented for the removal of his majesty's ministers, from almost every county, city, and town of note in England and Ireland.* The general dissatisfaction at the conduct of ministers, which, from the number and tenor of those petitions, appeared to prevail throughout the nation, encouraged the opposition-party, in parliament, to bring forward motions for a change in the administration. On the 27th of March, the earl of Suffolk declared, in the house of peers, that he considered it as his duty to himself, his family, his king, and his country, to move, "That a humble address might be addressed to his majesty, humbly requesting him to dismiss from his councils, his minister, the first lord of the treasury, whose per-

nicious measures had deprived him of the confidence of the country."

Lord Grenville opposed this motion, and warmly defended his relation and friend, who, he contended, had neither lost the confidence of the most respectable part of the public, nor deserved to do so. That the allies had not been so successful as they expected, he was ready to admit; and also that such accidents had happened as were incidental to all wars: but he hoped all parties would acknowledge that the exertions of this country had been unparalleled in the page of history, and had been attended with unparalleled success. Our naval victories had been more brilliant than ever before distinguished any age; and it appeared peculiarly hard, that all the honour, praise, and glory, should be reaped by individuals, whilst the censure, and all the responsibility were thrown on ministers.

The duke of Norfolk, in answer to lord Grenville, who had insinuated that the charges brought against Mr. Pitt, were not substantiated on facts, said that proofs of his misma-

* For specimens of which, see Appendix to the Chronicle, page 84.

nagement and misconduct were every where. They presented themselves to every eye, and made an impression on every heart. They composed a living epitaph on the infatuation of ministers, and, in the language applied to the memory of Sir Christopher Wren, pointing to the cathedral of St. Paul's, he might exclaim

Si monumentum quaeris circumspice.

The motion was farther supported by the earl of Derby, the earl of Moira, the earl of Carlisle, and the duke of Bedford: but opposed briefly, and on the usual grounds of defence, by lord Romney, the marquis of Townshend, the earl of Warwick, and again by lord Grenville. The most remarkable circumstance that occurred in the course of this short discussion on the conduct of ministers, and the state of the nation, was, a very generous plan for carrying on the war, suggested by lord Romney. This was to set on foot a subscription for a voluntary gift, as far as the generosity and circumstances of individuals would allow. He would himself subscribe five thousand pounds, and thought that there would be easily found a hundred thousand who would subscribe, each their one hundred, besides others who would subscribe small sums. Such a measure, if carried into execution, would counteract any impression which might be made on the French government to our disadvantage by the desponding ideas of some as to our state, or by the language of others as to the conduct of our ministers.

Lord Moira applauded the plan of lord Romney, and did not doubt but it might produce a considerable sum of money: but it was a question how far the house of commons might

approve of money being raised to carry on the war, through any other channel than their own.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, on this subject, that any one who perused the army extraordinaries would find millions squandered in the most improvident manner, and asked, what the noble lord's subscription of 5000*l.* would do to stop such flood-gates? As to the motion for dismissing the minister, he did not much approve of it. The change he desired was not a change of men, but in the system of government, which ought to be conducted on the old constitutional principles of the country.

On a division of the house, there appeared for lord Suffolk's motion, 16; against it, 86.

A motion, for the dismissal, not particularly of the first lord of the treasury, but of his majesty's ministers in general, was made in the house of commons, on the 19th of May, by alderman Combe, who stated it to be the general opinion of the people of this country, as well as that of his constituents, that the calamities which pressed so hard upon the people were, in a great measure, if not wholly, owing to the ministers having plunged us into the present war. This, he would not deny, at the commencement, appeared to be popular: but it had long ceased to be so; to which nothing had contributed so much as the incapacity of those who carried it on. The public, however, had never been informed of the real or even ostensible ground on which it had been undertaken: nor had they been able to obtain any fixed or settled principle by which their governors had been guided. Sometimes we were said to fight for one purpose,

purpose, sometimes for another; and still we were in the dark, though left alone in the contest. He was perfectly of opinion with his constituents, that it required men of greater minds, and more upright intentions, to bring about peace, in our present circumstances so essentially necessary. He therefore moved, "That an address be presented to his majesty, beseeching him to dismiss from his councils his present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a permanent and speedy peace."

This motion was seconded by sir William Milner, and supported by Mr. Curwen, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Hobhouse and Mr. Sturt. On the other hand, it was opposed by Mr. Hawkins Browne, the aldermen Anderson, Curtis, and Lushington, Mr. Bootle, Mr. Brandling, sir Gilbert Heathcote, Mr. Adams, Mr. Jeffereys, Mr. Pierrepont, and Mr. Burdon. On a subject so often discussed, as the merit or demerit of the minister, and particularly the policy or impolicy of the war, in its origin and conduct, there could not well be very much length of debate, at this period, at once new and important. It was not improper for the different speakers to call to mind, in the discussion of a great question, arguments that had been urged again

and again, even to triteness. But it might appear tedious, and would be improper to give so many editions of the same topics and arguments in a written volume. In all questions of importance, whether relating to the state of the bank, the state of Ireland, the origin and conduct of the war, or negotiations for peace, the general plan or system of ministerial management, was constantly introduced. We shall therefore content ourselves, as in some former instances, with a very general outline of what passed in the house of commons on the present occasion. Mr. Hawkins Browne took a full, as well as methodical and clear view of the conduct of administration for the last twelve years, and, on a review of the whole, declared his approbation of their measures. To the present administration he ascribed our enjoyment of the three greatest blessings that could be possessed: liberty, internal tranquillity, and general prosperity. Juries had been invested with the right, which had been disputed, of judging of all the circumstances of the case, in point of law, as well as fact. It was under the auspices of the present administration, and against every high and powerful authority, that the continuance of an impeachment* had been carried. It was under the

* In allusion to the protracted trial of Mr. Hastings. For an account of the probable motives that formed, or in the modern phraseology, organized the coalition between the ministers and the prosecutors of Mr. Hastings, which Mr. Browne ascribes, on the part of the minister, to a veneration for liberty, see *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*, Vol. I. p. 361. The high authority to which Mr. Browne here alludes, is lord Thurlow. Of the past coalition mentioned, as well as of the trial and acquittal of Mr. Hastings, a periodical writer, in a monthly journal, writes as follows. "A prosecution that sprung out of party-intrigues, that was protracted, by a thousand artifices, to a term disgraceful to the jurisprudence of Great Britain, terminating in an honourable acquittal, and yet in its lingering operation, and final result, inflicting on a patriot (if that name

the same administration, that the bill, so obnoxious to the people of Canada, had been repealed, and a system of freedom established in its stead. Even the abuses of liberty had been touched with a lenient hand; and the bill for preventing and punishing sedition had been limited to the term of two years; nor had they prevented meetings for any purpose within the number of fifty. Mr. Browne then proceeded to notice the second point; tranquillity. This, he said, had always been so clear, from the excellent measures adopted by ministers, that any illustration of it would be unnecessary. Mr. Browne, on the third point, the general prosperity of the country, divided this head into two periods: the first from 1784 to 1792; the second, from 1792, to the present moment. In the first period, by means of his great financial abilities, he raised the funds from 64 to 93. In the same proportion with the funds, the trade, commerce, manufactures, agriculture, industry, and ingenuity of the country, kept equal pace in their increase of general prosperity, and the country had arrived at the most unexampled height of happi-

ness. The other period, to which he had now to allude, he was sorry to say, was a very painful reverse. Those political evils, however, by which it had been occasioned, were entirely owing to the French revolution. The country owed every thing to the ministry for entering into the present war: for, by that, he believed, and by that alone, they had kept the scene of action entirely from this country.

Mr. alderman Curtis shrewdly remarked, that the instructions given to his worthy friend, and colleague, by his constituents, were to move for an address to his majesty to dismiss, from his councils, his present weak and wicked ministers for ever. Now, said the alderman, his worthy friend had left the words *weak* and *wicked* out of his motion, (even though he professed himself bound to act according to the instructions of his constituents) which plainly shewed that he did not think they were so.

Mr. alderman Anderson believed, "there were a great many men, without doors, who were very bad indeed, and who wanted to introduce anarchy and confusion." For

name can yet be used without unfortunate associations of ideas) of the most splendid talents and amiable virtues, a confinement of ten years, and a fine in fact, in his law expences, nearly equal to the whole of his fortune. While all parties of men, concurring in the worship of the rising sun, though rather under a cloud, agree to the repeated payment of debts, incurred, not by the exercise of either public or private virtue—can it be endured, that a base union of envy, jealousy, disappointment, and resentment, shall pursue Mr. Hastings with hostile vengeance, after the importance of his public services is universally admitted, and his innocence displayed in the light of noon day. Who, then, will henceforth assume any degree of responsibility, even in order to save his country from ruin? Who will not be staggered in the discharge of his duty? If this may expose him to that dreadful instrument of vengeance, the law's delay, wielded by his enemies, not only with impunity to themselves, and emolument,* but even with a temporary glitter of false glory and foolish acclamation." *Political Appendix to the English Reviewer for May, 1795.*

* Mr. Burke's son was retained, at a great expence, as solicitor for the prosecution.

this reason, he should give his positive and hearty negative to the motion.

Mr. Curwen confessed that he had never heard any arguments which could convince him that the prosperity of the country was at all owing to the present administration. It was a common and often a baneful error to confound causes with collateral effects. Nothing could be more absurd, nor a greater proof of superstitious veneration and weakness, than to ascribe all the blessings we enjoyed to the minister, and all the evils to causes which he could neither foresee nor prevent.

Mr. Hobhouse stated some striking presumptions, not to say complete proofs, that in the present war we were the aggressors, and that ministers had missed many opportunities of making an honourable peace.

Mr. Sturt execrated the conduct of ministers, in cheating the nation of their money by pretended overtures for peace; in employing prisoners, notoriously attached to republicanism, for the re-establishment of monarchy in France; whence the disaster at Queberon: in sacrificing millions of money, and the flower of our army at St. Domingo, &c. He declared his conviction that the success, nay the very existence of the country depended on the support of the present motion.

Mr. Burdon thought, that the dismissal of ministers was a measure which would retard rather than accelerate peace, and, instead of allaying the present ferment in the public mind, kindle and foment disturbances. The question being impatiently called for, there were sound, ayes 59, noes 242.

The attack on the principles and measures of the present ministers was renewed, or rather continued, in the house of commons, under another form.

On the twenty-sixth of May, Mr. Grey rose, in pursuance of previous notice, to move for a reform in the representation of the people. After an exordium, contrasting our former prosperity with our present distress, and also asserting the purity and patriotism of his present intentions, he expressed his wish that our establishment should remain as it was; composed of lords and commons. He proposed, that the county representation should remain nearly on the same footing: only, that instead of ninety-two county members, there should be one hundred and thirteen. For instance, instead of two for the county of York, there should be two for each riding; and so in other counties, where the present representation was not proportionate to the extent of population. In order to put an end to compromises, each county, or riding, should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should return one representative. With regard to the qualifications of electors, instead of confining the right of election to free-holders, it should be extended to copy-holders and lease-holders, who were bound to pay a certain annual rent, a certain number of years. But the reform which he had to propose, in the other branch of representation, was of a much more extensive nature. It was, that the remaining four hundred members should be returned by one description of persons, which were house-holders. If it were possible, one person should

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not be permitted to vote for more than one member of parliament. In order to prevent expence, the poll ought to be taken through the whole kingdom at one time: this was the outline of his plan; to state that it could be obtained at first with exactness, or was not liable to difficulties, would be presumptuous and absurd. But he flattered himself there would be found no insuperable or fundamental objections to it. The land-owner would find his property suitably represented; the merchant support in the householders; and men of respectability and talents in the different professions would find a fair door open for admission into parliament. The only persons whom he wished to exclude from that house, were men who were neither possessed of landed property, nor engaged in commercial enterprize, nor professors of any particular science, and who, without property, without industry, and without talents, obtained seats in the house of commons, by the influence of great men, for the purpose, not of consulting the good of the people, but of promoting their own interests.

Mr. Grey's motion was seconded by Mr. Erskine, who, after an exordium relating to his own situation, principles, and feelings, topics to which he also returned, according to his manner, in different parts of his speech, observed, that out of the motion which had been made, there arose, for the consideration of the house, three questions; first, whether the house of commons, in its present frame and constitution, fulfills the ends of its office, in the British government, so as to render any change in it expedient? By the house of commons, said Mr. Erskine,

I desire not to be supposed to speak of this, or of the last, or of those long past, or that may yet be elected, but of any possible house of commons, in its present frame and constitution. Secondly, whether, supposing a reform in parliament to be necessary, the specific proposition submitted to the house appears to be salutary, practicable, and adapted to cure the evils complained off, so as to entitle it to the ulterior consideration of the house in the form of a bill, to be brought before us? Thirdly, whether, supposing a reform in parliament to be expedient, and the proposition made by the motion to be worthy of consideration, the present moment is seasonable for entertaining it? This last point is, indeed, a matter of the highest importance. The present is no common period, and pregnant with no common events.

Mr. Erskine proceeded to shew, that from the gradual and still growing influence of the crown, the house of commons had been perverted, in fact, from its original office: which was, to balance the other branches of government; to watch with jealousy over the executive government, on the one hand, and to protect the popular privileges against the encroachments of aristocratic influence on the other. With regard to the second point, the conclusion that he drew from a variety of just and ingenious observations, was, that honest but visionary men, confounding the unalienable rights of every man to interfere in the administration of actual government, with the right to be well governed, imposed an actual tyranny upon the world in their zeal for universal freedom: but that the system of his excellent and enlightened friend, avoided that dangerous stumbling block, and created a prac-

a practical government, on principles which had no tendency to disorganize society, or shake the establishment of the nation. As to the last and most momentous point, that of time, Mr. Erskine's opinion was, that the present moment for reformation was singularly and critically seasonable; and that those who seized on the times, as a foundation for objection, would lay the same hold on prosperity, if it were proposed, on the return of peace. This opinion, by a variety of considerations, it must be owned, he rendered extremely probable.—But it was said, in objection to the times, that there was, at the present moment, a dangerous disaffection prevalent in the minds of men, to the government of this country; and that pestilent and destructive theories had poisoned public opinion, against all monarchical constitutions. Admitting, said Mr. Erskine, for the sake of argument, that the imputation of wide-spread disaffection is just, how is the evil to be remedied? If despair of obtaining any moderate reform has driven any considerable numbers to republicanism, to whom is the fault to be imputed? Will any man deny, that the foundation of this spirit (whatever may be its extent) was laid in the declarations of the right honourable gentleman himself, who affirmed, that it was impossible an upright or useful administration could exist, whilst the house was constituted as it is, and who has unanswerably illustrated the truth of his position, by the evidence of his own? Did the right honourable gentleman imagine, that he could prescribe bounds beyond which this spirit should not pass? Did he imagine that he could plant

the root, and prevent the shoots from springing up? Does the right honourable gentleman think that he can extinguish, in the minds of the people, that distrust of the present system of government which he himself has taught them to entertain? Or does he think by coercion to make them tamely submit to those abuses which he himself was the foremost to expose? Does he think to guard the constitution from violence, by persecuting those who would peaceably reform it? Does he think to silence the voice of complaint, by a sullen refusal to remedy the grievance? This road may be pursued for a season; but the end thereof is death. Instead of inflaming by persecution, let me advise you to conciliate by seasonable concession. The system of terror can neither remove nor silence a deep-rooted and well-founded discontent. Let me conclude with repeating again, that the condition of this country renders a reform most critically seasonable. The nation stands in the most perilous predicament; government is forced to call upon the people for greater exertions than at former times. Burdens which appeared impracticable, even in speculation, are now to be carried into practical effect. This must be done, either by affection, or by coercion; and this is the moment for the choice. Give the people the blessings of the constitution, and they will join with ardour in its defence: raise within these walls a standard, which was never before raised, around which the friends of the constitution may rally, and to which the people will be attracted by the feelings of confidence and of attachment; it will give general satisfaction; it will unite all who
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are divided, and create a general spirit to bear up against the calamities by which we are surrounded.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the question was not, whether some alteration might be attended with advantage, but whether the degree of benefit might be worth the chance of the mischief it probably, or possibly, might induce. It would not be prudent to give an opening to principles that aimed at nothing less than the annihilation of the constitution.—But what he appeared to have most at heart, as was very natural, and what it was the principal tendency of his speech to refute, was, the alleged inconsistency of those who had formerly supported parliamentary reform, in opposing it now.—There was no inconsistency, he said, in foregoing a present advantage for a future benefit, or for the sake of avoiding impending evils. Could we believe that men, who remained unmoved by the dismal example which their principles had produced, whose pretensions rose or fell with the success or the decline of jacobinism, in every part of Europe, were ever actuated by a similarity of motives and of objects with those who prosecuted the cause of reform as a practical advantage, and maintained it on constitutional views. “From the period, said Mr. Pitt, when the new and alarming æra of the French revolution broke in upon the world, I found that the grounds on which the question of reform rested were fundamentally altered. I do not believe that the temper of moderate reformers will lead them to make

“common cause with the irreconcilable enemies of the constitution.”—As to the specific plan of reform, proposed by Mr. Grey, he thought it was at once highly exceptionable in theory, and unsupported by experience.

Mr. Sheridan denied that the horrors of France were produced by the rights of man: Bloody calamities there had been, but they did not originate in those principles. There was not one individual who had been concerned in writing or publishing them that was concerned in any of the massacres. Excess was the natural consequence of all revolutions; when men shook off their slavery, under the necessity of recovering their liberty by force, they were naturally intemperate. If the question were put to him, who were the real authors and abettors of the French massacres, he would not hesitate to place certain despots in the front of his accusation. The minister had desired the public to look upon reformation as a latent mode of overturning the constitution. He knew not why universal suffrage had been brought into such contempt. He remembered Mr. Pitt’s * having signed his name, with the duke of Richmond, at some meetings, in favour of reform and annual parliaments. Mr. Sheridan mentioned several circumstances of comfort and hope, in his own particular situation, which rendered it incredible that he should entertain any design or wish to throw things into anarchy and confusion.—For this, in our opinion, Mr. Sheridan is en-

* We do not consider it to be necessary, as if we were members of parliament, speaking in parliament, to adhere to all the circumlocutions of “right honourable gentlemen opposite to each other, &c. &c.”

titled to full credit: and having said this, it will not be imputed as any personal attack on that gentleman, if, contrarily to our usual custom, we make a remark on a speech, the substance and tendency of which, only, it is our business, in the character of annalists, to report. This observation, that the massacres of France did not originate in the principles of the rights of man, though commonly resorted to by the defenders of innovation, is not worthy of the philosophical accuracy and precision of Mr. Sheridan, who knows the distinction between efficient causes, or rather the one **EFFICIENT** cause, and *natural causes or occasions*. Massacres cannot arise out of mere abstractions, whether entertained in the brain, or represented by symbols or writing; but notions concerning rights, mingled with, and brought into play, every evil passion. An explosion is effected not by nitre alone, but by the action of fire on nitre mixed with sulphur.

Sir Francis Burdett, among a variety of pointed observations, said, that without a reform of parliament, corruption would become the euthanasia of the constitution. Corruption had reduced us, with all the advantages of our soil and climate, to a state, that no more resembled, in point of liberty, that

of our ancestors, than if we were the inhabitants of a foreign land. "Indeed, said sir Francis, with all our boast of wealth, *the mean and hard lot of poverty falls to the share of the mass of the people*: and that comfort, which ought to be the reward of honest labour, is seized by the griping hand of a rapacious government. But all these things are drawing towards a conclusion. That which was once a matter of choice, is now a matter of necessity; and the chancellor of the exchequer, though an enemy to liberty, has, by his conduct, contributed to revolution." Sir Francis concluded a concise but energetic speech, glowing with the fire of freedom and the sentiments of humanity, with declaring, that the present motion should have his hearty support.

From the generous concern of sir Francis Burdett for the oppressed mass of the people, whose patient and silent sufferings seldom find a sincere advocate in such a place, we can neither withhold nor suppress our sincere approbation and applause. Of what use is a flourishing revenue, if it cannot be applied, by political management, to the relief and comfort of the great body of the people? *

Sir Richard Hill did not omit, on the present occasion, to harp on the common string of the ministers inconsistency,

* We have formerly had occasion to observe that most of our laws, multiplied almost beyond the power of enumeration, relate to the augmentation of the revenue, and the preservation, not to say the extension, of the powers of the executive government. Few are the laws of a truly paternal and patriotic kind. Nay, when measures have been proposed for reducing the enormous price of provisions, we have seen a minister of state setting his face against them. On the twenty-second of June, this year, Mr. Munwaring moved the order of the day, on a bill for the better preventing of forestalling and recreating of live cattle. Mr. Dundas opposed this bill, on the ground that it would hurt the landed interest of this country, by diminishing, through a reduced price of provisions, the value of farms. Though a committee of the house of commons, in 1796, had de-

consistency, in setting his face against the present motion, though he had formerly made a motion in favour of reform. He thought the constitution was not well; and if he saw a patient almost expiring, he would naturally ask the doctor, "have you any experiments to try?" Physicians we had, who had followed the plan of Dr. Sangrado, in bleeding too much. Some other plan ought to be followed. Though he believed there were but few on either side of the house who had any religion, he believed there was much virtue in both, and he should like to see them united to save the country, which was, as it were, between two mill-stones, almost ground to powder. He wished well to reform, and he thought the best way to set this on foot, was, for every man to reform himself. He wished we had paid more devotion to the will of him without whose power we could do nothing. Yet, after all these observations, on the necessity of self-reformation, and our inability to do any thing of ourselves, he trusted that he should not be thought inconsistent in voting for Mr. Grey's motion.

Sir William Geary could not assent to Mr. Grey's proposition, as it was so nearly allied to universal suffrage.

Mr. Milbank wished for a parliamentary reform, as the best means of destroying that confidence in ministers which had produced so many evils in this country.

Sir William Young, after arguing

against the motion, from the common topic of concessions to the people, and encouraging and imbibing demands without end, made an observation on Mr. Grey's plan, which was new, ingenious, solid, and worthy of serious consideration. Though it was intended, by that plan, to enlarge the representation of the small boroughs, yet, he understood, that the great cities and populous towns were to be divided according to their population; in which case, it was obvious, that the metropolis would have a preponderance over all the rest of the kingdom; and become the republic of England, as Paris was of France.

Mr. Barham, though he had been, through life, an advocate for parliamentary reform, objected to Mr. Grey's motion, because, it was not, in his opinion, called for by a majority of the people; and, because, this was not the proper time for agitating the important question. The motion was also opposed by Sir Gregory Page Turner, who "always felt for the constitution, and nothing else, when he got up in the morning, and when he lay down at night." But it was supported by Mr. Smith, Mr. Pollen, Sir William Dolben, and Mr. Fox.

It would carry us far beyond our bounds to give even a brief analysis of Mr. Fox's speech on this occasion. And it is the less necessary to do so, that his sentiments, on the subject of a parliamentary reform, have again and again been set forth in this work, on sundry occasions.

cidedly pronounced that the high price of provisions was owing to forestalling and regrating; to collusion between the salesman and the carcase-butcher, the bill was thrown out of the house, on a motion for its being read a second time on June 29. Other reasons for its rejection were alleged; but the reason that first occurred to Mr. Dundas, we may presume, was none of the weakest.

The following appear to us to be among the most striking and weighty of his observations and arguments in the present debate.—He saw nothing, in what is called the lamentable example of France, to prove to him, that timely acquiescence with the desires of the people was more dangerous than obstinate resistance to their demands. The situations of Great Britain and France were so essentially different, there was so little in common between the character of England at this day, and the character of France at the commencement of the revolution, that it was impossible to reason upon them from parity of circumstances or of character. It had been said, that the house possessed the confidence of the country as much as ever. “This, in truth, said Mr. Fox, is as much as to say, that his majesty’s ministers possess the confidence of the country in the same degree as ever, since the majority of the house support and applaud the measures of the government, and give their countenance to all the evils which we are doomed to endure. Is confidence to be always against the people, and never for them? It is a notable argument, that, because we do not find, at the general election, very material changes in the representation, the sentiments of the people continued the same, in favour of the war, and in favour of his majesty’s ministers. The very ground of the present discussion gives the answer to this argument. Why do we agitate the question of parliamentary reform? Why; but because this house is not a sufficient representation of the people? We must argue from experience. Let us look back to the period of the American war: it be-

came unpopular, and the king’s ministers lost the confidence of the nation; yet, on the general election which followed the dissolution of parliament, in 1780, not more than three or four persons were added to the number of those who had, from the beginning, opposed the disastrous career of the ministers in that war.”

The grand topic of declamation against the minister, and that on which, notwithstanding his defence of changing times and circumstances, he was constantly teased and harried, was, his alleged apostasy, from his professed principles of parliamentary reformation. And that not only by the speakers usually in opposition, but even, in some instances, by others, on the whole, by no means adverse to administration. This instrument of attack, though so common, was not disdained by Mr. Fox; but he wielded it with his usual superiority of address. I remember, said Mr. Fox, that lord North, after the general election just mentioned, made use of the same argument precisely as is now made use of, and the present chancellor of the exchequer made a just and striking use of it to demonstrate the necessity of a parliamentary reform. Referring to the general election, still decidedly in favour of the minister of the day, as to a demonstration of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, he said, “you see, that so defective, so inadequate, is the present practice, at least of the elective franchise, that no impression of national calamity, no conviction of ministerial error, no abhorrence of disastrous war, is sufficient to stand against that corrupt influence which has mixed itself with election, and which drowns the popular voice.”

Upon this statement, and upon this unanswerable argument, the right honourable gentleman acted in the year 1782. When he proposed a parliamentary reform, he did it expressly on the ground of the experience of 1780, and he made an explicit declaration, that we had no other security by which to guard ourselves against the return of the same evils. He repeated this warning in 1785 and in 1788. It was the leading principle of his conduct. "Without a reform," said he, "the nation cannot be safe; this war may be put an end to, but what will protect you against another? As certainly is the fact, which engendered the present war, actuates the fiercest enemies of the crown, will you, under the influence of a defective representation, be involved again in new wars, and in similar calamities?"

This was his argument in 1782, this was his prophecy; and the right honourable gentleman was a true prophet. Precisely as he pronounced it, the event happened; another war took place, and I am sure it will not be considered as an aggravation of its character, that it is at least equal in disaster to the war of which the right honourable gentleman complained. "The defect of representation," he said, "is the national disease; and, unless you apply directly a remedy to that disease, you must inevitably take the consequences with which it is pregnant." With such an authority, can any man deny that I reason right? Did not the right honourable gentleman demonstrate his cat? Good God! what a fate is that of the right honourable gentleman, and in what a state of whimsical contradiction does he stand! During

the whole course of his administration, and particularly during the course of the present war, every prediction that he has made, every hope that he has held out, every prophecy that he has hazarded, has failed; he has disappointed the expectations that he has raised; and every promise that he has given has proved to be a fallacy and a phantom. Yet, for these very declarations, and notwithstanding these failures, we have called him a wise minister. We have given him our confidence on account of his predictions, and have confirmed it upon their failure. Though no one event which he foretold has been verified, we have continued to behold him as the oracle of wisdom! But, in the only instance in which what he really predicted, as if by divine inspiration, has come to pass, in that we have treated him with stubborn incredulity! In 1780, he pronounced the awful prophecy, "without a parliamentary reform the nation will be plunged into new wars; without a parliamentary reform you cannot be safe against bad ministers; nor can even good ministers be of use to you." Such was his prediction! and it has come upon us. It would seem as if the whole life of the right honourable gentleman, from that period, had been destined by Providence for the illustration of his warning. If I were disposed to consider him as a real enthusiast, and a bigot in divination, we might be apt to think that he had himself taken measures for the verification of his prophecy. He might now exclaim to us, with the proud fervour of fools, "you see the consequence of not listening to the oracle! I told you what would happen; it is true that your destruction

is complete: I have plunged you into a new war; I have extended you as a people; I have brought you to the brink of ruin, but I told you beforehand what would happen: I told you, that, without a reform in the representation of the people, no minister, however wise, could save you: you denied my means, and you take the consequence!" I say, not that I was to consider him as a blunder in his doctrine, or that his mind was tainted with superstition, as we have heard of enthusiasts who have been devoted to the redemption of their own people; thus, I should suppose that no right honorable gentleman's conduct could be so unbecomingly shameful, and his measures so absurd, for bringing into a terrible administration his political doctrine with which he commenced his career.

Mr. Grey's motion was rejected, by 288 votes against 12.

The same attack on the measures and apparent views of government was continued in the house of peers. On the thirtieth of May, the duke of Bedford, after reviewing the weak and unperceptive conduct of administration, the barthens, that had been imposed, and the dangers which, from their misconduct, still threatened the nation, moved "that a humble address be presented to his majesty, earnestly soliciting him, by dismissing his present servants, to give to the people of Ireland the strongest proof of his disapprobation of that system of treachery, by which their discontents had been fostered; and of his majesty's intention of securing the connection between the kingdoms, by extending to men of all descriptions, in that oppressed country, the blessings of the constitution, under

which they were born; and, finally, to dismiss from his majesty for ever, those ministers who, by their measures, had incurred the hatred, and whose extravagance had incurred the reproach of all his subjects, to restore the spirit of the British constitution, and to adopt such a system of reformation as was alone consistent with the propriety of an enlightened people." This motion was opposed by the duke of Argyll, as tending not only to making a dangerous motion before the court, but

The duke of Grafton was of opinion, that, if this motion was to be viewed with the same cold indifference which had been shown in common times, and if the same conscience was to be shut to the ministers, he did not think it necessary to trouble their lordships with his remarks thereon; but, before he returned to fortify his own mind against the approaching calumnies, and prepare his family for what they would probably have to undergo. It was a duty incumbent upon him, to lay before his sovereign the reasons for this conduct, trusting himself that he should be showed that gracious hearing which his majesty had so often given to one, from whose lips he never heard but the dictates of the heart, as sincerely as they were now delivered to their lordships. His grace, in viewing the distressful and dangerous state of the nation, took notice of the desertion of our allies; the stoppage of payment in specie at the bank; the blood and treasure sacrificed at St. Domingo; and the improvidence of ministers in not anticipating the pecuniary demands of the season, when, in consideration of the high price of provisions, considerable indulgences had been

granted to the soldiers: but, that which appeared to his grace to be the greatest subject of alarm, was, the critical state of Ireland; in which kingdom, if a temperate reform in parliament did not take place, and a full emancipation of the catholics, with a total change of the men who now conducted affairs in that country, we should soon see it added to the list of republics, which our fatal measures had so largely contributed to erect all over Europe: with this consequence, that, if a revolution took place in Ireland, it would evidently produce a revolution in Great Britain.

Lord Romney differed from the noble duke in every sentiment, except in the sincerity which he professed. One passage, in the proposed motion, he thought, might produce the most pernicious consequences; namely, that in which it was styled an oppressed country. What would the Irish say, if this address should be voted, and the sentiments of that house, that it was so, declared to all the world?

The earl of Guildford beseeched their lordships to weigh well the side on which they gave their approbation this evening. It was an important crisis, big with the fate of empires. The earl of Suffolk, too, supported the motion, as a step towards the salvation of the country.

The marquis of Lansdowne said, that he had come to the house, on that day, prepossessed with an idea, that some notice would be given by ministers, that a negotiation had commenced between this country and France; though, he confessed, he had no ground for the supposition but public report. He was utterly

at a loss to devise what could retard such overtures. We had no longer the opening of the Scheldt to resist; the fate of the low countries was decided: deserted by our allies, we had only to consider our own interest. The cause of the silence of the ministers was, therefore, to him, inexplicable. He trusted they had not the madness to make Austria renew the contest. He expected to have heard, that the bank of Vienna, on the return of peace, would have resumed its payments; and, that not only the interest of the money we had lent to the emperor would have been punctually paid, but that the capital would have been gradually repaid. Not one word had the secretary uttered upon this point. He even smiled at the idea of having cheated the country out of six millions of money. And it deserved to be so cheated, whilst it submitted to be taxed in light and air, without one remonstrance. He recommended it to ministers, to declare their readiness to negotiate; which, if it served no other purpose, would at least solve a problem, never yet solved: what had been the real object of the war? He declared, on the best authority, that Ireland was in a state of imminent danger.

Lord Grenville was satisfied, that the melancholly tone of distress imputed to the country began and ended with the lords who supported the motion. It seemed to be a thing assumed by those who supported the motion, that the removal of ministers would be grateful to the public mind. But, would it be equally grateful to the public mind, if they themselves were to occupy their places? Was it not apparent, that the measures of his majesty's
ministers

ministers were not only acquiesced in, but generally popular? Had not the war been approved of by a vast majority of the country, and prosecuted, through all its various stages, with the concurring and most decisive approbation of parliament? Was it not to his majesty's ministers that the country was indebted for the prevention of that anarchy to which the language of those who opposed them so strongly tended? When he considered the present situation of public affairs, and turned his thoughts to all the consequences likely to result from a base and servile compliance with the leading doctrines of the day, he should boldly say, that his majesty's ministers would not tamely desert that honourable post, which they had hitherto so happily filled, by directing all their efforts to the ease, contentment, and happiness, of the people. He confessed, that, were the motion to be carried in the affirmative, it would impart to him the most serious concern and regret: not on his own personal account, but, that he would, thereby, be cut off from the best opportunities of contributing his talents, such as they were, to the security, interest, and happiness, of his gracious master and his country. It would not, indeed, become him, he said, to make any comparison between his own capacity and that of any of the noble lords who uniformly opposed his majesty's ministers: but, on the ground of an active zeal for the real interests of the state, and of a decided and unalterable resolution to oppose, by the most unwearied exertions and the most vigorous efforts, those principles which struck at the very existence of the constitution, he would be

bold to maintain, that he was second to none. As to a reform of parliament, the chief measure proposed by noble lords in opposition, he had ever opposed that innovation, and even a temperate reform. He concluded by intreating their lordships to reflect, that, if they once opened the flood-gates of innovation, the torrent of anarchy would spread so forcibly and wide, that it would not be in the power of their lordships, by opposing their feeble hands as a barrier to destruction, to prevent the constitution from being overwhelmed in general ruin.

The duke of Leeds, with a dignified modesty and candour, expressed, in delicate terms, a degree of dissatisfaction at the lofty tone of the speech the house had just heard; at the same time, that he did not wish, at the present crisis, to urge all that might be advanced against the conduct of administration. The abilities of the present ministers, he was ready to allow, nor would he say that they had been intentionally wicked. He could not help conceiving, however, that they had been peculiarly unfortunate, and therefore, he begged leave to submit to the re-consideration of the right honourable secretary, whether it would not be more delicate and decorous to leave the talk of praising either their own talents or virtues, to others, than taking it, and that, he could not but say, on so many occasions, particularly in that house, upon themselves. He could not help conceiving that the noble secretary had, as it were, made the constitution depend for preservation, not so much upon its own intrinsic merit, as upon the continuance of the present ministers
in

in office: with which, the constitution itself, according to their representations, seemed to be, in some degree, identified. For his part, he was convinced, it did not depend on any set of men whatever. His grace entreated both sides of the house, in the most earnest manner, to proceed calmly in the discussion of a question which involved consequences of the utmost importance. His grace disapproved of parliamentary reform at the present moment, and expressed a wish that the previous question were moved, but declined moving it.

Lord Grenville admitted, that others, perhaps, might be found of equal ability with the present ministers, of whom, however, he did not conceive that he could be considered as the panegyrist, when he did them no more than bare justice. The ground of his opposition to the present motion, as he had stated before, was a serious conviction that it was the object of some noble lords, by overturning the present administration, to bring about a revolution in the country.

The earl of Moira, for one, was not disposed to ascribe to ministers that prosperity which arose from the progress of affairs, particularly of mechanical invention, and the energy of British merchants, whose genius and enterprising spirit would constantly carry the country forward from one degree of prosperity to another, if administration did not put bars in their way. The noble secretary of state had opposed the motion lest the constitution should be overturned. But, said lord Moira, "I shall ever object to this mode of argument, as

it identifies the present ministers with the constitution, and tends to sink the confidence of the country in its own resources, and in the frame and form of its government. With regard to Ireland, he hoped it was not yet too late to conciliate: but this could not be done by any half measures.

The earl Spencer objected to the motion on the same ground with lord Grenville; namely, that it connected its object with a change of measures, which, he firmly believed, would prove ruinous to the country.

The earl of Darnley said, the country dreaded the adoption of such a motion, not knowing in whom to repose confidence. An uniformity of opposition to every measure of administration, whatever it might be, with other circumstances of a private as well as public nature, had induced a general suspicion throughout the country, that the most active oppositionists had other views than the preservation of the constitution and interests of the country.

The duke of Bedford, to the main arguments against his motion, made a short reply.

The lord chancellor said, the only fair construction the motion could bear, was, that it aimed at an introduction of a new system of government. Having read that part of the motion which related to the situation of Ireland, he asked, whether it was to be imputed as a matter of crimination to ministers, that they did not attempt to interfere with the Irish legislature, and to violate a solemn compact made with the people of that country. From the general tenour
of

of the motion, he inferred that its object was to promote a complete change of system, under the pretext of forwarding a parliamentary reform; that it led to a system wider than even that of universal suffrage: to disfranchise all corporations—to empower the house of commons to uncreate their creators—and to destroy the rights of the very men who made them members of parliament: ecclesiastical corporations would go of course. Whatever partook of the nature of franchise property, or privilege, would be cut up by the root, and

the principle of an Agrarian law introduced in its stead.

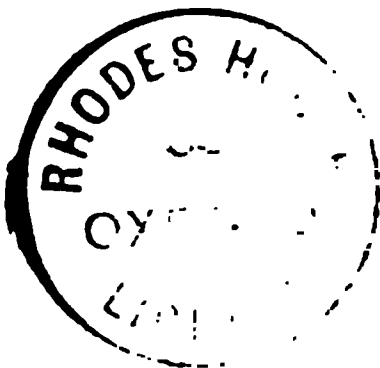
The duke of Bedford observed that there was a fallacy in comparing an elective franchise, a right possessed by individuals for the good of the whole, to private property. After this the house divided on his grace's motion. Contents 14, not contents 91.

The duke of Bedford then entered his protest, which was adhered to by the lord Chedworth.

The session of parliament was concluded, by a speech from the throne, on the twentieth of July.

ERRATA TO THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

Page	2,	Col. 2,	last Line, <i>for potentates, read countries.</i>
	7,	1,	Line 9, <i>for those, read these.</i>
	8,	2,	near bottom, <i>for Serrarier, read Serrurier.</i>
	10,	1,	Line 30, <i>after surrend a full stop, and four lines below, after city, only a comma.</i>
	10,	2,	Line 17, f. b. <i>for at, read to.</i>
	12,	2,	23, <i>for smallest, read small.</i>
	14,	2,	20, <i>for they, read the enemy.</i>
	38,	1,	21, <i>for unreasonable, read unseasonable.</i>
	44,	2,	19, f. b. <i>for formerly, read formally.</i>
	46,	1,	9, <i>for stimulated, read stipulated.</i>
	46,	2,	3, <i>for acquisition, read acquisitions.</i>
	46,	2,	23, <i>for effect, read affect.</i>
	62,	2,	2, f. b. <i>for Schrer, read Schrærer.</i>
	127,	1,	17, <i>for expedition, read expeditions.</i>
	148,	2,	13, <i>for 1797, read 1796.</i>
	154,	1,	30, <i>for Autæus, read Antæus.</i>
	165,	1,	1, <i>after like, insert as men they could trust.</i>
	184,	2,	32, <i>for ancienne, read ancien.</i>



CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

3d. **A** Considerable change has taken place in the position of the stones which form an extraordinary relic of the ancient superstitions of our countrymen. This is attributed to the rapid thaw which succeeded a very hard frost. Some people employed at the plough, near *Stonehenge*, remarked that three of the large stones had fallen, and were apprized of the time of their fall by a very sensible concussion, or jarring, of the ground. These stones prove to be the western of those pairs, with their imposts, which have had the appellation of *Trilithon*; and had long deviated from its true perpendicular. There were, originally, five of these trilithons, two of which are even now still remaining in their ancient state. It is remarkable, that no account has ever been recorded of the falling of the others; and, perhaps, no alteration has been made in the appearance of *Stonehenge* for three centuries prior to the present tremendous downfall. The impost, which is the smallest of the three stones, is supposed to weigh 20 tons. They all now lie prostrate on the ground, and have received no injury from their aerial separation. They fell flat westward, and levelled with the ground a stone also of the second circle.

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that stood in the line of their precipitation. From the lower ends of the supporters being now exposed to view, their prior depth in the ground is satisfactorily ascertained: it appears to have been about six feet. The ends, however, having been cut oblique, neither of them was, on one side, more than a foot and a half deep. Two only of the five trilithons, of which the *adytum* consisted, are now, therefore, in their original position. The destruction of any part of this grand oval we must particularly lament, as it was composed of the most stupendous materials of the whole structure.---A similar change of weather occasioned the disclosure of a subterraneous passage at Old Sarum in 1795.

The new Emperor of Russia has issued an order enjoining all foreigners in Petersburg to wear cocked hats, their hair in bags, &c. and not to drive through the city with more than two horses. With respect to the mourning for the Empress, the four first classes of people must furnish their servants with sables, every coach must have the same covering, and horses, without distinction of colour, be provided with black tails. The Emperor has also given orders that the pension of Stanislaus, late king of Poland, shall be paid with the utmost punctuality. This unfortunate

A

Prince

Prince is still at Grodno.—The wearing of any gold or silver upon the uniforms of the military is prohibited.—The Order of St. Ann is divided into three classes: it is also settled that every soldier who shall have served twenty-five years shall be exempted from military punishment, and rewarded with a medal of the Order of St. Ann.—All the troops that were at Gatschina with the Emperor, before his accession to the throne, have been incorporated into the Life-Guards.

The following fact gives a melancholy instance of the mortality which still rages in the island of St. Domingo:—Twenty officers of different corps agreed to meet at a tavern to dine that day week; when the time came, only eight assembled, the other twelve being carried off, in that short interval, by the pestilential disorder of the climate!

7th. This being the day appointed for enrolling the Supplementary Militia at Carlisle, a numerous mob assembled to prevent its being put into execution. They went to the Town Clerk, and got from him the balloting books and lists, which they carried off in triumph, and burnt at the Cross, amidst the loudest acclamations. They then went to the Clerk of the Peace, being informed that he had in custody some books of a similar description, but which was not the case. He found it prudent to go out to the street, to prevent their forcing the office. They then carried him to the High Constable's, from thence to the Town-Clerk's, and then to Captain Foster's, a magistrate. The mob, which consisted of 1000 at least, then allowed him to make his escape unhurt. We have not heard

of any personal injury having been sustained by any one.

The gentlemen who served at the last assizes, on special juries for Northumberland, gave their fees, amounting to twenty-nine guineas, to be applied to the release of persons confined in Morpeth gaol for small debts, three of whom have, in consequence, been released for 29l. 8s. and the remaining guinea was given in butcher's meat to the debtors in the same gaol on Wednesday last.

Hague, Jan. 2. A dreadful inundation has taken place at Bois le Duc, where the water is so high in the town, that a horse could scarce get through it without danger of being drowned. Poverty and distress have arisen to the highest pitch. A can of milk is sold at ten stivers, and nobody can leave the town without exposing their lives to the most imminent danger. From every part of the country signals of distress are heard from the villages by the discharge of guns; and nobody can approach those districts which are probably under water. We speedily expect further news respecting those dreadful disasters.

The Clerks of the Bank had to make out 80,000 receipts, preparatory to the present payment of the consols dividends.

8th. The steeple of Horningtoft church, near Norwich, fell down while the bell was ringing for divine service. Fortunately no farther mischief was done, and no lives lost.

10th. The following curious article is extracted from one of the Paris papers:—Citizen Finot, President of the Provisional Administration of the department of the Yonne, formerly a hussar at Avrolles,

rolles, and afterwards a member of the National Convention, has found the means of multiplying, by a single alliance (not indeed a very common one) his kindred and family connexions.—He married, as his first wife, the female Citizen Bribot, widow of Rose, by whom she had a daughter, now living, named Mary Ann Rose. The President Finot had, by this widow, another daughter, who is also now living. His wife died, and, on the 14th of January last, he married his daughter-in-law, Mary Ann Rose. The consequence of this marriage is, that the president becomes the son-in-law of his first wife, the father-in-law of his second wife, and brother-in-law of his own daughter. Madame Finot becomes the mother-in-law of her sister. If Madame Finot contributes any little Finots to the Republic, Monsieur Finot will be both their father and grandfather; and the first Miss Finot will be their aunt and sister.

The following statement of the American finances has lately been officially made to the House of Representatives :

	Dollars.
Amount of the debt —	76,096,468
The interest of which is	3,143,753
The annual amount of the taxes	6,552,300
The annual expenditure	5,681,843
Surplus of the revenue, after deducting all expences - -	870,457

The Emperor of China, many years ago, signified to his subjects, that if he should live to reign fifty years, he would relinquish his crown. Having extended his reign to that period, he has actually resigned his sovereignty in favour of his fifteenth son.

11. About noon, a melancholy accident happened in Liverpool-harbour. As Mr. Slack, deputy constable, was conveying a party of volunteers, raised in Manchester and the adjacent parishes, for the navy, the boat in which they were proceeding to the tender overfet, by which fatal accident twenty-five persons lost their lives.

BRITISH NAVAL FORCE

AT PRESENT IN COMMISSION.

Ships of the Line,	—	124
— of fifty Guns	—	18
Frigates	—	150
Sloops	—	184

Total 506

At present building,—Twenty-two ships of the line, three fifties, and nine frigates. The receiving-ships, — those serviceable and repairing for service, with those in ordinary, amount to twenty-six ships of the line, three fifties, thirty frigates, and fifty-six sloops. This statement is exclusive of the hired armed vessels.

Some of the single Plays of Shakespeare, belonging to the late Mr. Dodd the actor, were sold at the following prices:

The second part of Henry IV. printed by Andrew Wise and William Aspley, 1606, 3l. 8s.—The Midsummer Night's Dream, 1l. 18s.—King John, printed by Valentine Sims, for Helme, 1611, 1. 16s.—Richard II. printed by Purfoot and Law, 1621, 1l. 13s.—Richard III. printed by Matthew Law, 1615, 1l.—Abraham Frances's Countesse of Pembroke's Yuychurch, 1591, 4l 7s.—Some of the most curious were purchased by Mr. Nicol, for the King; among the rest, a comedy, entitled, "Gammer Gurton's Frolicks," printed in 1485, fourteen

* A 2

years

years after printing was introduced into England, in 1471, by Caxton, when the first printing-house was erected in Westminster. Also an Operatical Interlude, printed in 1658, and performed in honour of Admiral Blake, during the Protectorate, entitled, "The Course of Sir Francis Drake, illustrated with Musical Sonnets and Scenical Decorations, as acted at the Cockpit, Drury-lane."

12. *Edinburgh.* At seven in the morning, the River Clyde, above the celebrated Fall of Corra, deserted its usual course, leaving its bed below, for four hours, almost entirely dry. The cotton-mills of New Lanerk were consequently stopped; and at eleven o'clock, when the waters resumed their course, there was less at Mauldslee Ford, some miles below, than what the small rivers, the Mous and Nethan, commonly afford. Although this is the fourth instance of the same kind in remembrance, and the second since the establishment of the mills, the cause has not been ascertained. It is, however, supposed that the waters have found a subterraneous passage between the Bonnyton and the Corra Linn.

21. This night, at 11 o'clock, a cottage at Newton Ferners, about eleven miles from Plymouth, in which slept an industrious widow (cottager) and her two children, was overwhelmed by the bursting of a very large field and orchard on a hill above the cottage, in Memblard-lane. It totally destroyed the cottage and a barn, and suffocated the widow and her two children, who were found dead under a very great heap of earth, elm-trees, and cedar-trees. A large chasm in the field above the cot-

tage was found, out of which issued a rivulet of water. The farmers imagine it was owing to the bursting of a spring that this melancholy accident happened. The bodies were dug out on Monday; and Mr. Whitford, coroner for the southern district of Devon, took an inquisition, and the jury returned a verdict, "Accidental Death."

23. The Emperor of Russia has conferred on Prince Repnin the rank of General Field Marshal. Baron Ungern, Prince Gallitzin, and M. Gudowitz and Ismailow, formerly Adjutants to the late Peter III. have been appointed Generals. — Count Buxhoven has been made Lieutenant-General and Colonel of a regiment. Prince Kurakin, Vice-Chancellor, has received the order of Saint Andrew; and his Majesty has presented him with the palace of Saint Marcaff, which cost 100,000 rubles. — Prince Nicholas Gallitzin, and M. Terky Rastapine, Potemkin, and Plechischnejev, have lately been made Knights of the Order of Saint Ann.

25. At the Quarter Sessions held at Bourn, for the district of Kesteven, in the county of Lincoln, Joseph Tye, a blacksmith, was found guilty of using several seditious expressions; such as "*D——n to the K——g:—the K——g is a rascal, and all that belong to him: his G——t is a rascally despotic G——t: K——gs are of no use, &c. &c.*"

His sentence was, that he should be kept in solitary confinement, without seeing or speaking to any person, except the person who takes him his victuals, for the space of twelve months; and, at the expiration of that time to enter into certain recognizances.

We learn from papers published by

by Mr. Palmer, Comptroller General of the Post Office, relative to the agreement made by Government with him for the reform and improvement of the posts, the following essential services have been rendered by him to that revenue establishment.

1. That his plan has increased in a few years the revenue of the Post Office, from 150,000*l.* to upwards of 400,000*l.* per ann.

2. That in consequence of the expedition, regularity, and safety given to the posts by his plan, a further additional tax has been levied on letters of 250,000*l.* a year, and 60,000 a year for the same advantages derived from his plan to travellers.

3. And that he has reduced the expenditure of the establishment in the proportion of the following comparative scale, of gross and net produce for the years 1724 and 1793.

Gross produce.	Net produce.
1724. 178,071 <i>l.</i> 16 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i>	96,339 <i>l.</i> 7 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i>
1793. 627,592 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i>	391,508 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 11 <i>d.</i>

The law of the Tythe of Hops was clearly laid down in the court of Exchequer, in the long depending cause between the Lay Improprator and Hop Planters of the Farnham district, viz. That tythes of hops are legally to be taken from the tenth bushel, after they are picked, and not from the tenth hill set out: and the court unanimously ordered the verdict of a jury, founded on a contrary idea, to be set aside, and a new trial granted.

Some presents from the king of the island of Owhyhee in the South Seas, where Capt. Cook met his death, brought over by Capt. Vancouver, have been presented to the King at Buckingham-house by the Duke of Portland; the principal of

which consists of two state garments and an helmet, or crown. Of the former, one is wholly made of otter skin, in a very ingenious manner. The other is of the cloth of the country, covered with feathers of birds, so constructed as by a single move of the hand alternately to display red or yellow. The helmet is of otter-skin, covered with feathers in a very masterly manner.

12th. A plot for the liberty of the prisoners at Porchester-Castle, Portsmouth, has been discovered. The following are some particulars relating to that affair. A large hole had been dug under one of the prisons, and a passage nearly completed to the outside of the walls of the castle when an information was given. At a given time in the evening, after the prisoners were all locked up in their different apartments, it was agreed that the officers on guard, and a sufficient number of soldiers, should rush in among them and discover the prisoners at work. This was done, and some men were taken out of the subterraneous passage. Shortly after, an alarm was given in another quarter, and a prisoner was detected making his escape through a broken part of the walls of the castle. The prisoners, from this disappointment, grew riotous and very refractory, and continued so the whole of the night, keeping in lighted candles, singing republican songs, and behaving in a disorderly and alarming manner, so much so that it was found necessary to fire some ball-cartridges amongst them. This was attended with no other effect than procuring order and silence for a short time. On the next morning disorder and tumult again prevailed, the centinels were insult-

ed on their duty, and it became necessary to make some example.— One man, in attempting to get out from one of the ventilators at the top of the building, was shot thro' the back; the ball was obstructed by the shoulder-blade, and went out at the neck; the wound, however, is not mortal. Very soon after, more provocation was given, and another Frenchman was shot through the heart;—he died of course instantaneously. If the plan had been attended with success, the intention was to have murdered such of the centinels as came in their way.

A coroner's inquest who sat upon the body of the prisoner who was shot, brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide. The unfortunate man was a sailor, taken in the republican frigate *Le Jacobin*, in the West Indies; his name Augustine Bonnette.

19th. The dissensions which for a great number of years past have agitated the borough of East Retford, have at length terminated in consequence of a late decision of the court of King's Bench, that all bye laws shall be *ipso facto* invalid which take upon them to enact matters which contradict or oppose the charter.

31st. About six this evening, as the Earl of Strathmore was proceeding in a post-chaise near Finchley-common, the chaise in which were his Lordship and a French nobleman, was stopped by two highwaymen, one of whom came up to the window, and presented a pistol to his Lordship, which he attempted to fire, but it flashed in the pan; at the same instant his Lordship discharged a piece at the robber, which shot him in the neck,

and he directly fell from his horse and expired. His companion made off with the greatest precipitation, leading off with him the horse on which his comrade had rode. On inspection of the body it turns out to be that of William Lancaster, a very old offender, and who was liberated only on Monday last, having been confined on a charge of robbing Lord Borringdon near Putney. When he met with his death he was disguised as a butcher.

Mr. O'Connor has just published an address to the electors of the county of Antrim, in Ireland, of very great length, in answer to some insinuations recently thrown out against his character by the supposed agents of government. That this production contains a greater portion of democratic intemperance than true patriotic spirit, must appear to every dispassionate man who reads the following imprudent and dangerous passage:—

“On the scale of British fraternity, let her hirelings boast of British connection. On this scale of British fraternity, may my country no more be cursed with the friendship of Britain! Too long a tyrant, she forgets her dominion has ceased. Too long her slaves, we must shew her we are resolved to be free! Had she ceased to maintain power by the accursed means of fomenting religious dissension; had she ceased to support factions, usurpers, and traitors; had she abandoned the false, illiberal notion that she gained more by our depression than by our exaltation; had she treated us like brothers and friends, I may with confidence affirm, a more affectionate, generous ally never existed, than she would have found Ireland to her.

her. But if the existing fraternity, my fellow citizens, be the bonds by which you wish a connection with Britain, I am not a delegate fit for your choice; for though I stood alone in the Commons of Ireland, I would move the repeal of every law which binds us to England on those or on any such terms. I will neither be conquered by England or France; nor are we any more bound to a disadvantageous alliance to one than we are to the other; and before England, the factions of Ireland, and the administration, I speak it, if it is more the true interest of Ireland to form an alliance with France than with England, she is free to adopt it."

He has been since arrested on a charge of having published a seditious libel against the government.

DIED lately at Copenhagen, of a scarlet fever, Henry Callisen M. D. professor of surgery in the university of Copenhagen, and surgeon in chief of the Danish fleet, &c. author of several papers inserted by the Medical Society of Copenhagen in their Transactions; and of an elementary work intitled, "*Principia Systematis Chirurgiæ hodiernæ*," published at Copenhagen in 1788, 8vo.

7th. Aged about 70, Mr. Richard Adams, gardener at East Sheen, in Surry, who cultivated 40 acres of asparagus for the London market, and has been known to receive 300l. in one day for this article in Covent-garden.

13th. At Berlin the queen dowager of Prussia.

F E B R U A R Y.

2d. A motion was carried in the Common Council for an address to

his Majesty on the abrupt termination of the late negotiation, and pledging the resources of the corporation of London in the vigorous prosecution of the war.

10th. The six original pictures of Hogarth's Marriage a-la-Mode, once belonging to Col. Cawthorne, were sold by auction for 1000 guineas to Mr. Angerstein.

The Speaker of the House of Representatives officially announced that Mr. Adams was elected president of the United States, by a majority of three votes. The numbers were, for Mr. Adams, 71; for Mr. Jefferson, 68. The latter has accepted the office of vice-president.

11th. The court of King's Bench passed sentence of two years imprisonment and hard labour upon Mr. John Smith, a bookseller in Lincoln's Inn Fields, who had been found guilty of selling an obscure political pamphlet, entitled "*The Rights of Citizenship*."

14th. Sir John Jervis, with fifteen sail of the line, attacked the Spanish fleet, consisting of twenty-seven sail of the line, off Cape St. Vincent, and captured four of them; in which action there were 300 killed and wounded on board the British fleet, and 603 on board the four Spanish ships which were taken.

20th. On account of the extraordinary run upon the northern country banks for specie, they have been most of them constrained to stop the payment of it for the present. The following hand-bill has been circulated on the occasion at Newcastle:—

"Newcastle, Feb. 20, 1797.

"As the very great demand for gold, which has continued for some time,

time, to be pressed upon all the Banks in this town, makes it necessary that an extraordinary quantity of specie should be brought into the country, Messrs. Ridley, Waddington, and Co. Surtees, Burdon, and Co. Loraine, Baker, and Co. and Ralph J. Lambton, J. Bulman, and Co. respectfully inform the public, that they intend to take immediate measures for that purpose; and they earnestly hope that any further call upon them for gold will be suspended in the mean time, till they can obtain a supply adequate to the occasion.

“A meeting of the wholesale Tradesmen of Newcastle and Gateshead, is requested to be held at Turner's this evening, at seven o'clock.

“Newcastle, Feb. 20, 1797.

“In consequence of public notice, a numerous meeting of the principal tradesmen in this town was held this day at Turner's Inn, to consider of the most proper means of removing the inconvenience that may be experienced in trade during the temporary suspension of payment in specie at the different Banks,—It was resolved,

“That we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, will receive the notes of all the Banks here in payment as usual.

“That the chairman be empowered to call another meeting, if he shall deem it necessary.

“And, That these resolutions be printed and distributed, and a copy be left at the Exchange for additional signatures.”

(Signed, &c.)

21st. Trinidad, taken by the Squadron and troops under Admiral Harvey and Sir R. Abercromby, who also captured the San Domingo,

of 74 guns, and the Santa Cecilia, of 36; the Spaniards, at the same time, burnt one ship of 84 and two of 74 in the harbour.

25th. The following letter was this day sent to the Lord Mayor of London:—

“My lord, I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that intelligence has been received that two French frigates, a corvette and a lugger, appeared off the East of Pembrokeshire, on the 22d instant, and on the evening of that day disembarked some troops (reported by deserters to be about 1200 men, but without field-pieces.) Every exertion had been made by the Lord Lieutenant and gentlemen of that county and its neighbourhood for taking the proper steps on this occasion; and the greatest zeal and loyalty has been shewn by all ranks of people. Immediately on an account having been received at Plymouth of this force having appeared in the Bristol Channel, frigates were dispatched from Plymouth in quest of them. I have the honour to be, &c.

PORTLAND.”

Advice has been since received that the French troops, mentioned in the preceding letter, surrendered at discretion to Lord Cawdor.

27th. The following notice was this day given from the Bank of England, Feb. 27, 1797.

“In consequence of an order of his Majesty's Privy Council notified to the Bank last night, a copy of which is hereunto annexed.

“The governor, deputy governor, and directors of the Bank of England, think it their duty to inform the proprietors of the Bank Stock, as well as the Public at large, that

that the general concerns of the Bank are in the most affluent and prosperous situation, and such as to preclude every doubt as to the security of its notes. The directors mean to continue their usual discounts for the accommodation of the commercial interest, paying the amount in bank-notes; and the dividend-warrants will be paid in the same manner.

“FRANCIS MARTIN, Sec.”

“At the council chamber, Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1797. By the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

Present, the Lord Chancellor, Lord President, Duke of Portland, Marquis Cornwallis, Earl Spencer, Earl of Liverpool, Lord Grenville, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

“Upon the representation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stating, that from the result of the information which he has received, and of the enquiries which it has been his duty to make respecting the effect of the unusual demands for specie that have been made upon the metropolis, in consequence of the ill-founded or exaggerated alarms in different parts of the country, it appears that, unless some measure is immediately taken, there may be reason to apprehend a want of a sufficient supply of cash to answer the exigencies of the public service. It is the unanimous opinion of the Board, that it is indispensably necessary for the public service, that the directors of the Bank of England should forbear issuing any cash in payment, until the sense of parliament can be taken on that subject, and the proper measures adopted thereon for maintaining the means of circulation, and supporting the public and

commercial credit of the kingdom at this important conjuncture: And it is ordered that a copy of this minute be transmitted to the directors of the Bank of England; and they are hereby required, on the grounds of the exigency of the case, to conform thereto until the sense of parliament can be taken as aforesaid. (Signed) W. FAWKENER.”

This day, at 12 o'clock, a meeting of the most opulent merchants in London, and of all the bankers, was held at the Mansion-House, when the following resolution passed unanimously:—“At a meeting of merchants, bankers, &c. held here this day, to consider of the steps which it may be proper to take, to prevent embarrassments to public credit, from the effect of any ill-founded or exaggerated alarms; and to support it with the utmost exertions at the present important conjuncture, resolved unanimously, We, the undersigned, being highly sensible how necessary the preservation of public credit is at this time, do most readily hereby declare, that we will not refuse to receive Bank-notes in payment of any sum of money to be paid to us, and will use our utmost endeavours to make all our payments in the same manner.” It was also the opinion of the meeting, that the bankers should all agree only to pay the fractional parts of drafts in specie, so that every person might remain on an equality.

In consequence of some words which fell in a recent debate in the Irish House of Lords, from Lord Blaney, concerning the emigrant officers who command the Irish brigades, the Duke De Fitz-James, a ci-devant French nobleman of very high honour, conceiving himself insulted

insulted by what had fallen from the noble Lord, sent him a challenge a few days since; on which a meeting took place in the Phoenix Park, where each discharged a case of pistols. The Duke was grazed by a ball in the side, and Lord Blaney had part of his hat shot away by the fire of his antagonist. The seconds then interfered, and an amicable explanation took place.—The Duke De Fitz-James became indisposed shortly after, and was politely visited by Lord Blaney. The latter nobleman served on the continent, under the Duke of York, and received a slight wound in one of the engagements in Flanders.

At Mr. Trumbull's sale of pictures, Mr. West made several purchases for the King. Among these were Deijenara and the Centaur, 588l. A Landscape, with figures and cattle, by Berghem, 945l. and the Virgin, Christ, and St. John, by Raphael, 892l. The whole collection, containing 91 pictures, sold for 8,217l. 17s.

On Friday evening, about seven o'clock, a dreadful fire broke out in a warehouse near the Old Dock, Liverpool, belonging to Mr. Walton, which, with the whole of its contents, consisting of a large quantity of manufactured cotton goods, was totally destroyed in about two hours; but, by the very great exertions of a number of gentlemen, and others, aided by the assistance of the firemen, the adjoining drug-warehouse of Messrs. Welsh and Sinclair, the roof of which had at one time caught fire, was preserved, with little damage.

Mr. Colquhoun, in his Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis, states, that there is a class of female sharpeners, who dress elegantly, per-

fonate women of fashion, and even go to St. James's.—“The wife of “a well-known sharper, now upon “the town (says he) is said to have “appeared at court, dressed in a “style of peculiar elegance, while “the sharper himself is supposed to “have gone in the dress of a clergyman. According to the information of a noted receiver, they “pilfered to the value of 1700l. on “the King's birth-day, in 1795, “without discovery or suspicion.”

Sir Godfrey Webster obtained a sentence of separation against his wife, in Doctors Commons, on Thursday, for adultery with Lord Holland. The charges upon which the divorce was founded, and to which L. Webster made no defence, were in substance as follows:—

“That Sir Godfrey and Lady Webster, in the beginning of the year 1795, were at Florence, together with their three children, and that Lord Holland visited them, in common with others, until the month of February, at which time Sir Godfrey had occasion to return to England, in consequence of the death of Richard Vassall, Esq. his father-in-law, leaving Lady Webster behind him, who, from being with child, could not travel:—That Lord Holland continued his visits to Lady Webster during the absence of Sir Godfrey, who did not return again to Florence, but remained in England: That Lady Webster made several excursions in the absence of Sir Godfrey, to Padua, Vienna, &c. &c. in which she was accompanied by Lord Holland; and in June 1796 they arrived at Cruxhaven, on their way to England: That they lived together at the same inn at Cruxhaven for six days, carrying on adulterous intercourse, and took their passage home
by

by the same vessel: That they arrived at Yarmouth in the same month, and immediately proceeded to London. On their arrival there Lady Webster ordered her coachman to drive to the house of a lady in Albemarle-street, where she saw Sir Godfrey, and where she remained some time, but refused to sleep with him: her maid-servant constantly slept in her room, who deposed that during her lady's stay in Albemarle-street, neither Sir Godfrey nor any other person slept with her: That on her quitting Albemarle-street, she went to reside in ready-furnished apartments in Brompton-row, and slept in a two-pair of stairs room in which there was only one bed: That Lord Holland visited Lady Webster at these apartments, slept in the same bed with her, and they lived together in this place in all respects as man and wife until the month of August last, at which time they removed to Brompton-Park, where they have ever since resided: That on the 6th day of November last, Lady Webster was delivered by Dr. Crofts of a full-grown infant, at Brompton-Park: That Lady Webster had frequently acknowledged the child to be Lord Holland's, and that Lord Holland had paid the usual fees to Dr. Crofts, and had ever since maintained the child as his own.

Sir Godfrey has since obtained 6000*l.* damages against Lord Holland; who, immediately after the divorce had taken place, married Lady Webster.

Last week a most shocking murder was committed on the body of Mr. Wood of Brownhills, near Newcastle, in Staffordshire, by a Mr. Oliver, an apothecary in Bur-
lem, near the same place. It ap-

pears that the latter paid his addresses to one of Mr. Wood's daughters; but having been dismissed the house by the old gentleman, formed the desperate resolution of shooting him. On Friday last he went to Mr. Wood with a brace of loaded pistols, saying, "I am come to die with you," and immediately shot him in the body: he then attempted to shoot himself, but was prevented. Mr. Wood died in great agonies on Monday; and Oliver is committed to Stafford gaol to take his trial at the next assizes.

DIED. 1st. Shot himself in the westporch of Westminster-Abbey, Col. Frederick. The coroner's jury on the 3d returned a verdict of Lunacy. On the 6th, at noon, his remains were brought in a hearse to St. Ann's, Soho, attended by two mourning coaches. Several gentlemen attended in the church, and followed the bier to the grave. The body was deposited at the west end of the church, close by his father, King Theodore. About an hour before the solemnity, a respectable person desired that the following character, in a fair handwriting, might be placed upon the church wall:—

" Here lie
the shattered remains of Col. Frederick, son of Theodore King
of Corsica.

In his deportment he was a finished gentleman;

In honour, honesty, and truth,
he was princely;

he was poor in circumstances, but rich in the possession of a most liberal heart.

The greatest distress he laboured under, was the want of ability to relieve the distresses of others.

God be with him."

3d. Shot

3d. Shot himself, at his house at Debbenhall, Essex, Richard Muilman Trench Chiswell, Esq. member of parliament for the borough of Aldborough, in the county of York. This melancholy suicide was occasioned by a chain of unsuccessful speculations on West India estates, &c. at the commencement of the war. Previous to his unfortunate entrance into parliament, and the connections thence arising, Mr. Chiswell was confessedly worth near a million sterling. About a year and a half since, there were unfavourable rumours upon a change respecting his paper credit; since which time his spirits were evidently depressed. On the morning of the catastrophe, he destroyed some particular papers, and then fastening his dressing-room door, discharged a brace of balls from a pistol through his head. His valet hearing the report, immediately forced open the door, and found him expiring. Mr. Chiswell has left a wife and an only daughter, now the widow of the late Sir Francis Vincent, Bart. a few years since ambassador at Venice, by whom she had one son, now Sir Richard Vincent Bart. an accomplished youth, about seventeen years of age, who was in an adjoining room when the fatal accident happened. Mr. Chiswell possessed a landed estate in Essex of near 2000*l.* per ann. He has left a will, in which he makes Mrs. Chiswell sole executrix. A coroner's inquest, composed of the principal gentlemen in that quarter of the county of Essex, sat on the body a few days since, and, after considerable deliberation, brought in their verdict Lunacy.

19th. At Bilton, near Rugby, in the county of Warwick, Miss Addison, only surviving daughter of the

celebrated Joseph Addison, Esq. born just before his death, in 1718, by Sarah Countess-dowager of Warwick, daughter of Thomas Dashwood Esq. alderman of London. Miss Addison was buried at Bilton, on the 10th of March. Many years since she made her last will in favour of the third son of Lord Bradford, who now comes in for her estate. There are left at her late house at Bilton several portraits of Mr. Addison and his friends, with his library, which, it is presumed, contains many valuable books and MSS. She inherited her father's memory, but none of the discriminating powers of his understanding: with the retentive faculties of Jedediah Buxton, she was a perfect imbecile. She could go on in any part of her father's works, or repeat the whole, but was incapable of speaking or writing an intelligible sentence.

At his house in Pall-mall, in his 74th year, James Doddsley, Esq. many years a very eminent and respectable bookseller. He was brother, partner, and successor in the business of the late ingenious Mr. Robert Doddsley. Robert very early invited his brother James (who was 22 years younger than himself) to assist him in business. Their father kept the free school at Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham; and, being very much respected, had also many other scholars of neighbouring farmers and gentlemen. He was a little deformed man, and married a young woman of 17 at the age of 75, and had a child by this union at 78. Besides Robert and James, he had many other children. Mr. James Doddsley became an active and useful partner to his brother; in conjunction with whom he published many works of the first celebrity; "Collection

lection of Poems," "The Preceptor," &c. &c. and commenced, in 1758, "The Annual Register." Robert, who quitted business early in 1759, died Sept. 28, 1764, at the age of 81; James persevered in acquiring wealth by the most honourable literary connections. In 1782 he communicated to the Rockingham administration the plan of the tax on receipts, which, though troublesome to the trader, has been productive of considerable revenue to the state. A few years after, (1786) he was nominated as a proper person to be sheriff of London and Middlesex; in excuse for which he cheerfully paid the customary fine. It is worthy noticing, as a literary anecdote, that he sold no less than 18,000 copies of Mr. Burke's famous "Reflections on the French Revolution;" with considerable advantage both to himself and to the author; to whom he made a very handsome compliment for the profits. His property (which is estimated to be about 70,000*l*.) he has given principally to nephews and nieces, and their descendants: to some of them 8000*l*. 3 per cents each; and to others 4 or 5000*l*. each, in specific sums, or in higher funds: to each of his executors 1000*l*. These are Mr. Tho. Tawney, of Brooks-place, Lambeth, who married a daughter of his brother Isaac; Mr. J. Walter, of Charing-Cross (with whom he had been in habits of friendship, Mr. Walter having served his apprenticeship with his brother Robert); and Mr. G. Nicol, his Majesty's bookfeller, in Pall-mall. To his attorney, Mr. Webster 1000*l*.; to Mr. John Freeborn, who had been for several years his assistant in business, 4000*l*.; to his maid-servant 500*l*.; to his coachman 500*l*.

and also his carriage and horses; to the poor of St. James's, Westminster, 200*l*. 3 per cents; and to the company of stationers nearly 400*l*. By a habit of secluding himself from the world, Mr. James Doddsley (who certainly possessed a liberal heart and a strong understanding) had acquired many peculiarities. He at one time advertised an intention of quitting trade; but in less than a fortnight, repenting the resolution, again advertised that he should continue in business, and resolicited the favour of his friends. For some years past, however, he kept no public shop, but continued to be a large wholesale dealer in books of his own copy-right. Of these a part, to the amount of some thousand pounds, was burnt by an accidental fire in a warehouse which he had not prevailed on himself to insure; but the loss of which he was philosopher enough to bear without the least apparent emotion; and sold to a gentleman the chance of the fragments of waste paper that might be saved, for a single hundred pounds. This agreement was not fulfilled, but the whole remainder was afterwards sold for 80 guineas. He kept a carriage many years, but studiously wished that his friends should not know it; nor did he ever use it on the eastern side of Temple-bar. He purchased some years since an estate with a small house on it, between Chiseshurst and Bromley. On the house he expended an incredible sum, more than would have rebuilt one of twice the size, which afterwards he rarely visited, and at length let, with the estate, on a long lease, at a very low rent. Though he has often expressed his apprehension that the law (if he should die intestate) would not dispose of his property as he could wish,

wish, he never could persuade himself to make a will till he was turned of 70; since which he has made four: the last of them on January 4, 1797, not long before his decease. He left every legacy clear of the tax, and appointed six residuary legatees.

M A R C H.

1st. A very severe affray took place this evening in Market-lane, Pall-mall. An order had imprudently been given to the soldiers guarding the entrance of the Opera-house in that lane, to turn out the servants of the nobility who stood in the lobby; which the servants resisted, and the chairmen taking their part, attacked the soldiers so violently with their poles, that it was found necessary to call in the assistance of the guard at the front of the house to quell the riot. Several of the servants were much wounded in the affray.

3d. Public rejoicings took place in London, on account of the victory of Admiral Jervis over the Spanish fleet; and a subscription was entered into at Lloyd's for the relief of the widows and orphans of the brave men who fell on that occasion.

4th. Twenty shilling notes were issued by the Bank of England.

8th. This day was observed as a general fast throughout the kingdom.

10th. Spanish dollars were this day issued from the Bank, at four shillings and ninepence each.

11th. At the police-office Marlbro'-street, Lady Buckinghamshire, Lady E. Lutterell, and Mrs. Sturt, were convicted before N. Conant and T. Robinson, Esqrs. in the penalty of 50l. each, for playing at

the game of faro; and Henry Martindale was convicted in the sum of 200l. for keeping the faro-table at Lady Buckinghamshire's house. The witnesses were two ci-devant servants of Lady Buckinghamshire. There were informations against Mr. Concannon and Mr. O'Burne for similar offences. Both the defendants were found guilty, and paid the penalty.

Thomas Muir, transported by the British government to Botany-Bay, reached Cadiz about the beginning of this year. The vessel in which he sailed carried him only to Nootka Sound, from whence he travelled nearly the whole length of the west coast of America, and reached Panama, the governor of which shewed him every civility. He crossed the isthmus of Darien, and went in a Spanish frigate to Cuba; but the governor not thinking it proper to suffer a man of his principles to be at large, confined him on the north side of Cuba till a proper opportunity occurred to send him to Spain.

A boat, in which were two midshipmen and six sailors, belonging to the Europa Russian ship, at Chatham, coming from Sheerness, was overfet by a squall of wind; by which unfortunate accident one midshipman and four men were drowned; the others were taken up by a sailing barge, and put on shore in the marsh, near the Folly-house; but not knowing the direct road, and the tide approaching very fast, overwhelmed the remaining unfortunates, who also fell victims, except the midshipman, the only survivor left to relate the shocking circumstance: and he now lies dangerously ill on board the Archipelago Russian frigate.

15th.

15th. A fire broke out in a malt-kiln at Burwell, near Newmarket, occupied by Messrs. Barlow and Wedge, which entirely consumed the same, with the malting, in which were 351 coombs of malt and barley, most of it damaged; also a house and workshop, the property of Mrs. Brown, fell-monger, widow; a house of Mrs. Mary Isaacson, another of Richard Bunting, a coal-sled of Mr. Robert Edwards, and part of the premises belonging to Mr. William Shaw. Fortunately the wind blew from the south-east, which drove the flames towards the Fen. Bunting is a great sufferer. Being a waterman, he had several sums of money belonging to Lynn, all of which were lost in the flames, not having time to get any thing out of his house.

5d. The inhabitants of Westminster assembled in Palace-yard, and resolved to petition the king to dismiss Mr. Pitt and his colleagues from their offices.

16th. At a court of common council the Lord Mayor called the attention of the court to a requisition signed by forty-three liverymen, desiring him to call a common hall, "To consider of an humble address and petition to his Majesty upon the present alarming state of public affairs, and praying him to dismiss his present ministers from his councils for ever, as the first step towards obtaining a speedy, honourable, and permanent peace." That he had answered he would consult the court, and had received a protest against such a measure. His Lordship submitted the several papers to the court, who were unanimously of opinion, that it would be highly improper for them to give any opi-

nion respecting the propriety or expedience of convening a common hall.

19th. This morning about four o'clock a dreadful fire broke out at Mr. Brigg's timber-yard, adjoining Haydon-square, in the Minories; which burnt with unopposed fury for near two hours before water could be procured, and spread so wide that, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the engines, nearly thirty houses were destroyed, including six or seven in front in the Minories. A great quantity of property belonging to the unhappy sufferers was secured in the church of the Trinity, in the Little Minories, under the protection of parties of the Guards and West London militia.

23d. At a numerous common hall, a petition to the purpose before expressed, was almost unanimously voted; and the sheriffs, with the city's representatives in parliament, were requested to present it to his Majesty on the throne.

24th. The sheriffs of London attended at St. James's, to know when his Majesty would be pleased to receive the petition of the Livery upon the throne; and were informed that his Majesty would receive no petition from the city of London, except in its corporate capacity: but that he was willing to receive it at the Levee, in the ordinary manner of accepting addresses.

A riot of a serious nature took place at Derby, on Monday night last. A number of persons having assembled in the Baptist chapel to hear Thelwall lecture on political subjects, a mob collected in the street with drums, horns, &c. and, after contenting themselves some time

time with drowning the voice of the orator in tumult, they at length broke the windows, wounded several persons with brick and stones, and threatened to destroy the chapel. Thelwall, with a pistol in his hand, declared he would shoot any person who molested him; in consequence of which he was suffered to depart without receiving any injury. It was a long time before the mob separated.

At the assizes for Hampshire (Lent assizes) there were sixty-four prisoners on the calendar for trial, of whom fifteen received sentence of death.

At the assizes for the county of Suffolk six prisoners were capitally convicted, and received sentence of death; four of whom were afterwards reprieved.

At the Sussex assizes at East-Grinstead, eighteen prisoners were tried, two of whom were capitally convicted, and received sentence of death, viz. John Green and George Mason, for robbing Edward Whitten of half a guinea and nineteen shillings on the highway, at Castle-lane Corner, in the parish of West Grinstead, in August last. They were, however, both reprieved.

At York assizes five received sentence of death; one of whom was left for execution, and the other four were respited.

At Stafford assizes three only were sentenced to transportation for seven years. The trial of Mr. T. Oliver, charged with shooting Mr. J. Wood, was postponed.

At Warwick assizes ten prisoners received sentence of death; of whom three were left for execution.

At Worcester assizes eight prisoners received sentence of death.

They were all, excepting one, reprieved.

At Oxford assizes ten prisoners were capitally convicted; four of whom were left for execution.

At Thetford assizes five received sentence of death; one of whom alone was left for execution.

At Kingston assizes thirteen prisoners were capitally convicted; of whom three were left for execution.

At Winchester assizes, out of sixteen prisoners capitally convicted, three only were left for execution.

At the Chelmsford assizes, ten prisoners were capitally convicted; of whom four were left for execution, and the other six were respited.

At Reading assizes two were sentenced to be hung, one to be transported for fourteen years, four for seven years, and one to four years imprisonment.

At Salisbury assizes four were capitally convicted; who were left for execution.

At Lancaster five criminals were capitally convicted.

17th. Elizabeth Brokesby was executed at Lincoln, pursuant to her sentence, for the murder of her husband by poison. After sentence she was taken from the bar in a state of insensibility, and continued in so entire a state of stupefaction as to make it necessary to support her on the sledge which drew her to the gallows, and lift her on the platform. Her body was delivered to the surgeon to be dissected and anatomized.

21st. Pursuant to his sentence, William Suffolk, aged 46, was executed on the Castle-hill, Norwich, for the wilful murder of Mary Beck, of North Walsham. An intimacy subsisted

subsisted between the prisoner and the deceased, which the brother disapproving, desired Suffolk to discontinue his visits. Upon this, a violent dispute arose, in which Suffolk declared to the brother, that he should see a great alteration before night. Accordingly, meeting with the deceased unfortunately in the course of the day (Feb. 3.) on the common near North Walsham, Suffolk with a large stick attacked her, and repeated his blows till he left her for dead. In this state she was discovered, and had only strength to declare that Suffolk was her murderer; who, on being taken into custody, and soon after being informed by the constable that she was not then dead, declared that if he thought she could have stirred hand or foot, he would have beaten her till this time. His body is hung in chains near the spot where the murder was committed.

A most shocking murder was lately committed in Ireland on the body of Dr. Hamilton of Trinity-College, Dublin; the particulars of which are as follow: Dr. Hamilton had a living in the north, near the banks of Loch Swilly; and having dined a few days since at the house of a Mr. Waller, in his neighbourhood, the house was surrounded by a banditti of armed ruffians, about ten o'clock at night, who broke into the house while the family was at supper, calling loudly for Dr. Hamilton, and threatening death to the whole family. Mrs. Waller implored mercy for her husband, a feeble poor gentleman, who having lost the use of his limbs, was unable to fly from their fury. She threw herself over him to protect him from assassination, when the

miscreants fired three shots thro' her body, and killed her instantly. They then threatened to raze the house and put all its inhabitants to death, if Dr. Hamilton was not produced; and the servants, to save their own lives, dragged him from the wine-cellar to the door. He endeavoured to cling by the staple of the hall door lock, but the villains burnt his hand to force him to quit his hold, and then dragged him a short distance from the house, where they, in a most barbarous manner murdered him. He has left a wife and nine children wholly unprovided for. His being an active magistrate against the defenders, determined them upon the horrid act. Mr. Browne mentioned the matter in the Irish house of commons, in order to institute some public provision for this helpless family.

A very melancholy affair has lately taken place at Smyrna. The circumstances are briefly these:—A party of strolling German rope-dancers had arrived, and were exhibiting their feats on the tight rope to a numerous audience. As is the custom of that place, four janissaries were placed as centinels at the door of the theatre, to preserve the peace. After the performance had commenced, a number of Slavonians entered the doors, one of whom insulted the janissaries, who resented his conduct. A scuffle ensued, which terminated in the death of one of the janissaries, who was shot by a Slavonian. An enquiry was instantly set on foot, and a demand sent to the theatre to give up the assassin: he, however, from the fidelity of his comrades, could not be discovered. Time was allowed for the

discovery, but to no effect; and it was at length determined to destroy the theatre, unless he was given up. They still persisted in their silence, which induced the janissaries to set fire to the theatre; and it was completely destroyed. The Turks proceeded to set fire to all the English and other Christian factories, destroyed property to the amount of nearly 100,000*l.* killed between 12 and 1300 people, and threatened to destroy all the Christians in the place.

21st. About four o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out at the old family mansion of the Duke of St. Albans, at Hanworth Park, near Hampton, which, in the course of three hours, destroyed every part of the building, and all the beautiful gallery of paintings, which were in heirloom with the house. Very little of the furniture was saved. The fire broke out at the back of the house, near the library, and was occasioned by a girl belonging to a farm-yard lighting her fire too near the windows. Owing to the high wind, the flames caught the shutters, and the conflagration spread through the mansion before any assistance could be obtained.

A boat belonging to a brig, lying in Winchelsea Nook, in its passage from the shore to the vessel, with the captain and two men on board, was, by a sudden squall of wind, overfet. The captain saved his life by swimming to shore; but the two men, being unable to swim, were drowned. It is said the unfortunate men belonged to New-haven; but of this we have received no assurance.

In the course of this month, most of the counties, cities, and towns of the kingdom, petitioned

his Majesty for the removal of ministers, and the consequent restoration of peace.

DIED at her house in Halfmoon-street, Piccadilly, after having been for some weeks confined to her bed by a very severe illness, Mrs. Pope, the celebrated actress. She was one of the last of the legitimate School of Garrick; and had for years maintained, both as a tragic and comic performer in the London theatres, the most respectable situation. Her merits and talents, after nearly 30 years experience, are too well known to need any comment; they were universally acknowledged and admired: and, while she is lamented as a great public loss, those who knew her domestic worth, will feel also, in the death of so estimable a woman, a source of much private affliction. In a wide range of characters, in tragedy and comedy, and in the humorous as well as the fashionable walk of the latter, she has been uniformly distinguished with applause. Mrs. Pope was descended from a good family, of the name of Younge, who left her little beside her education: she had her situation in life to make at a period when most girls are occupied by no other ideas than their pleasure. In the course of her education, she had acquainted herself with the best English dramatic writers. It was a style of reading she always relished so much, that she now began, seriously, to think of putting it into practice; and, procuring a letter of recommendation to Mr. Garrick, he was so well pleased with her first essay, that he took the pains of attending her at several private rehearsals, when every trial gave fresh proofs of her abilities.

At

At the end of three months (in the winter of 1768) she came out in Imogen, in Cymbeline: a part, however, hazardous, from the variety of its difficulties; yet, so strongly was she possessed of the spirit of the author, and so powerfully assisted by her address, and other stage accomplishments, that she obtained universal applause. At Drury-lane theatre this admirable actress continued till the year 1779. She then engaged with Mr. Harris, patentee of Covent-garden theatre, from which she has since been absent but one season. In 1784, during a professional excursion in Ireland, she saw Mr. Pope perform at Cork, and approved so much of his powers, that she recommended him to Mr. Harris; and at Covent-garden theatre his success justified her opinion of his talents. A mutual affection arose from this circumstance, and in a season or two afterwards, they were married.—Her remains were, on the 22d, conveyed from her house to Westminster-abbey, in a hearse and six, followed by seven mourning coaches and her own carriage. In the first were some particular friends of the deceased; these were followed by the School of Garrick (of which respectable society she was an honorary member) and by the principal performers of Covent-garden theatre. The body was interred in the cloisters on the south side, near the remains of Sir Richard Jebb, and on the right of Dr. Dupuis. The funeral service was read by the Rev. Weldon Champness. Mrs. Pope was born in the year of the rebellion, 1745. The stone that is placed over her remains is inscribed “In memory of Mrs. Elizabeth Pope, of the

Theatre Royal, Covent-garden, who died on the 15th of March, 1797, aged 52 years.”

In Bloomsbury square, in a fit of apoplexy, John Boniot de Mainaduc, Esq. M. D. and Member of the Corporation of Surgeons of London. He died after his return from the funeral of Mr. Eyre, of Cecil-street. These two gentlemen were married to two sisters. His “Lectures” are announced to be “published as soon as his papers can be arranged; which, from his sudden and unexpected death, may require some time.”

5. At Tiverton, Devon, aged 52, Capt. J. G. Stedman. He entered in the navy, but relinquished it on the last peace, and accepted an ensign's commission in one of the Scots Brigade regiments paid by the Dutch. He had attained the rank of Lieutenant when the measure of sending a military force against the rebel negroes on the river Cottica, in Surinam, the most important, and now the only remaining, Dutch possession on the coast of Africa, was projected. Impelled by a desire of exploring a part of the world not generally known, and the hope of preferment in such a dangerous service, he obtained admission into the corps of 500 volunteers, formed into seven companies, embodied as a regiment of marines, and intended for Surinam, and was advanced by the Prince of Orange to the rank of captain, by brevet, under Colonel Tourgeoud, a Swiss, commander in chief. He quitted the Texel on Christmas day, 1772, and anchored in Surinam river Feb. 2, 1773. He soon formed an attachment with a beautiful negro-girl of 15, one of the natural children of a Dutch planter, whose

goodness of heart, and faithful attachment to him, were still more endearing than all her personal attractions; but, by the laws of the settlement, she could not be redeemed from slavery, or brought home to Europe, but died of poison, a victim to jealousy, before the captain quitted her. After undergoing a variety of fatigues, and witnessing the most horrid cruelties, as well as most extravagant dissipation, in the colony of Surinam, he returned to his native country; and, a little before his death, published an interesting narrative of the expedition against the revolted negroes of Surinam, in two volumes, 4to, illustrated with eighty elegant engravings from drawings made by himself. He has left a widow and five children.

A P R I L.

1. At a common hall, the Lord Mayor laid before the livery of London the following letter, which he had received from the sheriffs:

“My Lord, In compliance with the resolution of the common hall, we waited on his Majesty at the levee yesterday, to know when he would be pleased to receive the Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery. We were informed by the Duke of Portland, that his Majesty would receive it on Wednesday next at the levee, or any other levee-day; but would not receive the petition on the throne, as it does not come from the city of London in its corporate capacity.

“S. LANGSTON, W. STAINES.”

The Livery then resolved, “That the sheriffs of London had an ac-

knowledge right to an audience of the King, and are in duty bound to demand the same;” and directed the sheriffs, attended by the remembrancer, to demand a personal audience of his Majesty, to know his royal will and pleasure, when he will be pleased to receive upon the throne the said dutiful and loyal address and petition.

3. This evening a most alarming fire was discovered in the superb mansion-house of Yester, belonging to the Marquis of Tweeddale, which, by the wonderful activity of the servants and workmen belonging to the place, aided by a numerous body of the inhabitants from the village of Gifford, together with the Haddington engine, brought thence by about one hundred of the Durham rangers now stationed there, who attended, accompanied by their officers, on the first alarm, happily saved the principal part of the house; only one of the wings was burnt, and a great part of the furniture destroyed. The fire was occasioned by a wooden joist being placed too near one of the vents, which had been burning some time before bursting forth.

The late accounts from New South Wales are particularly favourable. The settlement of Broken Bay was in a flourishing condition, as, indeed, were the other districts. The harvest of 1795-6 (our winter) had proved abundantly productive.

According to the return of aliens within the cities of London, Westminster, and the Borough of Southwark, lately presented to the House of Commons, the whole number of those persons amounts only to 7041

10. About 900 French prisoners from

from Porchester Castle were landed at Messrs. Squire's wharf, Peterborough, whence they were escorted to Yaxley barracks under a strong guard of light-horse. The procession was truly awful. The barracks are entirely new, and set on a most healthful spot at Norman Cross, near Stilton in Huntingdonshire.

That excellent actress Miss Farren performed this night for the last time, previous to her marriage with the Earl of Derby. The play she chose was the School for Scandal.

The different avenues leading to the theatre were crowded with all ranks and descriptions at a very early hour, and in a few minutes after the opening of the doors every bench in the house, and every passage in the theatre, even to the several doors, was completely occupied. Never was such an audience seen at this or any other theatre.

On her first entrance she was greeted in the most flattering manner; and the audience appeared to be animated with a principle of emulation, in bestowing their liberal plaudits throughout the whole of her performance.

At the conclusion of the play, Mr. Wroughton immediately came forward, and addressed the audience as follows:

But ah! this night, adieu the mirthful mien,
When Mirth's lov'd fav'rite quits the m-
mic scene!

Startled Thalia would assent refuse,
But Truth and Virtue sued, and won the
Muse.

Aw'd by sensations it could ill express,
Though mute the tongue, the bosom feels
not less;

Her speech your kind indulgence oft has
known.

Be to her silence now that kindness shewn:
Ne'er from her mind th'endear'd record
will part,

But live the proudest feeling of a grateful
heart.

This address was repeatedly interrupted by general and reiterated plaudits from all parts of the house. Miss Farren appeared much affected at the generous conduct of the audience. After the torrent of applause had subsided, Miss Farren came to the front of the stage, with graceful and diffident steps, to take her final farewell of her patrons. In a manner the most elegant and impressive she made her courtesy, first to the right, next to the left, and lastly to the front of the house, amidst the universal, reiterated, and rapturous plaudits of the audience, many of whom accompanied their tokens of respect with tears of sensibility.

5th. The sheriffs of London, (Messrs. Langston and Staines) accompanied by the city remembrancer, attended at St. James's yesterday, pursuant to the instructions of the last common hall, to have a personal interview with the King, on the subject of the petition lately agreed to by the Liverymen. On being introduced to his Majesty, the sheriffs explained to him the privilege which they conceived the citizens of London possessed of presenting their addresses to his Majesty upon the throne; and informed him that, in the present instance, they could not deliver their petition in any other manner. His Majesty replied, that he should always be ready to receive their addresses or petitions *at the levee*, but that he *could not* receive any petition *upon the throne* from the city of London, except in its *corporate capacity*. With this answer the sheriffs and remembrancer retired.

9th. The trial of Jones, the delegate of the London Corresponding Society, came on at Warwick on

Thursday, before Judge Grose and a special jury. The prosecution was led by Mr. Percival, in a fair and candid manner; and the defendant was as ably supported by Messrs. Romilly and Vaughan.—The Judge gave a charge, and in a few minutes the jury found a verdict of Guilty on the third count, which was,—“Will the people of Birmingham submit to the treason and sedition laws?” Binns’s trial is postponed till next assizes; four only of the special jury being present, and only six others appeared in court who were admitted by the crown and defendant. The conviction of Jones is the first that has taken place under the late act. His sentence is not yet known.

12th. At another common hall the report from the sheriffs was read; stating, that having taken the earliest opportunity of waiting on his Majesty at the levee, they had obtained an audience, and delivered the message directed by the livery; to which his Majesty answered, “That the address not being the address of the city of London in its corporate capacity, he could not receive it on the throne; that the answer given by the Duke of Portland was by his Majesty’s desire; and that his Majesty repeated his readiness to receive the petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, at the next or any other levee, provided the persons presenting it did not exceed the usual number of ten.”

Two resolutions were then passed, declaratory of the rights of the livery; and another was offered, which the Lord Mayor said “he could not, consistently with his duty to preserve inviolate the rights of the livery, admit to

be put: the business of the day upon which the livery were met being specified in the summons issued to call them together, it was his duty to take care that no other business should be discussed.” After much altercation had taken place between several speakers, the Lord Mayor ordered the insignia of office to be taken up, and the hall was of course dissolved; but not before an unanimous vote of censure on the motion of Mr. Waithman was passed on the conduct of the Lord Mayor for this unprecedented attack on the deliberative rights of the livery of London in common hall assembled.

15th. The Prince of Wirtemberg arrived in town, waited upon the Royal Family at Buckingham-house, and paid his respects to the Princess Royal, his intended bride.

A general and alarming mutiny broke out on board the Channel-fleet, at Spithead. The crews unanimously refused to proceed to sea unless their wages were advanced to thirty shillings per month, and their allowance of provisions increased.

Mr. Colquhoun, in his treatise on the police of the metropolis, states the following curious fact:

“There is a class of cheats, or female bankers, who accommodate barrow-women and others who sell fish, fruit, vegetables, &c. in the streets, with five shillings a day (the usual diurnal stock in such cases); for the use of which, for twelve hours, they return a premium of sixpence, when the money is returned in the evening, thereby receiving, at this rate, about seven pounds ten shillings a year for every five shillings they lend out. In contemplating this curious system of banking.

banking (trifling as it seems to be) it is impossible not to be forcibly struck with the immense profits that arise from it; for it is only necessary for one of these female sharers to possess a capital of seventy shillings, or three pounds ten shillings, with fourteen steady and regular customers, in order to realize an annual income of one hundred guineas!"

17th. The Prince of Wirtemberg set out this morning on his tour to Bath, Bristol, Birmingham, Oxford, Portsmouth, and other places, previous to his marriage. His Serene Highness was attended by Count Zippelin, Baron Gœrbitz, and Sir John Hippefly. The tour is expected to take up near three weeks.

20th. In consequence of some strong remonstrances from the seamen on board the fleet at Spithead, the lords of the admiralty have resolved to recommend to his Majesty that an addition of five shillings and sixpence a month be made to the wages of petty officers and seamen of the royal navy; which will make the wages of able seamen one shilling a day, clear of all deductions; an addition of four shillings and sixpence a month to the wages of every ordinary seamen; and of three shillings and sixpence to the wages of landmen: and that none of the allowance made to the marines when on shore shall be stopped on their being embarked on board any of his Majesty's ships. Also, that all seamen, marines, and others, serving in his Majesty's ships, shall have the full allowance of provisions, without any deductions for leakage or waste; and that, until proper steps can be taken for carrying this into effect, short allowance

money shall be paid to the men in lieu of the deduction heretofore made; and that all men wounded in action shall receive their full pay until their wounds shall be healed; or until, being declared incurable, they shall receive a pension from the chest at Chatham, or shall be admitted into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich.

21st. This morning early a fire broke out at Mr. Bartlet's, tallow-chandler, Brewer-street, Golden-square, which in a short time consumed the whole of the premises, the inhabitants escaping only with their lives. A quick supply of engines and water prevented its communication, by the great exertions of the firemen.

22d. A royal proclamation was issued for pardoning such seamen and marines of the Squadron of his Majesty's fleet stationed at Spithead as have been guilty of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, and who shall, upon notification of such proclamation on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty.

26th. The following answer was yesterday returned by the Lord Mayor to the requisition of the livery to call a common hall for the purpose of taking into consideration the report of the sheriffs.

"Mansion-house, April 25, 1797.

"Gentlemen,

"Having fully considered the requisition signed by a number of the liverymen of London, and delivered to me by you on the 22d instant, wherein they request of me to convene a common hall within eight days, for the purpose of taking into consideration 'the report

of the sheriffs communicated to the livery in common hall assembled, on Wednesday the 12th instant; and to investigate the real causes of the awful and alarming state of public affairs; and to adopt such measures as may be expedient in the present conjuncture,' I request of you, gentlemen, to inform them that I will most readily convene a common hall any day in the coming week which may be most convenient to them (after the termination of the sessions at the Old Bailey) for the purpose of taking into consideration "the report of the sheriffs communicated to the livery in common hall assembled, on Wednesday the 12th instant;" but that I deem it incompatible with my duty to assemble the livery for the purpose of investigating the real causes of the awful and alarming state of public affairs: a proposition too extensive and unqualified to admit of discussion in an assembly confessedly not deliberative. I am, gentlemen, your humble servant,

"BROOK WATSON, Mayor."

"To Messrs. Thomas Reeve,
John Elsee, and S. Miller."

The seamen on board the ships at Plymouth, who had some time before declared themselves in a state of mutiny, expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the concessions made by the admiralty to their brethren at Spithead.

From Lisbon, under the date April 14, the following remarkable circumstance is thus stated: "On Monday evening last, a dreadful affray took place at Belem, between the soldiers of the twelfth regiment of light dragoons and our people. It began in a public-house, where two of the soldiers went to get some wine. The landlord would

not permit them to go into a room to sit down to drink it; this gave rise to a deal of abuse on both sides. At last the landlord drew a knife, and stabbed one of the soldiers, but fortunately not dangerously; the soldier knocked him down, and dragged him into the street, where he beat him heartily. Our people seeing their countryman so roughly handled, took his part, and pelted the English with stones: this alarmed their comrades in the barracks, who sallied out, and drove the Portuguese into the queen's stables, where they supposed the soldiers would not dare to follow them, and from the windows of which place they continued the pelting, and wounded an officer and a private. This enraged the dragoons so much, that they drew their swords, stormed the stables, broke down the doors, and laid about them without mercy. Our people, to save themselves, jumped out of the windows, and several of them are much cut and bruized. The English took eight prisoners to the guard-house, from whence they have been removed to another prison. They will be severely punished; and if they escape hanging, may think themselves lucky, as a riot is considered here as a greater crime than murder. In the heat of the battle, the Princess Dowager of Brazil happened to pass by in her carriage, the windows of which were broke by the stones thrown from the stables: her *escudiero* (esquire) a man of great consequence, a *fidalgo* (a noble) a character considered in this country as sacred, being above the reach of the laws, began to divert himself by horsewhipping the soldiers: they immediately pulled him from his horse, treated him with half a dozen

dozen sound English kicks, and carried him prisoner to the guard-house. The dragoons are obliged to be cautious; and do not go out singly or without arms, as they run a risk of being assassinated. Inquiry is making by our court to discover the ringleaders; and every body acquits the English from the smallest degree of blame."

DIED at Botany Bay, March 16, 1796, where he had in some degree rendered his situation comfortable, and habituated himself to the exile into which he had been so cruelly sent by his inhuman persecutors, Joseph Gerald. He lived in a small house, with a garden attached to it, at a distance from the town of Sydney, to which he retired with a fixed and deep decline, which brought him to his grave in less than two months. He received the most liberal attention from governor Hunter; and his body, at his own desire, expressed two days before his death, was buried in his own garden. Three days after Mr. Gerald (viz. on the 19th of March, 1796) Mr. Skirving died of a dysentery. He had bought a small farm already cleared, and set himself to the improvement of it with indefatigable industry. In getting in his harvest he caught this complaint, which is very common, and fell a victim to it.

5th. At Aston, in Yorkshire, of a mortification, occasioned by breaking his shin in stepping out of his carriage two days before, the Rev. William Mason, precentor and one of the residentiaries of York cathedral, prebendary at Drimeld, and rector of Aston; author of "Elfrida," "Caractacus," "The English Garden," "Translation of Fresco's Art of Painting," and several

other celebrated poems, "The Life of Gray," &c. He was the son of a clergyman who had the living of Hull; but it is not easy to fix the precise time of his birth. He was admitted of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B. A. 1745; and whence he removed to Pembroke-hall, of which society he was elected a fellow 1747, and took the degree of M. A. 1749. In 1754 he entered into holy orders, and was patronized by the then Earl of Holderness, who obtained for him the appointment of chaplain to his Majesty, and gave him the valuable rectory of Aston. Mr. Mason was an acknowledged scholar, and possessed high claims to a considerable degree of poetical reputation. All that could be gathered from the Greek and Roman stores, certainly contributed to embellish his mind; but it may be reasonably questioned whether it was enriched by any great share of original genius; though it must be admitted that his "Caractacus" and "Elfrida" abound in passages marked by energy and spirit. The memorable "Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers" has been often attributed to this gentleman; and if he were the author of it, he certainly possessed no small portion of satirical humour, as well as poetical strength: but the work is so different from the general character of his productions, that it is hardly to be considered as the offspring of his mind. It is certain that he never acknowledged it. In private life his character, though with something in his manners beyond the mere dignity of conscious talents and literature, was distinguished by philanthropy and fervid friendship. For the latter quality

we have only to observe his conduct in relation to Gray, whose genius he estimated with a zeal of enthusiasm (to borrow an expression of old Theobald) "amounting to idolatry." Upon the whole, he is to be viewed as a man who may be ranked with the supporters of British literature and morals. — The appointment of the four canons-residentiaries of York cathedral is in the gift of the Dean, who is obliged, by statute, to give the vacant canonry to the first man he sees after the vacancy, capable of taking it. Mr. Markham was his first sight on the death of Mr. Mason. He married Mary, daughter of William Shermon, of Kingston upon Hull, Esq. who died, March 24th, 1767, in her 28th year, at Bristol; in the north aisle of which cathedral he erected to her memory a neat monument of white marble, with the well-known lines.

At Lausanne, in Switzerland, S. A. D. Tissot, M. D. who, for near half a century, enjoyed a very extensive reputation as a physician and medical writer. He was one of the earliest, ablest, and most zealous vindicators of the practice of inoculation on the continent of Europe. His treatise on this subject, "*L'Inoculation justifiée*," was published in 1754; but the works which rendered him the most popular were, his "*Avis au Peuple*," and his treatises on the health of literary men, and of people of fashion.

M A Y.

2. The Recorder passed sentence of death on Elizabeth O'Connor, for privately stealing in a shop; James

Andrews, for returning from transportation; William Noah, James Barrow, Henry Butler, John Tull, William Ward, and William Smith, for house-breaking; Samuel Chester and Thomas Perry, for a highway robbery; Jarvis, for privately stealing a quantity of wine; and Thomas Bennet, for forgery. — The sessions was then adjourned to the 31st of May.

5th. A melancholy accident happened this evening at Plymouth. Two young ladies, daughters of Mr. Shephard, surgeon, of the dockyard, and another lady of the name of Gregg, were playing on one of the ship's yards, which was at the mast-house to be repaired; when it gave way on a sudden, and the ladies not being able to extricate themselves, rolled over them, which occasioned the immediate death of the two first, who were most shockingly mangled; and the other had her leg broken. The eldest of the two sisters was about the age of fifteen; and the other only in her twelfth year.

7th. The mutiny was renewed at Spithead. The Channel fleet refused to put to sea, under the pretext that government did not mean to fulfil the promises held out by them to the sailors; the delegates re-assembled, and sent a deputation to the London, Admiral Colpoys' ship, at Portsmouth, whom the Admiral refused to admit on board, and enforced his authority by ordering the marines to fire into the boat. This conduct was resented by the crew of the London, who immediately deposed the Admiral, struck his flag, and hoisted the ensign of defiance.

This evening, between eight and nine o'clock, Mr. Fryer, of Southampton

ampton-buildings, Hôlborn, clerk to an attorney, accompanied by a young lady, his cousin, and of his own name, to whom he was soon to be married, was attacked in the fields, near White-Conduit House, by three footpads, who shot him through the head, and robbed him of his watch and money. The Bow-street patrol, who were within a short distance at the time, on hearing the report of the pistol, made to the spot, where they found Mr. Fryer weltering in his blood, and who in a few moments after expired. A stick with a sword in it, and with which it is thought he made some resistance, was lying by him.

The following is the answer returned by the Lord Mayor to the requisition made to him to call a common hall:—

“Gentlemen,

“Having duly considered the requisition signed by a number of the livery of London, dated on the 29th ult. and delivered to me by you on the 3d instant, wherein they request of me “to call a common hall on an early day, to take into consideration the report of the sheriffs, communicated to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, in common hall assembled, on Wednesday the 12th of April — the grievances brought on you by a corrupt system of undue influence, and the incapacity of his Majesty’s ministers — to submit several resolutions expressive of the sentiments contained in the petition of the livery (resolved almost unanimously) to be presented to the King on the throne; and of a motion that your representatives in parliament be instructed to move in the House of Commons, or support such motion, that an humble address be

presented to his Majesty, praying him to dismiss from his presence and councils his present weak and wicked ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a speedy and permanent peace;” I request of you, Gentlemen, to inform those who signed the requisition, that I will immediately direct the usual precepts to be issued for convening a common hall of the liverymen of this city, on Thursday next, the 11th instant, for the following purposes:—to take into consideration the report of the sheriffs, communicated to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery, in common hall assembled, on Wednesday, the 12th of April — To consider of several resolutions, expressive of the sentiments contained in the petition of the livery (resolved almost unanimously) to be presented to the King on the throne; and to consider a motion, ‘That the representatives of this city in parliament be instructed to move or support such motion, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to dismiss from his presence and councils his present weak and wicked ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a speedy and permanent peace.’

“BROOK WATSON, Mayor.

“To Messrs. T. Reeve, John Elsee, S. Miller.”

11th. Another common hall was held at Guildhall on the subject previously noticed, when several strong resolutions were entered into, declaratory of the rights of the livery; asserting, “that his Majesty’s ministers have wantonly plunged this nation into an unjust and unnecessary war, which has produced a series of calamities unexampled in history; an enormous increase

increase of public debt; an alarming diminution of our trade and manufactures; an abridgment of our rights and privileges; a shameful profusion of our national wealth, by subsidizing allies abroad, and supporting a system of corruption at home, to the destruction of public credit—thus evincing a disposition to sacrifice the blood, treasure, and liberties of the kingdom, in support of measures repugnant to the principles of the constitution, derogatory to the dignity and safety of the King, and inconsistent with the happiness of the people;” directing their representatives in parliament to move for an address to the King, “to dismiss his present ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a speedy and permanent peace;” and concluding with a censure on the Lord Mayor, who, “by dissolving the last common hall on a frivolous and unfounded pretence of the irrelevance of the resolution which was moved to the occasion on which the hall was assembled, by refusing to convene another common hall, for all the purposes specified on a like frivolous and unfounded pretence of the livery of London, not being a deliberative body; and, by convening the present common hall for purposes short of those which are specified in the requisition, has violated the rights of the livery, has suffered his political attachments to warp his official conduct, and proved himself to be utterly undeserving of the confidence of his constituents.”

These resolutions, having been carried by a large majority of the persons present, were ordered to be published once in all the newspapers in Great Britain.

13th. Tuesday last, his Most Serene Highness the Hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg came to the apartments prepared for the reception of his Most Serene Highness at St. James’s.

14th. A dreadful fire broke out yesterday morning, at three o’clock, at a tobacconist’s shop in the High-street, in the Borough, opposite the Marshalsea prison, which raged with great fury for some hours, and was at length, by the exertions of the firemen, got under with the loss of the Black Bull public-house, a pork-shop, a pastry-cook’s shop, and a mercer’s; besides doing considerable mischief to two rows of houses, one in Maypole-alley, the other in Redcross-alley, both immediately adjacent. Verily happily no lives were lost.

A squadron under the command of Rear Admiral Curtis, arrived at St. Helen’s, from Torbay, and the crews of several of the ships immediately declared themselves in a state of mutiny, and sent several of their officers on shore; but on being informed by the delegates of the Channel fleet that Government had complied with their demands, they returned to their duty thoroughly satisfied.

By the report of the Secret Committee of the Irish House of Lords, it appears that the first proscribed list made out by the conspirators, contained the names of 30,000 persons, most of whom were to be put to death; and that a traitorous correspondence has been carried on between the leaders of the United Irishmen and the French government.

The following article appears among the papers lately seized at Belfast:—

REPORTS

REPORTS FROM THE BARONIAL COMMITTEE.

	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Money.</i>
Antrim,	22,922	L. 78 6 8
Down, -	16,000	40 11 8½
Derry, -	10,000	8 5 9
Tyrone, -	6,860	— — —
Armagh,	4,000	7 8 5
Monaghan,	3,020	— — —
Donegal,	5,000	9 9 7
Cavan, -	1,000	— — —
Meath, -	1,776	— — —
Fermanagh,	2,000	— — —
Louth, -	2,060	— — —
Total Men,	74,638	L. 144 2 1½

Paid to Antrim

Prisoners, -	L. 78 6 8
Down ditto, -	11 7 6
Fermanagh ditto, -	7 19 3
A Delegate of Tyrone,	2 5 6
	L. 99 18 11

Balance, L. 44 3 2½

18th. Yesterday afternoon the ceremony of the nuptials of Frederic William, Hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg Stutgardt, with Charlotte Augusta Matilda, Princess Royal of Great Britain, Lady of the Imperial Order of St. Catherine, was performed in the Chapel Royal, St. James's.

About one o'clock the procession commenced. It was led by drums, trumpets, kettle-drums, the serjeant trumpeter, and master of the ceremonies.

At half-past one, his Serene Highness the bridegroom (dressed in a peach-coloured suit, richly embroidered) entered the chapel, conducted by the Lord Chamberlain and Vice-Chamberlain, supported by the Duke of Beaufort and Duke of Leeds, and attended by Count Zep-

pelin, Baron Rieger, Lord Malmesbury, and Colonel Fane—the organ playing Handel's Overture in Esther.

On his Serene Highness taking his seat, the Lord Chamberlain, &c. returned for the Bride's procession.

Her Royal Highness (superbly dressed in white and silver, scarlet mantle, crimson velvet coronet, with a broad band, and a large plume of diamonds, decorated with the order of Saint Catherine) was supported by the Duke of Clarence, in a dark brown suit, richly embroidered, and Prince Ernest, in the Hanoverian uniform; her train borne by the bride-maids, Lady Frances Somerset, daughter of the Duke of Beaufort; Lady Mary Bentinck, daughter of the Duke of Portland; Lady Caroline Damer, daughter of the Earl of Dorehester; and Lady Mary Howe, daughter of Earl Howe, dressed in white. Ladies Cathcart, C. Waldegrave, C. Finch, and F. Bruce, were the attendants. During the entrance of her Royal Highness's procession, Handel's Overture was played in like manner as when that of the Prince entered the chapel.

The next procession was that of the King.—His Majesty, dressed in a dark brown suit, richly embroidered, was attended by the Lords and other officers of his household, Lord Privy Seal, Lord President of the Council, Lord Chancellor, Duke of Portland, Archbishop of Canterbury, Archbishop of York, and the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England.

The Queen then entered, attended by the officers of her household. Her Majesty was dressed in white, with a profusion of diamonds.

The Prince of Wales was next in.

in the procession, attended by the officers of his establishment. The dress of his Royal Highness was a sky-blue, richly embroidered down the seams, and decorated with a diamond star and epaulette.

The Princess of Wales, in a silver tissue train, with purple, lilac, and green trimmings, followed her royal husband, conducted by the Earl of Cholmondeley.

The Duke of York, in a full dress suit of regimentals, and his royal Duchess in an elegant dress, the body and train of lilac silver tissue, and the petticoat magnificently embroidered, next appeared, and were followed by the Princesses, in white, according to their seniority.

The Duke of Gloucester, and Prince William, were in full uniforms, and the Princess Sophia displayed a neat and elegant dress.

The maids of honour, the Peeresses of the royal households, followed by four Yeomen of the Guard, closed the procession.

Upon entering the chapel, all the persons that were in the procession retired to the several places appointed for them. The King and Queen were seated in chairs of state on the right and left of the altar. The Prince of Wales sat next to his Majesty; the Princess of Wales was on the left of the Queen; and the Princesses occupied seats arranged on each side for their accommodation.

The royal family having taken their seats, the marriage-ceremony commenced. It was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Archbishop of York; at the conclusion of which the bride and bridegroom retired to their seats, when the anthem was per-

formed. The procession then returned to the drawing-room in the same order in which it entered the chapel, the band playing the march in Scipio.

The Prince received the hand of his amiable Princess from his Majesty. Her Royal Highness was perfectly collected and unembarrassed during the performance of the ceremony, while the Princesses, her sisters, shed tears of sensibility and affection on the occasion. Their Majesties also discovered an excess of parental feelings. The whole of the ceremony exhibited a scene highly awful and impressive.

The heat, owing to the immense crowd, was so intense, that several ladies were overcome by it; and it was with much difficulty that one of the bride-maids was prevented from fainting away.

The Stadtholder, the Princess of Orange, and their attendants, were accommodated in the centre of the King's gallery, facing the altar; the other parts of which were occupied by the Duchess of Leeds, Duchess of Rutland, and her two daughters, Lady Buckingham, Lady Stopford, and several other females of distinction.

The orchestra was much better contrived on this occasion than on that of the marriage with the Prince of Wales, the organ being placed directly over the altar.

After the solemnization of the marriage, the queen held a drawing-room, which was attended by the whole of the royal family, the foreign ministers, great officers of state, and a numerous and brilliant assemblage of the nobility of both sexes, who paid their respects to their Serene Highnesses the Prince
and

and Princess of Wirtemberg, on the occasion of their union. The court closed at half past five, when their Majesties and the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth in one carriage, the Prince and Princess of Wirtemberg in a travelling post-chaise, and the other princesses in a third, all left town, with their attendants, for Windsor Lodge to dinner.

The coronation of the emperor Paul I. was performed at Moscow on the 16th ultimo. His imperial majesty was to leave that city on the 14th instant to make a journey to Astracan. The empress will return to Petersburg, where the emperor will also return on the day of St. Peter and Paul. After the ceremony was completed, his Majesty with his own hand threw money among the people. 45,000 pieces of silver money, each of the value of twenty-five copecs, were coined for this occasion.

The following are the rentals of Irish estates belonging to noblemen who generally reside in England, viz.

	<i>per ann.</i>
Marquis Donegal	- L. 48,000
Marquis Downshire	24,000
Marquis Hertford	- 15,000
Marquis Lansdowne	13,500
Duke of Devonshire	11,000
Earl Fitzwilliam	- 9,000
Earl of Barrymore	- 7,500
Viscount Montmorres	5,000
Viscount Downe	- 7,000

Dublin, 23. The following notice, in large bills, is posted up in the streets of Dublin:—

“ Adjutant - General's Office,
20th May, 1797.

“ General Orders. — In obedience to an order from the Lord Lieutenant and council, it is

“ the Commander in Chief's command, that the military do act, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrate, in dispersing any tumultuous assemblies, or persons threatening the peace of the realm, and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's loyal subjects whatsoever.”

With such method is the mutiny carried on at Sheerness, that there is in every ship a committee, consisting of twelve men, who determine not only all affairs relative to the internal management of the vessel, but decide on the merits of their respective delegates; against whom, if any charge can be substantiated, they inflict a severe punishment. These delegates go regularly every day to Sheerness, where they hold their conferences. They then parade the streets and ramparts of the garrison, with a degree of triumphant insolence, and hold up the bloody flag of defiance as a mark of scorn to the military. At the head of these men marches that person who is considered the admiral of their fleet. No officer has any command or authority whatever.

A Board of Admiralty went to Spithead, to investigate the nature of the demands of the mutinous seamen belonging to the Channel-fleet.

27. The mutineers of Sheerness proceeding to very alarming acts of violence, blocked up the entrance of the Thames, hoisted ensigns of defiance, and compelled all the ships of war, in the Medway, and at the Nore, to join the flag of revolt.

29. Lord Spencer offered a general pardon to the mutineers at Sheerness, provided they returned immediately.

immediately to their duty; which offer was rejected.

31. Several ships belonging to Admiral Duncan's fleet, joined the mutineers at the Nore.

The Duke of Wirtemberg has a library at Stutgard, of 100,000 volumes. His Serene Highness is a great collector of ancient books, or, as a French writer terms it, *a la grand fureur des livres anciens*. He has often travelled in pursuit of them, and gives liberal prices. His collection of Bibles is *unique*; they amount to nine thousand, all different editions, and of all languages; and it is supposed that still three thousand more are yet wanting to render it complete. This library contains more than two thousand volumes printed before the year 1500, and a complete collection of the memoirs of all sovereign families and towns.

30. The gallant General Kosciusko arrived at the river Thames on board a Swedish vessel, attended by many Polish officers, who are going with him to America. He is incurably wounded in the head, has three bayonet-wounds in his back, and part of his thigh carried away by a cannon-shot; and, with the excruciating torments those wounds occasion, as he cannot move himself, he amuses his hours with drawing landscapes. He speaks with the most lively gratitude of the present Emperor of Russia; but he makes great complaint that his wounds were long neglected after he was made prisoner.

21. DIED at his house in Serjeant's Inn, in his eighty-fifth year, Thomas Coventry, Esq. of North Cray-place, near Bexley, in Kent

(which estate, of the annual value of 1400l. he had on the death of the Rev. William Hetherington) one of the benchers of the Inner Temple, and formerly, for many years, sub-governor of the South Sea Company. His estates, which are considerable, descend to his kinsman, the Earl of Coventry. He was son of Thomas Coventry, Esq. a Russia merchant, and younger brother to William fifth Earl of Coventry, father of the present Lord; who, consequently, was his first cousin, and to whom and his family he has bequeathed a considerable proportion of his property. The following is the substance of his will: To his great nephew 50,000l. three per cent. stock, when he is twenty-four years old, and, if he dies under age, to be divided between the blind objects of Mr. Hetherington's charity and Christ's Hospital; to Lord Deerhurst and his seven children 10,000l. each; to Lord Coventry 10,000l.; to his eldest son by his present lady 10,000l. and his youngest son by her, residuary-legatee; to Mrs. Evans, of Queen-square, 500l.; to her brother, Dr. Evans, prebendary of Worcester, 500l.; to three ladies in Worcestershire, 500l. each. Mr. Coventry's remains were interred in the bencher's vault at the Temple church. He was a very amiable and beneficent character. When his friend, Mr. Hetherington, above mentioned, at his death left him his fortune, he said, "Why has he done this? I did not want it;" and he instantly gave the legacies and benefactions to the purposes of the testator, although he might have retained them for his life.

2. This

JUNE.

2. This morning their Serene Highnesses set out from St. James's for Harwich, on their way to Germany, escorted by a party of light dragoons. The Prince and Princess were in the King's travelling post-chaise; General Garth and the Countess of Aylesbury, in one of the Queen's coaches, and the attendants in one of the private carriages. Their Serene Highnesses breakfasted at St. James's, and set off from the Garden-gate. The Princess was dressed in a blue riding habit, with the star of the Russian Order of St. Catherine at her breast, and wore a straw bonnet. She endeavoured to appear cheerful; but the faltering accents with which she bade her attendants and the surrounding multitude farewell, bespoke the agitation of her Serene Highness's mind. None of the Royal Family were present, as they had taken leave the preceding night at twelve o'clock. The Princess Royal's bill for a grant of annuity of 5000*l.* per annum, passed the Irish parliament.

The mutineer Chef d'Escadre, R. Parker, who was a little shop-keeper in Scotland, came into the navy about two years ago, in the following manner: Being confined for debt in Perth gaol, he took the parochial bounty of 30*l.* to enter as a volunteer, and with this sum he procured his deliverance. Being a bustling fellow, he very soon after became a petty officer; from which, however, he was degraded about three months since, for mal-practices, and turned before the mast. He is a man of a sharp, saturnine visage; of a middle size, neat figure, and about 35

years of age; and has profited by education far enough to become the dangerous member of the community we now behold him!

5. The Recorder passed sentence upon those who had been convicted this sessions:—

That of death on John Harrison and William Mackenzie, for forgery; John Baker, for returning from transportation; Henry Ellison, A. Withers, and George Withers, for highway robberies; W. Bergin and Joseph Chase, for burglaries; H. B. Palmer and Maurice Stamford, for counterfeiting stamped dollars; and J. Lynson, for a burglary; E. Jarmyn, T. Prickett, W. Burke, H. Smith, T. White, R. Calcott, Mary Bergin, Samuel Laws, John Boulton, R. Williams, T. Chirley, and Elizabeth Stirling, to be transported for seven years. Three were sentenced to be confined one year in Newgate, and six for six months.—Joseph Wheeler and William Wheeler, his son, were tried upon a charge of stealing, or receiving, knowing it to be stolen, a large piece of timber.

One-and-twenty of the most respectable persons in the parish, where the old man is now churchwarden, appeared to their characters, and spoke of them in the highest terms.—The Jury were out three hours and a quarter, and, on their return acquitted the son, and pronounced the father guilty, who was immediately sentenced to six months imprisonment, and to be fined one hundred pounds.

Yesterday morning, about eight o'clock, Martin Clinch and James Maclay were executed in the Old Bailey, pursuant to their sentence, for the wilful murder of Sydney Fryer,

Fryer, Esq. in the parish of St. Mary, Islington. The platform accidentally dropped before the caps were pulled over the faces of the criminals; in consequence of which a most shocking spectacle presented itself to the multitude for several minutes.

Four naval officers went up the Medway on Wednesday night in a boat to Rochester. They had all been ducked, which is a curious ceremony, on board the Sandwich. — They tie the unfortunate victims feet together, and their hands together, and put their head at their back, making it fast round them, at the same time adding an eighteen pounder bar-shot to bring them down. They afterwards make them fast to a tackle suspended from the yard-arm; and hoisting them nearly up to the block, all at once let go, and drop them soufe into the sea, where they remain a minute, and then are again hoisted and let down alternately, till there are scarce any signs of life remaining. After this they hoist them up by the heels, for the purpose of getting the water out of their stomachs, and usually put them into their hammocks. In this instance, however, they put them on board the boat, and ordered the master to convey them safe on shore, or his life should answer for it.

An Extraordinary Gazette was published this evening, containing his Majesty's proclamation, forbidding all intercourse with the crews of the ships declared to be in a state of rebellion, either personally, by letter, or otherwise, on pain of death. — Fortunately, this strong measure has restored tranquillity.

The Duke of Wirtemberg's por-

tion of 80,000*l.* which he received with our Princess Royal, was invested last week in the 3 per cents, where it now stands as stock, value 165,000*l.* The trustees, in whose hands the dowry of the Princess of Wirtemberg is vested, are the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Pitt, Sir John Coxe Hippeley, and Mr. Coutts.

12th. This evening Capt. Hearne, of the Prince of Wales packet, arrived at the Admiralty, with an account of the safe arrival at Cuxhaven, on Monday night, at nine o'clock, of their Serene Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wirtemberg, in good health and spirits.

A monument in Westminster-Abbey, executed at the cost of Albany Wallis, Esq. was this day opened to public view. Garrick is represented at full length, in an animated position, throwing aside a curtain, which discovers the medallion of the great Poet whom he has illustrated; while Tragedy and Comedy, adorned with their respective emblems, and half seated on a pedestal, seem to approve the tribute. The inscription, by Mr. Pratt, is as follows:

*To the Memory of David Garrick,
who died in the Year 1779,
at the Age of 63.*

To paint fair nature, by divine command,
Her magic pencil in his glowing hand,
A Shakespeare rose—Then, to expand his
fame
Wide o'er this breathing world, a Garrick
came.
Though sunk in death the forms the Poet
drew,
The actor's genius bade them breathe anew.
Though, like the Bard himself, in night
they lay,
Immortal Garrick call'd them back to day,
And till Eternity, with pow'r sublime,
Shall mark the mortal hour of hoary Time,
Shake-

Shakespeare and Garrick like twin stars
shall shine,
And earth irradiate with a beam divine.

*This monument, the tribute of a friend,
was erected 1797.*

14. The mutiny at the Nore terminated, and Parker, the principal of the mutineers, and his co-delegates, were taken into custody.

24th. The meeting of the livery this day at Guildhall was the most numerous and respectable ever assembled on any occasion. The election of sheriffs called up the exertions of both parties. The popular party was fortified by the appearance of the Earl of Lauderdale, who a few days since purchased his freedom, and became a member of the needle-maker's company, in order to qualify him to be a candidate. Mr. S. F. Waddington joined the Earl; and their pretensions were supported by a strong party of friends. Sir William Herne and Mr. Alderman Williams were successively nominated. The show of hands for each of them was so great, as to leave no possible room for doubt upon the final issue. The several gentlemen who had been drunk to for sheriffs by the present and former lord mayors, and who have not been discharged by fine or service, were put up in succession, and passed over with little notice. James Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, citizen and needle-maker, was then proposed, and a considerable, but very insufficient number of hands was held up in his favour. The noble Lord then endeavoured to address the meeting; but the cry of off! off! with a loud chorus of hisses and groans, prevented him. His Lordship's name was then put up a second time, but with no better success. Mr. Waddington was

then proposed, and had a similar show of hands with Lord Lauderdale. The sheriffs then declared the election had fallen on Sir William Herne, Knight, and Robert Williams, jun. Esq. The sheriffs elect expressed their thanks in a short speech. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen having returned to the hustings, Mr. Stonestreet came forward to propose a vote of thanks to the chief magistrate, but was not able to obtain a hearing. Mr. Edward Kemble then presented himself; but he was equally unsuccessful. The Lord Mayor then addressed the meeting; assuring them he was sufficiently gratified by the consciousness of a steady endeavour to discharge his duties; and recommended that the question should not be put. It was moved and carried.

The King has issued his warrant to empower Mr. Boulton, of Soho, to execute a considerable copper coinage of penny and twopenny pieces.

The wife of Richard Parker yesterday presented a petition to the Earl of Morton, to be delivered to the Queen, in favour of her unfortunate husband: she expressed an earnest desire to the attendants in the guard-chamber that she might have an answer from her Majesty, saying, if his life could be spared, she would freely give a thousand guineas. Her deportment was becoming her unhappy situation. She was dressed in a black silk gown and white petticoat, a scarf mode-cloke, purple shawl, a black chip bonnet, and a deep gauze veil. She appeared to be about forty years of age. An acquaintance, who came with her, took her away in a hackney coach.

30. Parker the mutineer, was
C 2 this

this day executed on board the Sandwich, at Blackstakes.

23. DIED. At his house in Dover-street, Piccadilly, aged 65, Richard Warren, M. D. physician to his Majesty and the Prince of Wales. He died of spasms in his stomach, very unexpectedly, at a moment when Sir George Baker and Dr. Pitcairn were most sanguine in their hopes of his recovery, and when the answers to enquiring friends were most favourable. His complaint had been a violent erysipelas, or St. Anthony's fire in his head. The public in general, as well as a numerous family, will sustain an irreparable loss in the death of this able and acute physician, who had been many years at the head of the best practice in the metropolis. — He was the son of a dignified clergyman at Cambridge, and brought up to the church; and was engaged as tutor to the only son of the late Dr. Peter Shaw, an eminent physician. The young Shaw shewing no turn for instruction, or regard for learning, his father taught the profession to his son's preceptor, and gave him also his only daughter and his fortune; and he immediately succeeded to his business. He is said to have received in the course of one day, fees to the amount of ninety-nine guineas; and to have died worth upwards of 150,000*l*; and that he made 8000*l*. a-year ever since the Regency. The following, we understand, are the principal among the bequests of his will: To his widow, during her life, his houses in Dover-street and Hertfordshire, with all their fixtures and furniture, and his landed estate of 3000*l*. a-year; to his two daughters 10,000*l*. each; to his eldest son 10,000*l*. payable immediately, with the re-

version of the houses and estate after his mother's death; and to each of his other seven sons 6000*l*. assigning as a reason for leaving them no more, that he had given each of them a profession, and advanced them, in his life-time, as far, in their respective professions, as he could. His widow is his residuary legatee. As physician in ordinary to the King and the Prince of Wales, he is succeeded by Dr. Turton, who, as physician extraordinary to the King, is succeeded by Dr. Reynolds.

20. In Charlotte-street, Bloomsbury, George Keate, Esq. F R. S. A. S. he was articled as a clerk to the late Mr. Palmer, steward to the Duke of Bedford; whence he removed to the Inner Temple, but never practised the law. He published "An Account of the Government, History, and Laws, of Geneva, 1761," 8vo; "The Temple Student, an Epistle to a Friend, 1765," 4to; "Ferney, an Epistle to M. de Voltaire," 1768, 4to; "The Monument in Arcadia, a dramatic Poem, in two Acts, 1773," 4to; "Sketches from Nature, taken and coloured in a Journey to Margate. Published from the original design, in two volumes, 1773," in 12mo. In 1781 he published his poetical works, in two vols. 12mo, with a dedication to Dr. Heberden, and an excellent likeness of himself by Pott and Sherwin. Perhaps the "Account of the Pelew Islands," which he drew up and published, 1788, in 4to, is a more lasting monument to his fame than all the preceding ones. "Observations on the Roman Earthen-ware found in the Sea on the Kentish Coast," in *Archæologia*, VI. 125.

21st. At his seat at Plaistow, Kent, Peter Isaac Thellusson, Esq. of Brodsworth,

Brodsworth, in the county of York. The extraordinary will of this gentleman, is given in another part of the volume.

JULY.

4th. The body of Parker the mutineer, which was taken out of the new naval burying-ground at Sheerness, was brought to the Hoop and Horse-shoe public house, Queen-street, Little Tower-hill, on Saturday evening. So large a concourse of persons assembled before the house next day, that a party of constables were stationed there, in order to keep the mob from breaking into the house; and the corpse in the afternoon was removed to the workhouse in Nightingale-lane, by order of the parish-officers. Mrs. Parker was taken before the sitting magistrates in Lambert-street, and examined touching the object of her taking up the body. Her answer was, "For the purpose of a more decent interment." It was buried this morning early, in the vault of Whitechapel church.

6th. Lee, Coffy, and Branning, three marines, were shot at Plymouth for having endeavoured to excite a mutiny in their corps. M'Ginnis, another marine, sentenced to 1000 lashes for being concerned with them, received 500 in part.

9th. About seven o'clock in the evening, Robert Thornton Esq. chief clerk in the House of Commons, put an end to his existence with a pistol, at his apartments in North Earl-street. No motive can be conjectured for this rash and melancholy catastrophe! The coroner's jury sat on his remains, and

brought in their verdict Lunacy.— Mr. Thornton was a near relative to the late Duke of Rutland.

The following is a comparative statement of the porter brewed by the twelve first London brewers, for the years 1796 and 1797, ending on the 5th of July each year:—

1796.		
Whitbread	- - -	202,000
Thrale	- - -	137,810
Shum	- - -	110,700
Hanbury	- - -	109,170
Felix Calvert	- - -	97,550
Goodwyn	- - -	97,580
Meux	- - -	103,790
John Calvert	- - -	68,000
Clowes	- - -	55,770
Elliot	- - -	58,250
Cox and Co.	- - -	42,110
Stevenson	- - -	45,800

1797.		
Whitbread	- - -	192,740
Thrale	- - -	141,590
Shum	- - -	119,820
Hanbury	- - -	117,180
Felix Calvert	- - -	101,760
Goodwyn	- - -	94,750
Meux	- - -	93,400
John Calvert	- - -	70,090
Clowes	- - -	58,680
Elliot	- - -	55,800
Cox and Co.	- - -	46,100
Stevenson	- - -	45,810

13th. The principal trials being over, the recorder proceeded to pass sentence on those who had been convicted; namely, that of death on fourteen; one was ordered to be transported fourteen years, and seventeen to be transported seven years; ten to be confined for one year in Newgate, nine for six months, and one for three months. The sessions were then adjourned.

16th. A most melancholy accident happened this night, about eleven

eleven o'clock. As the three Mr. Taylors, two of whom are clerks in the office for foreign affairs, the other aid-de-camp to the Duke of York, were coming to town from Richmond in a small wherry with a sail, which they had built for their amusement, the boat overfet near Kew, by striking against a barge, and all three tumbled overboard. Mr. B. Taylor got on shore unhurt; Mr. Herbert Taylor was brought on shore with little signs of life, but has since recovered by the means recommended by the Humane Society; and Mr. William Taylor was drowned, and his body is not yet found. The latter had lately returned with Mr. Hammond from Vienna, to whom he acted as secretary, and was much esteemed by all who had the pleasure of knowing him. The night was extremely dark and tempestuous.

18th. This night a terrific storm of thunder and lightning, attended by a very heavy rain, was felt in the metropolis. It began in the south-west parts of the kingdom, and has done considerable damage.

19th. Early this morning, during the prevalence of the thunder-storm, a fire broke out in the house of Lord St. Helen, in Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury, which entirely consumed it, and considerably damaged that of Sir George Young, adjoining. It broke out, not in the bed-chamber, but in a room adjoining, where his Lordship was writing, with his back partly turned towards a window, the curtains of which suddenly burst out into a flame, which spread itself in a few minutes into every part of the room. From the position of the candles on the writing-table, and the rustling noise and smell of sulphur which accom-

panied the breaking out of the flames, it seems highly probable that the accident was occasioned by the lightning.

Several of the sailors engaged in the late disgraceful mutiny, were executed in the course of this month.

The number of arms taken from the people in the north of Ireland, not including those seized in consequence of General Lake's proclamation, are as follow: muskets 10,600, bayonets 1984, pistols 726, swords 608, pikes 1419.

Worcester. 20th. In beginning the repairs of our cathedral, the tomb which stood in the nave, near the chancel, to commemorate the interment of king John, was proposed to be removed to a more convenient place; but, to the astonishment of the workmen, a stone coffin was discovered at the bottom, level with the floor, which, on carefully examining it, was found to contain the remains of the king. From the great length of time the body had been deposited (so long since as the year 1216) nothing but conjectural ideas could be formed as to the vestments, &c. Part of the robe was firm in its texture, but of what colour could not be ascertained. What was discovered of the body appeared to be nearly in the same position as the figure on the top of the tomb-stone, and, from the length of the coffin, measured five feet six inches and a half. Part of a sword was lying by his left side, which time had much mouldered; and the leather sheath was nearly in the same state: the most perfect part was towards the bottom of the legs and feet, on which appeared a kind of half boot. A quantity of a sort of white paste lay in two or three lumps on and below

low the belly, which it may be supposed had been poured into the body on the heart and bowels being taken out. On breaking a piece of this paste, it was mixed with the skeletons of maggots and flies, of which vast quantities lay on and about the body; and on the right cheek of the skull there was a sharp point about half an inch long, and some grey hairs appeared under part of the cap, which had fitted the head very tight, and seemed to have been buckled under the chin, part of the straps remaining. The robe had the appearance, in some parts, of having been embroidered, particularly on the right knee. No bones of the fingers were to be found. One point ascertained is, that the body certainly was deposited here, and not in the more eastern part of the church, as was supposed; and the extraordinary circumstance of there being no memorandum or record of the place of interment in the archives of the cathedral is now obviated. The dean and chapter gave orders that the curiosity of the people should be gratified as far as could be done consistently with safety; but the concourse from all parts becoming so great, it was deemed proper to close the tomb again on Tuesday afternoon. It was observed by the masons that the coffin was cut out of Higley stone; but there was no other top to it than two elm-boards, which were perfectly found.

The quantity of strong beer brewed in this country has, within these few years, very considerably increased, notwithstanding the war, as will be seen by the following statement:

In 1797, - - - - 1,711,543 barrels.
In 1791, a year of peace, 1,364,240 ditto.

347,303

28th. The London Corresponding Society assembled in a field near St. Pancras, to vote a petition to the King, and to enter into resolutions relative to the present state of the country; but their proceedings were interrupted by the magistrates, who arrested the principal speakers, and kept them in custody until they procured bail.

The following is a copy of the petition, as far as they were permitted to read it:—

TO THE KING.

THE PETITION AND REMONSTRANCE OF THE LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY.

Sir,

From the disregard which our former petitions and remonstrances to your Majesty have experienced, wherein we have represented the extreme distress and misery under which the great body of the people languishes by the arbitrary and oppressive measures of your ministers, we are still, as heretofore, induced to suppose that those petitions and remonstrances have either been entirely kept from your knowledge, or deprived of their due weight with your Majesty by the machinations of those ministers.

We forbear, however, on this occasion to renew our petition for their dismissal; conceiving it would be in some degree arrogant, and assuredly nugatory, for this Society so to petition, having seen that not even the united voice of the whole country (lately and unequivocally expressed) has been able to effect the salutary conviction on your mind, that their measures have completely destroyed the order, happiness, and prosperity of these kingdoms, and have consequently a hostile tendency to your person

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and

and government; that they are at length become objects of serious execration to all ranks and descriptions of persons, the baneful effects of their detestable oppression having gradually extended from the peasant and cottager to the mechanic, from the mechanic to the tradesman, and so upwards through every class in the community (save only that which fattens on the public spoil, and whose splendor and luxury increase in the same proportion with the miseries of every other) threatening in their direful career soon to involve the whole empire in one common ruin.

We trust we have sufficiently established, on a former occasion, our rights not only to petition and remonstrate, but to demand attention to our petitions and remonstrances, by then referring to that memorable event, the Revolution of 1688, which secured the enjoyment of that right; and to the accession of the house of Hanover, when that, amongst other rights, was so solemnly recognized by your predecessor, and the maintaining of which was stipulated as the express and only condition on which the throne of these kingdoms could be held, or the allegiance of the people warranted.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the disregard our addresses to your Majesty have hitherto experienced, we yet feel it a sacred duty to ourselves and to our fellow citizens, again to renew our petitions and remonstrances (the more urgently when the public calamities have so greatly increased as they have done, even within these two years since we last addressed your Majesty) and to persevere therein until they shall have excited that due regard to the

long and patient sufferings of a much injured people, which may timely interpose to prevent more civil convulsions, which the contemptuous neglect of just complaints, and the consequent despair of redress to real grievances, are calculated to produce.

We shall not dwell long on the accumulated miseries engendered by the present cruel and disastrous war, seeing that your Majesty has once more afforded the pleasing prospect of a termination to its horrors by the negotiation now pending. We cannot, however, refrain from declaring our detestation of its principle and conduct, by calling to your mind, that as its object has never been positively defined, and a new pretext for persevering in it has been continually adopted, as the foregoing has become invalid, it is at length sufficiently obvious that its real objects were no other than to crush in the bud the infant liberties of twenty-six millions of people, just emerging from the long night of wretchedness, ignorance, and slavery, to the blissful dawn and cheering brightness of freedom and humanity, and to consign them and their territory, a devoted people and a plundered soil, to the surrounding despots of Europe.

Here the reader was interrupted by a cry that the proclamation for dissolving the assembly as illegal had been read.

DIED of a natural death, at his seat at Beaconsfield, in his sixty-eighth year, the Right Honourable Edmund Burke.

The origin of this extraordinary man proves that abilities and genius will make their way, penetrate through difficulties, and raise the possessors

possessors to the first consideration in this country. Mr. Burke, though of popish parentage, was educated a protestant, in a quakers school at Ballymore, about twenty miles from the capital, and afterwards in the university of Dublin, where he was, in 1746, a scholar of the house at the age of eighteen: an institution similar to that of a student of Christ Church, Oxford. According to Dr. Leland, his academical contemporary, he gave no extraordinary indications of genius in that seminary, where he was graduated in 1749. The report of his residence at St. Omer's, and of his popish education, is fabulous, originating from envy, or grounded solely upon the plausibility of his being a warm and liberal friend to toleration. The History of the European Colonies in America, in two small volumes, was the first joint production of Burke and his cousin, in a rural excursion and summer retreat from the Middle Temple, in 1750, where he spent some time, and, though rapidly traced from Hackluyt's Voyages, it was justly estimated as the promising effort of a juvenile and rising genius.

The publication of Lord Bolingbroke's works, and the death of that great writer and English classic, had engaged the attention of the republic of letters, when Mr. Burke published his Vindication of Natural Society, preserved in Doddsley's Fugitive Pieces, as a posthumous work of Lord Bolingbroke. The late Earl of Chesterfield used to relate that he was under a deception for some time, and thought it the genuine production of his old acquaintance, till the discovery of the true author gained Burke the favour of his Lordship and of Dr.

Markham, as well as a just reputation for style and imitative powers. In 1757 he engaged with Doddsley to compile the History of Europe in the Annual Register. This work he did not always acknowledge; but Dr. Leland, accidentally or by design, by criticising the offspring, discovered the genuine fondness of the parent.

Having formed a connection with Mr. Hamilton, he accompanied that gentleman to Ireland in 1761, where his eloquence produced such effects in the Irish senate. Mr. Burke was supposed to have revised Mr. Hamilton's composed orations, though without reason; for nothing could be more dissimilar than their style. But a mutual misunderstanding induced him soon to return to England, with a pension of 300l. per annum, which was soon after sold, upon the Irish establishment. After his return to England he employed his leisure on his Essay upon the Sublime and Beautiful, which excited much attention, and which certainly affords a delightful excursion into the regions of metaphysical imagination.

To Mr. Fitzherbert, father of Lord St. Helen, he owed his introduction to the Marquis of Rockingham, who, with his usual and benevolent propensity to discover and promote merit wherever it was to be found, recommended him to be his private secretary in 1766; and, through the favour of Lord Verney, he was soon after returned a representative for the borough of Wendover. Too well known since that period, as an orator and as a writer, to want any eulogium, an attentive perusal of Mr. Burke's publications will alone give a just estimate, and form a true criterion of

of his taste, style, eloquence, merit, and extensive celebrity.

His exit from the stage of life was marked with that natural grace and dignity which characterized his every movement in the circles of society, of which he was so distinguished an ornament. A short time previous to his yielding his last breath, after having heard read to him some essays of Addison, he recommended himself in many affectionate messages to the remembrance of his absent friends, conversed some time with his accustomed force of thought and expression on the awful situation of his country; and gave, with steady composure, some private directions in contemplation of his approaching death. As his attendants were conveying him to his bed, he sunk down, and, after a short struggle, passed quietly, and without a groan, to eternal rest. Any attempt to describe the talents and acquirements of this great man must be impotent and vain. He has not left that man behind who is capable of performing the arduous task. His fair fame, indeed, requires not the feeble efforts of a descriptive pen to perpetuate its lustre. When time shall pass away, and the present admiring generation shall be no more, the name of Edmund Burke will live in glory, and be immortal.

The pall-bearers who attended the funeral of Mr. Burke were the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Devonshire, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Lord Chancellor, Speaker of the House of Commons, and Mr. Windham. The procession consisted of a hearse and six, two mourning coaches, the family coach, and a numerous train of the inhabitants of Beaconsfield.

11th. In his ninety-eighth year, the veteran father of the stage, Charles Macklin. He had long been in a state of natural decay; but, although incapable of quitting his bed for several weeks previous to his dissolution, his spirits did not forsake him till within a few minutes of his final exit from the stage of life. He was born in the north of Ireland. The real name of the family was M'Laughlin, which, to render more pleasing to an English ear, was familiarized to Macklin. So late as the 10th of January, 1790, he appeared in the character of Shylock, some parts of which he executed with superior force; but his memory failing him in others, he then finally quitted the stage, and retired to enjoy an annuity purchased for him by the publication of some of his dramatic writings; which, together with another annuity of 20l. from Lord Loughborough, whom he instructed in the pronunciation of the English language, when that great law character first became a candidate for distinction at the English bar, afforded him, if not an affluent, at least a comfortable subsistence in the latter years of his very long life.

AUGUST.

SUMMER ASSIZES.

At York three prisoners were capitally convicted; who were left for execution.

At Worcester two prisoners were left for execution.

At Oxford seven prisoners were capitally convicted, of whom two were reprieved, and the other five were left for execution.

At Hertford one only was capitally convicted.

At

At Bury four were capitally convicted; one of whom only was left for execution, and the other three reprieved.

At Reading two capitally convicted; both of whom were reprieved.

At Northumberland, Newcastle, and Morpeth, four prisoners were capitally convicted; of whom two were respited.

At Carlisle one only was capitally convicted, and was respited.

At Lancaster it was remarked by the judge that more cases of manslaughter had occurred in this county for some years past, than in all the rest of the kingdom together.

At Nottingham one was capitally convicted; who was left for execution.

At Maidstone seven were capitally convicted, five of whom were reprieved, and the other two left for execution.

At the Surry assizes five persons were capitally convicted, four of whom were left for execution on Wednesday se'nnight, viz. Rebecca Dunn, for high treason, in colouring base money; George Benjamin Burtenwood, for a footpad robbery; William Batho, for a rape; and William Harling, for sheep stealing.

At Devonshire assizes three were capitally convicted, and left for execution.

Warwick. 15th. This morning a special jury was assembled, and the cause of the King *versus* Binns, which had excited considerable attention, was tried before Mr. Justice Ashurst. Mr. Percival, assisted by five other counsel, conducted the prosecution; — Mr. Romilly, assisted by Messrs. Reader and Fletcher, undertook the defence. — It appeared that the sentences composing the charge had been ab-

stracted from different parts of the speech which Binns delivered, and so put together in the indictment as to convey a meaning highly seditious; for it stated that he had said that "force was justifiable to obtain a reform in parliament." But it was sworn by five witnesses that his words were, "If attempts were made to deprive the people of the trial by jury and the liberty of the press, that then it would be laudable to oppose it by force." — "Thus," said Mr. Romilly, "the words were applied to a mere hypothesis, and not respecting a reform in parliament. When the words are thus applied, they are far from importing any thing criminal; nay (continued the counsel) to support by force the trial by jury and the liberty of the press against the attacks of government, is justifiable, according to Blackstone." Here the learned counsel read a quotation from Blackstone's Commentaries. — Mr. Percival replied. The trial lasted nearly eleven hours and a half, when the jury retired; and after deliberating about two hours and three quarters, followed the judge to his lodgings, and delivered a verdict of Not Guilty.

Venice, July 31. The commercial houses here are to pay the following sums, in silver ducats (*ducati d'argento*) towards the contributions imposed by the French:—

Serpos	30,000	Camilnati	20,000
Zinetti	28,000	Camello	10,000
Treves	45,000	Bianchini	25,000
Tamosi	45,000	Burati	26,000
Rizotti	15,000	Borelli	17,000
Luisello	10,000	Angeli	16,000
Curiel	20,000	Guizetti	18,000

And thirteen other houses from 8,000 to 2,500 ducats.

Jedburgh. 16th. A multitude of stout young

young men, to the number of near 2000; assembled, each armed with a bludgeon, from different parts of the country.—After having heard, read, and agreed to certain resolutions, peremptorily to oppose being drawn as militia-men, they proceeded to the house of the person in whose possession were the lists of those to be ballotted, and carried them off in triumph. They afterwards paraded the streets, preceded by a drum, but offered no violence. Other meetings of a similar kind have taken place, and we understand, to a still greater extent in some neighbouring towns. The Duke of Roxburgh, in his way home from Jedburgh, was surrounded in his carriage, but no personal violence was offered to him, by the same party. He was taken ill, it is said, in consequence of the terror it occasioned him.

20th. This morning, about five o'clock, twenty police-officers came to Norwood in three hackney-coaches, threw down all the gipsy tents, and exposed about thirty men, women, and children, in the primitive state of man. They carried them to prison, to be dealt with according to the Vagrant Act.

23d. The following melancholy accident happened at Barking Creek's Mouth, near Woolwich: Thirteen persons, returning from on board a vessel, stopped to take a child from on board; the tide running strong, carried the boat a little way from the ship, when some of the party endeavouring to reach the child, unfortunately dropped it in the water. Every one instantly attempting to save it, ran to the side of the boat, when it instantly upset, and six of the unfor-

tunate persons, perished, among whom was the infant.

24th. About noon this day, a dreadful fire broke out at Honiton, in Devonshire, which raged with great fury for four hours, and was with difficulty extinguished in the evening, after destroying near forty houses, among which was the Bank; but we are not at present informed of any other particulars. This is the third calamitous visitation of this nature with which the above unfortunate town has been afflicted in the course of a few years. As the flames spread with great rapidity, owing to the houses being generally covered with thatch, the most valuable of the furniture, and various articles of trade, were consumed. Several of the dwellings were however mere cottages; the loss altogether is estimated at between fifteen and 20,000l.; and several families are reduced to extreme distress. Had the fire broken out in the night, or the wind been unfavourable, nearly the whole town must have been destroyed.

Leicester. 28th. George Davenport, convicted at our last assizes of a highway robbery, was this day executed. He was thirty-nine years of age; eighteen of which he had, according to his own confession, been a highway robber. He has deserted from different regiments forty times, and had frequently escaped from gaol. He has made some important discoveries. He went from the prison to the place of execution in a post-chaise, accompanied by his brother, and dressed in his shroud, &c. and was afterwards buried with his family at Great Wigston.

A dreadful storm, attended with a whirlwind, happened near Peterkaner,

kaner, in South Prussia. Whole woods were torn up, and trees carried into the air like sheaves of corn. Several villages were entirely destroyed, with a number of cattle. Many people were also much hurt.

About the latter end of August, Scutari, the finest and largest suburb of Constantinople, was almost entirely destroyed by a violent conflagration, which consumed upwards of 3000 buildings.

DIED. 6th. James Petit Andrews, Esq. F. A. S. one of the magistrates of the police-office in Queen's Square, Westminster, and brother to Sir Joseph Andrews, Bart. — Mr. Andrews was author of several publications; amongst others, 1. "Anecdotes, ancient and modern, with observations, 1789," 8vo, and a supplement to it, 1790, 8vo; 2. "A History of Great Britain, connected with the Chronology of Europe, 1795," 2 vols. 4to, containing anecdotes of the times, lives of the learned, with specimens of their works, on the plan of President Henault; 3. Continuation of Henry's "History of Great Britain," in one vol. 4to, and 2 vols. 8vo, 1796; 4. "Account of Saxon Coins found in Kintbury churchyard, Berks" (Archæol. VII. 430); 5. "The Account of Shaw," in Mr. More's Berkshire Collections, page 75. He was also the translator of "The Savages of Europe," a popular French novel.

At his apartments in York-street, St. James's Square, in his fifty-fifth year, the Right Honourable Harvey Redmond Morris, Lord Viscount Mountmorres. He put an end to his existence by shooting himself through the head. By the direction of the bullet, it appeared that

he had put the pistol into his mouth; he had another in his pocket, loaded; and, by every account, it is obvious that he had made preparations for this violent act; had paid the few bills that he owed, and had conversed in a way that gave his acquaintance reason to believe that he had for several days deliberated upon the suicide he accomplished. The coroner's inquest, on the clearest proofs, brought in their verdict lunacy. His Lordship's remains were conveyed, on the 22d, to St. James's chapel in Tottenham-court-road, and there interred.

At his house in Derby, aged sixty-three, Joseph Wright, Esq. long held in high estimation throughout Europe as a chaste and elegant painter. He was a pupil of Hudson. Mr. Wright's early historical pictures may be considered as the first valuable productions of the English school. His attention was afterwards directed, for some years, to portrait-painting; but his genius was not to be circumscribed within such narrow limits; and therefore, at a mature age, he visited Italy, to study the precious remains of art which that country possessed. His fine drawings, after Michael Angelo, and the enthusiasm with which he always spoke of the sublime original, evinced the estimation in which he held them; and, from their extreme accuracy, they may be considered as faithful delineations of the treasures of the Capella Sestina, and such as have never yet been exhibited to the public. During his abode in Italy he had an opportunity of seeing a very memorable eruption of Vesuvius, which rekindled his inclination for painting extraordinary effects of light: and his different pictures

pictures of this sublime event stand decidedly *chef d'œuvres* in that line of painting.

SEPTEMBER.

5th. This morning, about ten o'clock, a fire broke out in the workshops of Mr. Tanner, carpenter, in the village of Tiverton, Somersetshire; which entirely destroyed the same, together with a large quantity of seasoned deal and oak planks, to the almost total ruin of an industrious man and his family, the loss being estimated at 500*l.* the whole of which was uninsured. The fire was occasioned by a live coal falling from the adjoining blacksmith's forge, through an accidental hole in the wall, on some shavings in the workshops.

A writ of enquiry was this day executed before the sheriff of Middlesex, in a cause Boddington *versus* Boddington, for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife.

The defendant having suffered judgment to go by default in the court of King's Bench, a special jury was impannelled at the Sessions-house, Clerkenwell, to assess the damages. The damages were laid at 50,000*l.* Mr. Erskine, counsel for the plaintiff, Mr. Samuel Boddington, opened the case; and, after expatiating with his usual eloquence on the enormity of the crime of adultery and seduction, proceeded to state the particular circumstances attending it, which, he contended, united in themselves the most shocking instance of depravity that ever entered the human mind, the defendant not only being partner with the plaintiff in a very extensive mercantile concern,

but his first cousin. The defendant, under the sacred mask of friendship, abused the confidence reposed in him, and by various acts contaminated the mind of Mrs. Boddington; a lady who, previous to this unhappy and fatal error, bore the most unblemished character; and who, besides possessing a most beautiful person and elegant accomplishments, was remarked for the exemplary manner in which she discharged the duties of a wife and mother. Two children were the fruits of this marriage; and they continued to enjoy the most uninterrupted felicity till a short time previous to Mrs. Boddington's elopement with the defendant, which took place the beginning of June last. The means to effect this scheme were the most abominable on the part of the defendant. Mr. Samuel Boddington having observed something in his wife's conduct that gave him reason to suspect his honour was in danger, resolved to remove her for a time from the scene he dreaded, but did it in such a delicate manner as not to create the least suspicion of the cause, either to his wife or friends. Proposing a journey to Bath, and then to Wales, he parted with the defendant in the most cordial manner, little thinking that matters had proceeded so far as the result has proved. It was settled with the defendant that he was to return to town immediately, if business required his presence. A few days after he got to Bath, he received a letter from the defendant to the effect as under:—

“Dear Sir, The packet arrived this morning; and, as you said you were willing to come up if necessary, I request you will, and be in town

town on Monday morning, to attend a meeting on the exchequer warrants. News is generally good here, funds rather better," &c.

This letter unfortunately had the desired effect, Mr. Boddington immediately setting off for town in the mail, leaving his wife at Bath. He must have been passed on the road by the defendant, who went thither, and carried Mrs. Boddington away. On Mr. Boddington's arriving in town, he found the following letter left for him by the defendant:—

"When we parted on Wednesday last, it was for the last time. This night I go from London, never to return again. I have deceived you in sending for you to town, and wish I had not in other things. If you see my father, for God's sake break the matter to him by degrees. I have taken seven hundred pounds.

"BENJ. BODDINGTON."

Mr. Law, as advocate for the defendant, made a very able speech in mitigation of damages, and after some observations on his client's conduct, he concluded by entreating the jury to tincture their justice with mercy, and only award a fair retribution. The under-sheriff then summed up the evidence; and the jury, after retiring out of court for about twenty minutes, returned with a verdict of 10,000*l.* damages.

9th. A very melancholy and distressing calamity occurred at Mr. Meux's brewhouse, in Liquorpond-street. A porter vat having been emptied on Thursday, and kept open above the usual time of six-and-thirty hours before it was cleansed, one of the men was let down across a stick fastened to ropes, to perform that service; he unfortunately, letting go his hold,

fell to the bottom, and the vapour not being evaporated, caused instant suffocation; his companion, seeing his situation, and having procured a joint ladder, went down into the vessel, where, on reaching the bottom, he fell lifeless. Mr. Squires, acting clerk, imagining he could bring the unfortunate persons up, persisted also in going down, though intreated to desist, and accordingly being supplied with ropes, he put one round the neck and waist of one of the men; but being desired by the persons above to shift it under his arms, while performing this humane office the effluvia overpowered him, and he dropped down dead. The bodies of all three, after some time, were drawn up by hooks. His Royal Highness the Duke of York, who happened to be at Mr. Leader's, coach-maker, at the time of the accident, went immediately to the brewhouse, and ordered every medical assistance to be procured. Several gentlemen of the faculty attended, and used the means of resuscitation for near three hours, but without effect. The coroner's jury sat at eight o'clock in the evening, and brought in their verdict Accidental Death. Mr. Squires was only twenty-five years of age. They were all of them married, and one has left four children.

A few days since the first brick of the new bridge erected over the river Avon, by public subscription, in the centre of the village of Pewsey, in the county of Wilts, was laid, through the indefatigable exertions of the Rev. Joseph Townsend, rector of that parish: the water whereof having for many years proved so fatal to cattle in the winter season, as well as almost a total obstruction,

obstruction to travellers, occasioned so important an undertaking.

From the Jamaica Gazette we have the following particulars of the dreadful earthquake which happened last February at Quito, in South America. This dreadful calamity began at Quito at half past seven, A. M. and lasted, from the best calculation, upwards of three minutes. The elegant college of Saint Fernando is in ruins. The large edifice of Santa Domingo is considerably damaged; the Grand Tower was broken into many pieces, and a number of the cells entirely destroyed; the student's school is in ruins. The high church of Del Carmen, one of the most elegant fabrics in the place, is totally demolished. The Tower of la Merced is nearly in the same state: it has been ordered to be pulled down. the Church de la Conception has suffered considerable damage. Indeed all the best buildings of the place are quite destroyed. None of the low buildings have received any damage. At Facunga the earthquake began some time past seven o'clock, A. M. and the agitation of the earth continued till two o'clock, P. M. leaving the villages entirely in ruins, not a building being left standing, except an arch in the great square, and a part of a neighbouring house. The people who have perished are innumerable. The churches of St. Augustin, St. Domingo, and la Merced, were crowded with people hearing mass; not one of whom were saved. The whole place opened into gullies, out of which large quantities of water issued. Don Francisco Camacho was swallowed up; and no account has been received of Don Antonio

Texado, who was with him. The village of St. Philip, which is near to Fecunga, is swallowed up: in this place there was a school in which were upwards of forty children, who have suffered the same fate. There are different reports respecting the village of Ambato: it is said likewise to be in ruins. The famous estate of the Marquis de Miraflores, on which was a cloth manufactory, all his horses, and an elegant church, are entirely destroyed, and many lives lost. Calera, an estate adjoining the Marquis's, is swallowed up, and scarcely the vestige of a house to be seen. Alagues, Saguiali, Pugili, Fachuchi, and other considerable villages and estates, are entirely ruined. Machache, Aloaci, Amaguana, Alvay, and other villages in the neighbourhood of Facunga, have suffered great damage. Not a church is left standing in either of these places. The mountains of Calopaci opened in several parts, and issued great quantities of water; a small hill near to the city threw up vast heaps of stones. This earthquake is said to be much severer than that which happened in 1755.

26th. Several of the mail-coaches did not arrive at the Post-office in time this morning for the delivery of letters, owing to the heavy rains which had deluged different parts of the country.

Mr. Brookes and Mr. Magistra, King's messengers, were drowned as they were landing from the Diana packet, at Calais, in their way to Lisle, with dispatches.

30th. Early this morning, an old house in Greengate-street, behind Whitechapel church, fell down. There were fifteen persons in the building; but a weaver, who

was at work in an upper-room, giving a loud crash, gave notice of danger to the other inmates; they were all fortunate enough to escape about two minutes before the whole fabric suddenly fell. ED. At his palace at Chichester the Right Rev. Sir William Burnham, Bart. D. D. the venerable bishop of that see, and rector of St. Andrew's, in Suffex. He was the first of the English bench, and the only bishop not appointed by recent Majesty.

Cambridge, after a long illness, in his sixty-third year, the Rev. Richard Farmer, D. D. F. R. and S. master of Emanuel-college, principal librarian of the public library in that university; one of the canon-residentiary of St. Paul, London; chancellor of the diocese of Northampton and Coventry, and residentiary of Worcester. He was born at Leicester in 1735. He served the office of vice-chancellor in the year 1775 and 1787; was much respected for his liberality to the poor, and the various suggestions by him for the improvement of the town of Cambridge. He was well known in the literary world for his "Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare, addressed to Joseph Craswell, Esq. 1766," which has been three times printed, viz. 1766, 1767, and 1793.

18th. In childbed, Mrs. Godwin, the wife of Mr. William Godwin, of St. Paul's Town; a woman of uncommon talents and considerable knowledge: well known throughout Europe by her literary works, under her original name of Wollstonecraft, and particularly by her "Declaration of the Rights of men, 1792," 8vo. Her first

publication was "Thoughts on the Education of Daughters, with Reflections on Female Conduct in the more important Duties of Life, 1787," 12mo. 2. "The Rights of Man, 1791," 8vo, against Mr. Burke on the French Revolution: of the rise and progress of which she gave an "Historical and Moral View" in 1794, only one volume being published. 3. "Elements of Morality for the Use of Children: translated from the German of Sultzman, 1791," 3 vols. 12mo. 4. "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, with Strictures on Moral and Political Subjects, 1792." 8vo. 5. "Letters written during a short residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, 1796," 8vo. Her manners were gentle, easy, and elegant; her conversation intelligent and amusing, without the least trait of literary pride, or the apparent consciousness of powers above the level of her sex; and for soundness of understanding, and sensibility of heart, she was, perhaps, rarely equalled. Her practical skill in education was even superior to her speculations upon that subject; nor is it possible to express the misfortune sustained, in that respect, by her children.

OCTOBER.

1st. As some masons were digging in the Castle of Stirling, in a garden adjacent to the magazine, they struck upon a human skeleton, about eight yards distance from the window where the Earl of Douglas was thrown over after he was stabbed by King James II. It is thought, and there is little doubt but that it is his remains, as it is certain he

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was

was buried in the garden, and but a little distance from the closet-window. The bones were entire, and, from the place where the skull was lying to the down end of the shank-bone, measured about six feet. They were carefully gathered up, put into a box, and deposited nearly where they were found.

3d. The Bank of England called in the stamped dollars.

China. An insurrection of a serious nature has lately been fomented in several of the provinces, particularly in that of Hou-quang, which has considerably advanced the price of cotton, the principal commodity of that province. The cause of these disturbances is ascribed to the Emperor Kien Long having abdicated his throne, at the age of eighty-seven, in favour of Ka Hing, his fifteenth son. Instead, however, of retiring, like Charles V. into solitude, and renouncing altogether the care of government, the aged Emperor still manifested an inclination to dabble in state affairs. In this he was seconded by Co Law, an ancient mandarin. Jealousies had then arisen between the old and new ministers, which have spread like wildfire through the provinces, the Mandarins siding, as interest or attachment predominated, with the leading parties at court.

6th. Mr. Bruister, of Dean-street, Soho, shot himself through the head with a pistol. Previously to committing this rash act, he called for a glass of wine and water, and had a second pistol grasped in his hand to complete his death. He survived the fatal shot a few minutes. Mr. Foot, and other gentlemen of the faculty were called in, but their assistance was useless. No cause

has yet been assigned for this shocking transaction. Mr. Bruister was a bachelor, and led a very solitary life. He was a man of excellent character, and much esteemed among his friends, but of a gloomy disposition. He was very infirm, and had just recovered from a severe illness. The property he has left is immense.

9th. A general mutiny broke out on board the British fleet at the Cape of Good Hope, which terminated on the 12th, in consequence of a communication that the demands of the seamen at Spithead had been complied with.

The American newspapers down to the 11th, bring intelligence of the horrid ravages lately made by the yellow fever in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Providence, &c. &c. The returns daily made of the burials, amounted, in Philadelphia, in the month ending with September, to 590 adults, and upwards of 300 children. In Baltimore the numbers were much smaller; but many had fallen victims to the disorder both there and in Rhode Island. Mr. Bedford, the governor of the Delaware, is dead with the fever. We are happy, however, to state, that the approach of cold weather had considerably abated the ravages of the disorder; the returns of the burials decreasing daily.

Italy. 12th. General Buonaparte has written a flattering letter to the Archbishop of Genoa, in consequence of the pastoral letter addressed by that prelate to his clergy. It is to this purport:—

“Citizen, When I received and perused your pastoral letter, I thought I was reading an epistle from one of the twelve apostles. Such

Such certainly was the language of St. Paul. How respectable does religion appear when served by ministers like you! Whence is it that priests are in general actuated by another spirit? Jesus Christ fought to convince by evidence, and laid down his life rather than enforce the reception of his doctrine. Wicked priests preach revolution and bloodshed, and sell the poor flocks like Judas. I hope soon to come to Genoa, when it will be a great pleasure to me to converse with you. A bishop like Fenelon, or the Archbishop of Milan, Ravenna, and Genoa, gives new vigour to religion; since he not only preaches, but practises virtue. A good bishop is the most precious gift which Heaven can bestow on a city or a country."

Carrickfergus. 14. The inhabitants of this town, men, women, and children, quitted the place this day, rather than be present at the execution of their hapless countryman, Mr. Orr. Some removed to the distance of many miles;—scarce a sentence was interchanged during the day, and every face presented a picture of the deepest melancholy, horror, and indignation. The military who attended the execution consisted of several thousand men, horse and foot, with cannon, and a company of artillery—the whole forming a hollow square. To these Mr. Orr read his dying declaration, in a clear, strong, manly tone of voice. He was a dissenter. His last accents articulated the hope that Ireland would soon be emancipated. The following is the dying declaration of Mr. Orr, of Ferranchane, in the county of Antrim, farmer, above alluded to:

"My friends and countrymen,
"In the thirty-first year of my

life I have been sentenced to die upon the gallows, and this sentence has been in pursuance of a verdict of twelve men, who should have been indifferently and impartially chosen. How far they have been so, I leave to that country from which they have been chosen to determine; and how far they have discharged their duty, I leave to their God and to themselves. They have, in pronouncing their verdict, thought proper to recommend me as an object of humane mercy. In return, I pray to God, if they have erred, to have mercy upon them. The judge who condemned me, humanely shed tears in uttering my sentence; but whether he did wisely in so highly commending the wretched informer who swore away my life, I leave to his own cool reflection; solemnly assuring him and all the world, with my dying breath, that the informer was forsworn. The law under which I suffer is surely a severe one! May the makers and promoters of it be justified in the integrity of their motives and the purity of their own lives! By that law I am stamped a felon, but my heart disdains the imputation. My comfortable lot and industrious course of life best refute the charge of being an adventurer for plunder; but if to have loved my country, to have known its wrongs, to have felt the injuries of the persecuted catholics, and to have united with them and all other religious persuasions in the most orderly and least sanguinary means of procuring redress; if those be felonies I am a felon, but not otherwise. Had my counsel (for whose honourable exertions I am indebted) prevailed in their motion to have me tried for high treason, rather than under the in

surrection-law, I should have been entitled then to full defence, and my actions have been better vindicated; but that was refused, and I must now submit to what has passed. To the generous protection of my country I leave a beloved wife, who has been constant and true to me, and whose grief for my fate has already nearly occasioned her death. I leave five loving children, who have been my delight; may they love their country as I have done, and die for it, if needful. Lastly, a false and ungenerous publication having appeared in a newspaper, stating certain alleged confessions of guilt on my part, and thus striking at my reputation, which is dearer to me than life, I take this solemn method of contradicting the calumny. I was applied to by the high sheriff and the Rev. William Bristow, sovereign of Belfast, to make a confession of guilt; who used intreaties to that effect. This I peremptorily refused: if I thought myself guilty I should be free to confess it; but, on the contrary, I glory in my innocence. I trust that all my virtuous countrymen will bear me in their kind remembrance, and continue true and faithful to each other, as I have been to all of them. With this last wish of my heart, nothing doubting of the success of that cause for which I suffer, and hoping for God's merciful forgiveness of such offences as my frail nature may have at any time betrayed me into, I die in peace and charity with all mankind.

“WILLIAM ORR.”

Carickfergus Gael, Oct. 5, 1797.

Scotland. Several disturbances of a most alarming nature took place in this part of the united kingdom in August and September last, on

the ballot for a supplementary militia. The Highlanders, totally misconceiving the intention of the legislature, imagined they were to be trepanned to expatriation, and in one or two instances (at Tranent particularly) resisted even unto death. But no sooner was the law explained to them, than, highly to their credit, the most complete subordination and satisfaction took place.

The Duke of Norfolk's improvements at Arundel Castle (on which he has expended 200,000*l.*) are in the Saxon style. This magnificent pile of buildings is 200 feet each way; and the front, or ground-floor, is entirely of stone, the second of mahogany, the third of oak, and the fourth of deal. The repairs and improvements of this ancient Gothic structure are magnificent and expensive; but the public do not know the circumstances that have made them so. The ground-rents of that part of the Norfolk estate on which stand Norfolk and Arundel-streets, in the Strand, were anciently appropriated to the repairing and improving of Arundel-Castle, and to be used for no other purpose. The Norfolk family have long wished to set aside this absurd disposition; and those rents had not been drawn for upwards of twenty years, when the present Duke called for them. They had then accumulated to a very large amount; but the parties refused to pay them, unless it were to defray the expence of repairing and improving Arundel-Castle. The Duke, finding it impossible to obtain them for any other purpose, gave orders for such alterations in the building as would amount to the sum due; and it is
now

now fitting up in the most costly and magnificent style. The floors are all to be of mahogany; and gilding, and all sorts of expensive decorations, are to be added.

13th. Sir B. Hammet was fined the sum of one thousand pounds, for declining to serve the office of Lord Mayor, to which he had been elected.

30th. His Majesty set out from town with an intention of reviewing the North-Sea fleet, and the Dutch prizes at the Nore; but owing to the tempestuousness of the weather, was, after having gone some way, obliged to return, without having effected his purpose.

N O V E M B E R.

3d. Last night, about eight o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Bennison's umbrella manufactory, adjoining Windmill-street, Finsbury-square, which it entirely consumed; it communicated to a small house in an adjoining court, in which were only four houses; but, by the exertions of the fire-men, was prevented from spreading, tho' not without the destruction of a great part of the furniture of the poor inhabitants.

Louvain. Our university, which had existed nearly 400 years, and which formerly enjoyed much reputation in the literary world, has been destroyed by an order of the department of the Dyle. It must be admitted that it deserved its fate. It was the principal asylum in the Netherlands of fanaticism, and of those principles which were most opposite to the new regimen. Ignorance is in some places the natural production of the country;

but at Louvain it appears that it was cultivated with care. None of the valuable appendages to the university, as the library, physic-garden, &c. have, however, been destroyed.

The present Empress of Russia has purchased the palace of Prince Dolgorucki, at St. Petersburg, and converted it into a college for teaching the art of midwifery. Twenty poor women of good character are to be instructed and continually supported by her Majesty's private purse, and occasionally distributed over the provinces.

The following letter from the Emperor of Russia accompanied the insignia of the order of St. Alexander Nefsky, with which Lord Duncan has lately been invested:

"Peterhoff, July 19th, 1797.

"Admiral Duncan,

"In consideration of the talents which you have displayed during your military career, the honourable and distinguished manner in which you acquitted yourself in the command which you had over my squadron, destined to combat, conjointly with yours, the enemies of your country, and the zeal which you have manifested for the well-being of my subjects, as well officers as flamen, I have created you Chevalier of my Imperial Order of St. Alexander Nefsky, the insignia of which accompany this for your investiture.—I flatter myself that the justice which I now render you will be received by you as a striking proof of my high consideration and good wishes.—I pray God to have you in his holy and particular keeping.
(Sighed)

"PAUL."

8th. This morning Richard Barber for forgery, and John Bryant for a rape

a rape, were executed before Newgate. Soon after they were cut down, an extraordinary occurrence took place. Between nine and ten o'clock a hackney-coach drew up to the prison door, in order to convey away the body of Bryant; which being brought out, a violent altercation took place between two parties among the crowd, each headed by a woman, as to which was best entitled to the possession of the corpse. Upon the body being brought into the street, the two contending parties seized hold of it, some dragging it by the legs, and others by the head and arms; but all contributed to prevent its fall to the ground. After an obstinate contest for near half an hour, the body was carried into Giltspur-street, where, being put into a coach, it was driven off. The populace then dispersed.

12th. A melancholy accident happened in the French prison at Stapleton, near Bristol. The prisoners being very riotous and disorderly, one of the centinels, apprehending that some of them were attempting to break out, fired his piece, and unfortunately shot one of his companions through the body; in consequence of which he died in a very few minutes.

An Atheistical Society has lately been formed in Paris, as their own papers state, called *Les Hommes sans Dieu*, "The Men without a God." Their sole homage is paid to Virtue. They renounce all obedience to priests and magistrates: they are to be men of blameless lives, and not less than fifty years of age. If a civil war should break out, they are to admonish the combatants, armed only with the Book of Virtue. If per-

secuted, they are to retire to their church-yards, and there, wrapped in their clokes, to meet their fate! —Where will this combination of madness and folly terminate its career!

DIED. 2d. At Norwich, in his fifty-seventh year, the Rev. William Enfield, LL. D. pastor of the congregation of Protestant Dissenters meeting in the chapel there, originally erected for Dr. Taylor, and formerly lecturer in the *belles lettres* at the academy at Warrington. To the public he was well known by his many ingenious and useful writings, which entitled him to a respectable rank in the literary world.

10th. About nine o'clock in the morning, of a dropsy, at his new palace of *Sans Souci*, near Potsdam; his Prussian Majesty, Frederic William the Second. Since his return from Pyrmont, the principal physicians despaired of his recovery; yet the king enjoyed so strong a constitution, that his first illness was that of which he died. His Majesty was born September 25th, 1744; had reigned eleven years; and is succeeded by his son, Frederic William, born August 3d, 1770. In whatever light the character of this monarch is to be viewed, it will appear not altogether problematical. The ambition of the house of Brandenburg actuated him, as it had done his predecessors; and the measures he took to gratify it, whether by the partition of Poland, the treaty of Pilnitz, or the separate peace with the French republic, will, in the estimation of impartial judges, be deemed alike unworthy. His favourite mistress was, on the accession of his successor, immediately apprehended,

apprehended, and committed to close custody for life.

D E C E M B E R.

1st. Mr. Fox presented to the King, at the levee, a petition, from near five thousand freeholders of the county of Down, in Ireland, complaining of the hardships which that county at present labours under, and praying for a redress of grievances.

2nd. Gold seven shilling pieces were ordered to be received as the current coin of the kingdom.

5th. The Dublin papers brought intelligence that Hugh Wheatley, one of the persons brought forward by the crown against Mr. Orr, lately executed in Ireland, had confessed that he had been guilty of perjury and murder.

The late thick fogs have not only been prevalent among us, but in various other places. We have a private account of a most surprising one felt in Paris. The whole city appeared, as it were, enveloped in a cloud of foetid emanations, and acid sulphureous matters, which affected both the smell and the sight, and scarcely left in the atmosphere vital air enough for a painful respiration; insomuch that chymists are now employed in analysing these *phenomena*. At four o'clock, the mist was so powerful as to intercept all the rays of light beyond a few paces; and soon afterwards became so thick as almost to extinguish the torches which people were obliged to carry in the streets. It was eleven o'clock at night before the cold had power enough to condense the vapid air, or precipitate the foggy particles with which it was

impregnated. Many accidents happened by the overturning of carriages, &c. Some passengers fell into the water. The thieves were particularly active amidst the general confusion.

Staffordshire. The snow was nearly general in this county, from the east: it is deep on most of the roads from Norfolk and Leicestershire, quite across the kingdom to Chester and Lancaster. In some places upwards of two feet deep: a rare circumstance so early in the season.

12th. That part of the waterworks at Shadwell, in which Messrs. Bolton's steam-engine was erected in 1774, over the well, was in one hour and a half burnt to the ground. This engine's power of raising water was at the rate of 903 gallons in a minute, which is 54,180 gallons in an hour, and 758,520 gallons, or 2853 tons 152 gallons in a day of fourteen hours, the usual time of working it. It supplies a district of near 8000 houses, besides public buildings, extending from the Tower to Limehouse-bridge, and from Whitechapel to the Thames.

Dublin. 12th. Yesterday intelligence was received in town of the death of Colonel Fitzgerald, who was lately guilty of a most shameful and dishonourable act in the family of the present Earl of Kingston, by seducing a daughter of that much respected nobleman, to whom he was allied, and in whose family he had been a constant visitor. He met with his death in the following manner: After the discovery of this unfortunate criminal intercourse, which occurred in England, and in consequence of which a duel had taken place between the brother

ther of the young lady (who is now Lord Kingborough) and the deceased Colonel Fitzgerald, she was removed to the country residence of her noble father, now the Earl of Kingston, at Mitchelstown, near Kilworth, in this kingdom. The deceased, feeling no remorse for what he had done, in dishonouring, by the most artful stratagems, an illustrious family, had the audacity and perseverance to follow the young lady to Ireland (it is supposed, with a view to wrest her by violence from her parents) and took a lodging at an inn in Kilworth. The Colonel had been there some days before his arrival at Kilworth was known, or the object of his expedition was discovered. He was observed to walk out in the night, and conceal himself in the day; and the servants at length noticed him lurking about Mitchelstown-house at unreasonable hours. The intelligence having reached Lord Kingborough, who had had the duel with the Colonel, and resolved to defeat his antagonist's project, he left his father's house, and went to Kilworth, where, having enquired if that gentleman was in the house, and being informed he was, he went to the apartment as directed, in which the Colonel lodged. Lord Kingborough rapped at the door, requiring admittance; the other, knowing his voice, replied that he was locked in, and could not open the door; but if he had any thing to say to him, he would receive it in writing under the door. This enraged the young nobleman, and he forced open the door, and running to a case of pistols in the room, took one, and desired the Colonel to take the other and defend himself, as

he was resolved to have satisfaction for the scheme the deceased had formed against his sister, and which he came to this place to put in execution. On both seizing the pistols, they grappled with each other, and were struggling, when the Earl of Kingston, who had been apprised of his son's departure in pursuit of the Colonel, and quickly followed the young lord, entered the room, and finding them in the contest, and that his son must lose his life from the situation the deceased had him in, the Earl fired upon the Colonel, not we believe with an intent to kill him, though his aggravation was great; but the shot however took effect, and the Colonel lost his life, not lamented by any one who has heard of his very dishonourable conduct in this affair. When Miss King was taken by her father from England, on account of her disgrace, it was discovered, on her arrival in Dublin, that the servant-maid who accompanied her, favoured the views of the seducer. On her consequent dismissal from the service, she returned to England, and was the bearer of a private letter to Colonel Fitzgerald, the contents of which were, it is said, sufficient to induce the Colonel, even at the risk of his life, to make an effort to regain the young lady; but his finances not enabling him to undertake the journey, he borrowed a sum of money of an amiable woman, who ought ever to have been most dear to him, under the pretence of making a visit to Dorsetshire. Thus accommodated, he set out for the sister kingdom, and arrived at the village of Kilworth, near Mitchelstone, the residence of the noble family, the place where the

the young lady was then kept, and whose conduct was then watched with particular vigilance.

Amount of armed ships belonging to France, Spain, and Holland, taken, burnt, or destroyed by the English since the commencement of the war :

	Vessels.	Guns.
Of 74 guns and upwards	39	3058
Two-deckers under 74	10	630
Frigates of 32 guns and upwards	46	1778
Frigates under 32 guns	13	583
Sloops, Corvettes, &c.	587	2808

Yesterday morning Maria Theresa Phipoe, for the murder of Mary Cox, was executed before the debtors door, Newgate, pursuant to her sentence. She behaved with proper decorum; and was attended by a Roman Catholic priest. She left a guinea for the most deserving debtor in the gaol, and gave the same sum to the executioner. After hanging an hour in the view of a great number of spectators, one-third of whom were females, the body was cut down, and delivered to the surgeons for dissection. An account of the crime for which she suffered, will be given in the Appendix.

The following is a copy of the return of the numbers of fugitive persons in England, which has just been delivered to the Duke of Portland :

French clergy supported by Government	—	5000
Lay-people ditto, including women and children		2950
Clergy, not supported by Government, as having means in themselves, or living by their industry, about		500
Emigrants, not supported by Government, as having saved some wrecks of their		

fortune, including old people, women, children, maid-servants, &c. about

3000

To which may be added, in Jersey

700

The coinage of gold and silver since the Restoration has been as under :

Coined by Charles II.	7,524,105
James II.	2,691,626
William III.	10,511,963
Anne,	2,691,626
George I.	8,725,921
George II.	11,966,576

Total coinage from 1660 to 1760,	44,111,817
Coined in the present reign,	51,073,362

Total 95,185,179

From which sum, deducting the recoinage, and supposing, though highly improbable, that full half has been illegally exported or manufactured, there ought still to remain above forty millions in circulation.

Sir Henry St. John Mildmay, Baronet, a few days since, met with the following extraordinary accident, at his seat in Hampshire:—Returning from a hard chace with his vicious horse, Telegraph (which he bought of Lord Villers for 600 guineas) he dismounted, and told his groom, he thought he might now venture to pat him; and accordingly put his right hand towards his neck, when the horse instantly seized it in his mouth, and held it there for more than a minute, in despite of all the endeavours of two grooms to disengage it; the consequence was, that Sir Henry was compelled to suffer an amputation of all his fingers, from that hand, in the course of the day.

During

During the last season the following ships passed the Sound, viz. 2405 English, 2017 Danes, 2389 Swedes, 2103 Prussians, 172 Papenburghers, 47 Hamburghers, 107 Oldenburghers, 139 Bremeners, 191 Rostockers, 37 Lubeckers, 2 Courlanders, 81 Americans, and 31 Portuguese.

12th. **DIED**, at his house in Norfolk-street, Strand, Richard Brocklesby, Esq. M. D. Fellow of the College of Physicians and of the Royal Society, and one of the oldest physicians on the staff of the army. He was highly esteemed and respected as a learned and able physician, and as a truly benevolent and honest man. Dr. Brocklesby studied and took the degree of M. D. at Leyden, where he probably formed that friendship with the late Mr. Wilkes which continued to their lives end; and he attended him in consequence of his duel with Mr. Martin, 1763. Preparatory to his degree, he read, and afterwards printed, at Leyden, 1745, 4to, "*Dissertatio inauguralis, de Salvâ sanâ et morbosâ.*" His next publication was, "An Essay concerning the Mortality of Horned Cattle, London, 1746." He was also the author of several papers in the Philosophical Transactions. The Doctor had one son, who was a private pupil to Mr. Wakefield, after he quitted the academy at Hackney.

26th. In Grosvenor square, in his seventy-first year, John Wilkes, Esq. F.R.S. alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without, and chamberlain of London. He was, in early life, colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia; M. P. for Aylesbury, and afterwards for the county of Middlesex; elected alderman

1769; sheriff 1771; lord mayor 1774; and chamberlain 1779. His exertions and intrepidity added legal security to the liberties of Englishmen. A further account of this distinguished character will be given in a subsequent part of the volume.

BIRTHS for the Year 1797.

- Jan. 1. Viscountess Deerhurst, a son.
Countess of Aylesford, twins, a son and a daughter.
16. Viscountess Galway, a son.
Viscountess Clifden, a son.
25. Lady Donne, a son.
Feb. 1. Lady Horatio Seymour, a son.
6. Countess of Guildford, a daughter.
Lady Rodney, a son.
8. Countess of Belfast, a son.
11. Countess Temple, a son.
26. The wife of William Currie, Esq. M. P. a son.
March 5. The wife of Alderman Coombe, M. P. a son.
12. Lady Burges, Baroness, a daughter.
The wife of Alexander Allardice, Esq. M. P. for Aberdeen, a still-born male child.
20. The wife of Colonel Graham, a son.
23. Countess of Mount Edgecumbe, a son.
April 3. The lady of the Bishop of St. David, a daughter.
11. Lady Amelia Gamon, a daughter.
16. Lady Carrington, a daughter.
Lady Watson, a daughter.
May 18.

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| <p>May 13. Countess of Northesk, a daughter.</p> <p>15. Lady Mulgrave, a son and heir.
The wife of Edward Wilbraham Bootle, Esq. a still-born son.</p> <p>17. The wife of the Prince Maximilian of Saxony, brother to the Elector, a son and heir.</p> <p>19. At Lisbon, the Princess of Brazil, a princess.</p> <p>June 20. Lady Napier, a son.</p> <p>26. Countess of Cassilis, a daughter.</p> <p>July 8. Lady Bruce, a daughter.</p> <p>16. Lady Margaret Maclean, a son.</p> <p>21. Countess Hardwick, a son.</p> <p>30. Countess of Plymouth, a daughter.</p> <p>Aug. 1. Lady Suttle, a son.</p> <p>15. The wife of Edmund Wigley, Esq. M. P. for Worcester, a daughter.</p> <p>20. Lady Sinclair, a son.</p> <p>22. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, a daughter.</p> <p>Sept. 6. Lady Charlotte Lennox, a son.
Viscountess Belgrave, a son, who died presently after.</p> <p>17. Lady Elizabeth Spencer, a daughter.</p> <p>18. Duchess of Manchester, a daughter.</p> <p>Oct. The Countess of Aboyne, a daughter.</p> <p>17. Lady Mary Fludyer, a son.</p> <p>21. Lady Mary Stopford, a son.</p> <p>24. Countess of Caithness, a son.</p> <p>Nov. 1. The wife of Major Vesey, of the 83d regiment, a daughter.</p> <p>2. The wife of Colonel Clutton, a son.</p> | <p>5. Lady Lucy Bridgeman, a son.</p> <p>Dec. 21. The wife of Arnold Langley, Esq. a daughter.</p> <p>24. The wife of J. Mansfield, Esq. a daughter.</p> <p>30. The wife of George Dallas, Esq. a son.</p> |
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- ## MARRIAGES, 1797.
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| <p>Jan. 6. David Walker, Esq. nephew to the late General Leslie, to Miss Ryan, sister to Lady Hales.</p> <p>16. Honourable Mr. Dundas, son of Lord Dundas, to Lady Caroline Beauclerk, daughter of the Duke of St. Albans.</p> <p>30. William Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. for the county of York, to Miss Spooner, eldest daughter of Isaac Spooner, Esq. of Elmdon House, in the county of Warwick.</p> <p>Feb. 2. The Earl of Westmeath, to Lady Elizabeth Moore, eldest daughter of the Earl of Drogheda.</p> <p>6. Lord Viscount Montague, to Miss Frances Manby, second daughter of the late Thomas Manby, Esq. of Beads-hall, Essex.</p> <p>13. The Hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, to the Princess Augusta, of Prussia, daughter of the King of Prussia.</p> <p>Colonel Grosvenor, M. P. for Chester, and nephew to Earl Grosvenor, to Miss Heathcote, sister to Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Baronet.</p> | <p>14. Capel</p> |
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14. Capel Hanbury, Esq. of Pontpool-house, in the county of Monmouth, to Lady Mackworth, of Gnoil castle, in the county of Glamorgan.

16. The Rev. Edward Nares, Fellow of Merton-college, and youngest son of the late Honourable Justice Sir George Nares, to Lady Georgina Charlotte Spencer, third daughter of the Duke of Marlborough.

March 14. Colonel Clinton, eldest son of the late Sir Henry Clinton, K. B. to the Honourable Louisa Holroyd, youngest daughter of Lord Sheffield.

19. Abraham Spooner, Esq. eldest son of Isaac Spooner, Esq. of Elmdon-house, in the county of Warwick, to Miss Lillington, only daughter and heiress of Luke Lillington, Esq. of Ferriby Grange, in the county of York; - whose name and arms he has assumed by his Majesty's royal licence.

20. John Quincy Adams, Esq. ambassador from the United States of America to the Court of Berlin, and son to John Adams, Esq. President of the said United States, to Miss Louisa Johnson, second daughter of Josiah Johnson, Esq. of Great Tower-hill.

April. Robert Bernard Sparrow, Esq. high sheriff of the county of Armagh, to the Honourable Miss Acheson, eldest daughter of

Lord Viscount Acheson.

12. Robert Carey Elwes, Esq. of Roxby-upon-Humber, to the Honourable Caroline Pelham, second daughter of Lord Yarborough.

May. 1. The Earl of Derby, to Miss Farren, of Greenstreet, Grosvenor-square.

4. Sir John Monroe, Baronet, to Lady Charlotte Murray, daughter of the Duke of Athol.

18. At the chapel royal, St. James's, his Serene Highness, Frederick Charles William hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg, to her Royal Highness Charlotte Augusta Matilda, Princess Royal of England.

23. The Rev. William Clay, second son of the late Richard Augustus Clay, Esq. of Southwell, in the county of Nottingham, to Lady Burrell, relict of the late Sir William Burrell, Baronet.

June 8. Captain Durban, to Miss Wilcocks, of Norwich.

8. Richard Baker, Esq. of Orset-hall, Essex, to Miss Trafford, of Denton-hall, in the county of Lincoln.

Rev. George Sandby, to Miss Willet, eldest daughter of James Willet, Esq. Lord Trimlestown, to Miss Alicia Eustace, second daughter of Major General Eustace.

Sir Charles Edwards, to Miss Howard, with a fortune of 100,000*l*. At the death of her mother she will

will also have 2000l. a year, and the beautiful seat at Rivermead.

July.

The Honourable Colonel Robert Fulke Greville, younger brother of the Earl of Warwick, M. P. for New Windsor, and equerry to his Majesty, to Louisa, Countess of Mansfield, relict of the late David, second Earl of Mansfield.

18. Rev. William Graham, M. A. of Misterton, in the county of Leicester, to Miss Cave, of Walton. This gentleman's first wife was the celebrated Historian, Mrs. Macaulay, to whom he was married November 14, 1778, and who died June 23, 1791.

19. Thomas Wedgwood (nephew of the late Josiah Wedgwood) of Burslem, to Miss B. Smith, of Little Chell, in the county of Stafford.

- Aug. 3.** Inigo Freeman Thomas, Esq. M. P. of Batten-Lodge, Suffex, to Miss Peirse, daughter of Henry Peirse, Esq. of Bedale, in the county of York.

Lord Viscount Middleton, to Miss Maria Benyon, second daughter of the late Richard Benyon, Esq. of Englefield.

Captain Baldwin, to Miss Prescott, daughter of the Governor in Chief of British America.

- Sept.** Thomas Andrew Strange, Esq. Recorder of Fort St. George, in the East In-

dies, to Miss Jane Anstruther, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart. of Balcaskie.

Henry Hamilton, Esq. grandson of Gustavus Lord Viscount Boyne, and nephew of the Right Hon. Sackville Hamilton, to Miss Campbell, daughter of Rob. Campbell, Esq. of Lochgairehouse, in the county of Argyle.

Mr. Lloyd, banker, of Birmingham, to Miss Harman, of Newington.

21. Mr. Jacob Jones, of Finsbury-square, surgeon, to Miss Keyfall, daughter of John Keyfall sen. Esq. of Upper Gower-street, one of the partners in Child's banking-house.

23. Hanover-square, Lord Grey, son of the Earl of Stamford, to the Honourable Miss Charteris, daughter of Lord Elcho.

- Dec. 2.** John Henry Campbell, Esq. of Falmer, Bucks, to Miss Ouvry, of East Acton.

5. Honourable Thomas Morton, eldest son of Lord Ducie, to Lady Frances Herbert, only daughter of the Earl of Caernarvon.

6. Charles Collins, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, to Miss Jane Forman, youngest daughter of the late Richard Forman, Esq. of the Tower.

7. Captain Charles Rowley, of the royal navy, brother to Sir William Rowley, Bart. to Miss Eliza King,

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youngest daughter of Admiral Sir Richard King, commander in chief at Plymouth.

PROMOTIONS, 1797.

Jan. 18. Countess-dowager of Elgin, appointed governess to the Princess Charlotte.

James Talbot, Esq. appointed secretary of legation to the Swiss Cantons.

30. John Macnamara Hayes, M. D. created a Baronet.

Feb. 14. Right Reverend Henry Reginald Courtenay, bishop of Bristol, translated to the see of Exeter.

John Forbes, Esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama Islands.

15. Right Honourable Lloyd Lord Kenyon, Lord Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench, sworn Lord Lieutenant of the county of Flint.

20. Alexander Græme, Esq. George Keppel, Esq. and Samuel Reeve, Esq. Rear Admirals of the White, to be Rear Admirals of the Red. — Andrew Mitchell, Esq. Charles Chamberlayne, Esq. Peter Rainier, Esq. Sir Hugh Cloberry Christian, K. B. William Truscott, Esq. and Lord Hugh Seymour, Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the White. — Captains William Swiney, Charles Edmund Nugent, William Fooks, Charles Powell Hamilton, Edmund Dodd, Horatio Nelson, Thomas Lenox Frederick, Sir Geo. Home, Bart. and Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. to be Rear Admirals of the Blue.

Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, Knt. appointed Colonel in his Majesty's marine forces.

24. Paul Pechell, Esq. of Pagglesham, Essex, created a Baronet.

March 1. Thomas Langford Brooke, of Mere, Esq. appointed Sheriff of the county of Chester.

John Raymond Barker, of Fairfield, Esq. appointed Sheriff of the county of Gloucester.

3. Robert Calder, Esq. Captain in the royal navy, knighted.

7. Sir George Keith Elphinstone, K. B. Vice Admiral of the Blue, created a Baron, of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of Baron Keith, of Stonehaven Marischal, with remainder to the heirs male of his body; and, in default of such issue male, to Margaret Mercer Elphinstone, only daughter of the said Sir George Keith Elphinstone, and to the heirs male of her body.

27. Sir John Jervis, K. B. Admiral of the Blue, created Baron Jervis, of Medford, in the county of Stafford, and Earl of St. Vincent.

Charles Thompson, Esq. Vice Admiral of the Blue, and William Parker, Esq. Rear Admiral of the Red, created Baronets.

June 2. Right Honourable Richard Earl Howe, invested with the Order of the Garter.

Charles Lord Viscount Dillon, of the kingdom of Ireland, appointed constable.

July 25. Lord Viscount Castlereagh, appointed Keeper of his Majesty's Signet, or Privy Seal, of the kingdom of Ireland.

29. Frederic Christian Lentz, Esq. appointed his Majesty's Consul at Magdebourg and Stettin.

Aug. 2. Henry Lawes, Earl of Carhampton, appointed Master General of his Majesty's ordnance in Ireland.

12. General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. appointed Governor of the island of Guernsey, the Castle of Cornet,

Cornet, and all other islands, forts, and appurtenances thereunto belonging.

Richard Spiller, Esq. appointed one of his Majesty's Commissioners of Excise.

Rev. Alexander Gordon, appointed Chaplain to the garrison of Fort St. George, in North Britain.

27. John Trevor, Esq. sworn of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, created a Knight of the Bath.

30. Captain Colin Macdonald, of the 2d battalion of Royals, appointed Major of Brigade to the forces serving in Portugal.

Captain Lieutenant Spicer, of the Royal Artillery, appointed Lieutenant Governor of Fort Royal, in the island of St. Domingo.

Oct. 4. General Sir Charles Grey, K. B. sworn of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council; and also took the oaths appointed to be taken as governor of the island of Guernsey.

John Anstruther, Esq. knighted.

7. W. Henry Souper, Esq. appointed Deputy Commissary of Musters in the West Indies.

Lieutenant Colonel John Sontag, appointed Military Superintendent of Hospitals in South Britain.

9. Rev. John Buckner, LL. D. recommended, by a *conge d'elire*, to be elected Bishop of Chichester.

10. James Earl of Lonsdale, a Baron and Viscount of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron and Viscount Lowther.

Richard Earl of Mornington, in the kingdom of Ireland, an English Peer, by the title of Baron Wellesley; and Robert Baron Carrington, of the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of Baron Carrington.

Right Hon. Charles Townshend,

created a Peer, by the title of Baron Bayning; Right Honourable James Grenville, by the title of Baron Glastonbury;—Right Honourable Thomas Orde Powlett, by the title of Baron Bolton; Right Honourable Sir Gilbert Elliot, of Minto, Baronet, by the title of Baron of Minto;—Sir John Wodehouse, Bart. by the title of Baron Wodehouse;—Sir John Rushout, Bart. by the title of Baron Northwick; Thomas Powis, Esq. by the title of Baron of Lilford;—Thomas Lister, Esq. by the title of Baron Ribblesdale;—James Drummond, Esq. by the title of Lord Perth, Baron Drummond;—and Francis Humberstone Mackenzie, Esq. by the title of Lord Seaforth, Baron Mackenzie.

14. Richard Earl of Shannon, K. B. Right Honourable Sir John Parnell, Bart. Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer in Ireland, the Right Honourable Thomas Pelham, chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or the chief secretary to the Lord Lieutenant for the time being, the Right Honourable John Monck Mason, the Right Honourable Lodge Morres, and Lord Viscount Castlereagh, appointed Commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer in Ireland.

17. Adam Duncan, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, created a Baron and Viscount of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron Duncan, and Viscount Duncan of Camper Down.

Richard Onslow, Esq. Vice Admiral of the Red, created a Baronet.

Nov. 4. Francis Baron de Dunstanville, created Baron Basset, of Stratton.

14. Armor Lowry, Viscount Belmore, of the kingdom of Ireland, created Earl Belmore, of the coun-

ty of Fermanagh;—Henry Viscount Conyngham, Viscount Mount Charlet, and Earl Conyngham;—Francis Viscount Landaff, Earl Landaff, of Thomastown;—Richard Hely, Lord Donoughmore, Viscount Donoughmore;—Hugh Baron Carleton, chief justice of his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, Viscount Carleton;—Margaret Baroness Oriel, wife of the Right Honourable John Foster, Viscountess Ferrard, of Oriel, and the dignity of Viscount Ferrard, of Oriel aforesaid;—James Lord Caledon, Viscount Caledon, of Caledon;—Thomas Viscount Cremore, Baron Cremore;—Richard Lord Sunderlin, Baron Sunderlin, of Baronston;—Right Honourable James Cuff, Baron Tyrawley; Charles Stanley Monck, Esq. Baron Monck;—Mrs. Grace Toler, wife of John Toler, Esq. his Majesty's solicitor general of Ireland, Baroness Norwood;—William Power Keating Trench, Esq. Lord Kilconnel, Baron Kilconnel;—Charles William Bury, Esq. Baron Tullymore;—Sir George Allanson Winn, Bart. Lord Headly, Baron Allanson and Winn;—Sir John Shore, Bart. Governor General of India, Baron Teignmouth;—and Leonard Troghear Holmes, clerk, Baron Holmes.

20th. William Dowdeswell, Esq. appointed Captain General, and Governor in Chief of the Bahama Islands, in America.

25. Thomas Burke, John Jervis White Jervis, Thomas Mullins, John Edmond Browne, and Anthony Brabazon, Esqrs. created Barons of the kingdom of Ireland.

DEATHS, 1797.

14. Jemima Marchioness Grey, Baroness Lucas. Her ladyship was

the grand-daughter of Henry, last Duke of Kent; daughter of John, third Earl of Breadalbane, by the said Duke's eldest daughter Amabel Jemima; and widow of Philip, second Earl of Hardwicke, to whom she was married, 1740, and by whom she has left two daughters, Amabel, widow of Lord Polwarth; and Jemima, widow of Lord Grantham; to the eldest of whom descend the estates belonging to the Duke of Kent, and the title of Baroness Lucas. She was born October 19th, 1722.

15th. In his eighty-first year, Sir Robert Burdett, Baronet, of Foremark, in the county of Derby; for which county he served the office of sheriff so long ago as 1738.

17th. Aged thirty-eight, Henry Pelham, Esq. brother to the Right Honourable Thomas Pelham, secretary to the present Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

18th. In her thirty-first year, Elizabeth-Anne Lady Ranelagh.

Joseph Bushnan, Esq. comptroller of the Chamber of the city of London, and Clerk-comptroller of the Bridge-house estates.

In her thirty-second year, Lucy Lady Sheffield, third daughter of Thomas Lord Pelham, and second wife of Lord Sheffield, to whom she was married December 26th, 1794. His first lady died April 3d, 1793.

The Right Honourable Hugh Mackay, sixth Lord Reay, a peer of Scotland.

Aged forty-five, the Honourable and Reverend William Bromley Cadogan.

10th. In his eighty-fourth year, the Reverend Francis Randolph, D. D. principal of Alban-hall, in that university.

Elizabeth, Countess of Derby, only

only daughter of James, the eighth Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, by Elizabeth his wife, afterwards Duchess of Argyle; sister to Douglas, the tenth and present Duke of Hamilton, &c. and wife of Edward, twelfth Earl of Derby. Her Ladyship had completed her 44th year on the 26th of January last.

March 7th. Suddenly, at Buckingham-house, far advanced in years, Madame Schwellenberg, keeper of the robes to the Queen; which place she had enjoyed ever since her Majesty's arrival in England.

10th. In her twenty-sixth year, at the Hot-wells, Bristol, where she went for the recovery of her health, the Right Honourable Lady Mary Milfingtown, wife of Lord Viscount Milfingtown.

William Cadogan, M. D. physician to the army, and author of an "Essay on the Nursing and Management of Children, 1750," 8vo; "Dissertations on the Gout, and all Chronic Diseases," 8vo; "*Oratio anniversaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londoniensium, ex Harvardi institutio habita die 18mo Octobris, 1764,*" 4to; another, 1793, 4to. He was of Oriel-college, Oxford; M. A. 1755, B. and D. M. same year.

27th. Sir David Lindsay, Baronet, a General in his Majesty's service, and Colonel of the fifty-ninth regiment.

In his fifty-fifth year, at his seat at Hurstbourne-Park, Hants, John Wallop, Earl of Portsmouth Viscount Lymington, Baron Wallop, of Over Wallop, in that county, His Lordship succeeded his grandfather, as Earl of Portsmouth, November 23d, 1762; married Urania Fellowes, youngest daughter of the late Coulson Fellowes, Esq. by whom he had issue four sons and

four daughters, of whom are now living John Charles, Viscount Lymington, now Earl of Portsmouth; the Honourable Newton Fellowes, of Eggestord, in the county of Devon, who changed his name in consequence of a large property left him by his maternal uncle, the Honourable Coulson Wallop, M. P. for Andover; and three daughters.

April 29th. Elizabeth Ryves, a lady of merit in the literary world. She was very well acquainted with Italian and French literature, and had made no small progress in the classics. Her poetical compositions are distinguished by vigour, taste, and even an air of originality. She translated from the French, Rousseau's Treatise on the Social Compact, and many other works of acknowledged merit. Miss Ryves had turned her attention to the drama, and had written a tragedy and a comedy; the latter of which was submitted to the managers of Drury-lane theatre: and it should be mentioned to their honour, that, having kept it sometime in their possession, and excited expectations in the writer which had tended to draw her into pecuniary embarrassments, they presented to her an hundred pounds, tho' they thought proper to decline the representation of the piece itself.

At his house, the Rev. J. Parkhurst. He was born in London, admitted a Pensioner of Clare-hall, Cambridge, in 1745; admitted a Scholar on Mr. Diggins's foundation in 1746; and when B. A. admitted fellow on Lord Exeter's foundation, July 10, 1751. Many years ago, he published a Greek Lexicon, which had a considerable sale at the time; and having been since improved, still maintains a great reputation with the learned.

Charles Fitzroy, Lord Southampton, son of Charles, second Duke of Grafton, and second brother to the present Duke. He was born in 1737; and, in 1758, married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Peter Warren, K. B. and vice-admiral of the Red; by whom he had issue now living, nine sons and five daughters. His eldest daughter died in 1795, and three sons and a daughter died infants. His Lordship was a Lieutenant-General, Colonel of the third, or King's own regiment of dragoons, and Groom of the Stole to the Prince of Wales; and was created Lord Southampton, Baron Southampton of Southampton, in the county of Hants, Oct. 17, 1780.

30th. Eliz. Countess of Marchmont. She was the daughter of Mr. Crompton, an eminent silk-mercator of London, and second wife of Hume Campbell, Earl of Marchmont, by whom (1747) she had one son, Lord Polwarth, who married Annabel, eldest of the two daughters of the late Marchioness Grey, and was created Baron Hume in England, but died without issue, 1781. She survived her husband; who made so distinguished a figure in the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, little more than three years, he dying Jan. 10, 1794.

June. The Hon. Charles Paget, youngest son of the Earl of Uxbridge, born October 7, 1776.

Lately, at Norwich in Connecticut, North America, the Rev. Sam. Seabury, D. D. Bishop of that state, one of the most learned and ingenious prelates of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. He was not a member of any of our universities, but formerly a persecuted American missionary, a presbyter of the established church

of Scotland; and having applied in vain to the English Bench of Bishops, with the most honourable credentials, after being elected by 30,000 Episcopalians in Connecticut, was consecrated, November 14, 1784, *Bishop of Connecticut, in partibus infidelium*, by the Episcopal College of Aberdeen, or, in other words, by three Nonjuring Scotch prelates, Kilgour Primus, Petrie, and Skinner, who have regularly kept up and continued their succession in that kingdom ever since Episcopacy was abolished.

July. At Dublin, Ch. Wilkinfon Jones, Lord Viscount Ranelagh in Ireland, constable of Athlone, and chairman of the lords committees in the Irish House of Peers. He was born October 29, 1761, and succeeded his father about 1794 or 5.

August 3. At his seat at Montreal, near Seven Oaks, Kent, in his 81st year, the Right Hon. Jeffery Lord Amherst, of Holmesdale, K. B. Privy Counsellor to his Majesty, Governor of Guernsey, Field-Marshal in the army, and Colonel of the 2d regiment of life-guards, and of the 60th (or Royal American) regiment of foot. He is succeeded in titles and estates by his nephew, William Pitt Amherst.

In his fortieth year, the Honourable Simon Butler, third son of Edmund, the tenth Lord Viscount Mountgarret of the kingdom of Ireland, brother of the late, and uncle of the present Earl of Kilkenny. In 1794 he married Eliza, second daughter of Edward Lynch, of Hampstead, near Dublin, Esq. by whom he has left one only child, named Edward Lynch Butler, an infant, about nine months old. His remains were deposited in the vault belonging to Saint James's church.

20th. The Honourable James Hay, third son of the late Earl of Errol.

Aged seventy-eight, the Reverend Charles Bulkley, a dissenting-minister of considerable learning and abilities, and author of several theological works.

At his seat at Audley-end, in his seventy-ninth year, John Griffin Griffin, Lord Howard de Walden, and Lord Braybrooke, field-marshal of his Majesty's forces, lieutenant, *custos retiarum*, and vice-admiral of the county of Essex, colonel of the Queen's own dragoons, recorder of Saffron-Walden, and K. B. He was eldest son of Edward Griffin, Lord Griffin of Braybrooke, son of James Lord Griffin, by Lady Essex Howard, eldest daughter and coheiress of James, third Earl of Suffolk, and Baron Howard of Walden. In 1784 he claimed and obtained the barony of Howard of Walden; and in 1796 the barony of Braybrooke devolved on him. He married, in 1748-9, Anne-Mary, daughter of John Baron Schutz, who died August the 18th, 1764, and was buried at Walden; and, on June the 11th, 1765, he was married to his present Lady, Catherine, daughter of William Clayton, of Harleyford, in the county of Bucks, Esq.; but having no surviving issue, the title of Baron Howard of Walden will be extinct; but that of Braybrooke was revived, 1788, with remainder to Richard Aldworth Neville, Esq. of Billingbere, Berks, and his heirs-male. His Lordship's income, including his regiment, was about 7000*l.* per annum. His landed property devolves to his only surviving sister, Mary, wife of the Reverend Dr.

Parker, one of his Majesty's chaplains in ordinary, and rector of St. James, Westminster, who has no issue.

In an advanced age, the Right Honourable Dorothy Countess-dowager of Sandwich, one of the four daughters of Charles, first Lord Viscount Fane, and one of the two surviving sisters and coheiresses of Charles, the second and last Lord Viscount Fane. In March, 1740, she was married to John, late Earl of Sandwich, by whom she has left the present Earl of Sandwich, her only surviving issue.

At the Warm Springs in Virginia, whither he had gone for the recovery of his health, Thomas Palmer, Esq; who, among other bequests, has left the reversion of the sum of 150*l.* sterling to be applied by his executors in rewarding "the writer or writers of an essay or essays against the present cruel, detestable, and absurd practice of carrying-on war, and to recommend the preservation of harmony among all the nations of the earth."

In the course of his usual walk betwixt his seats of Stevenstone and Hudscott, in the county of Devon, in a fit of the *angina pectoris* (a disorder he had long been subject to) aged seventy-two, Denys Rolle, Esq. late of East-Titherley, in Hampshire, father of Lord Rolle, and descended from an ancient and very honourable family in that county.

At his house in York-street, Dublin, the Earl of Roden. He is succeeded by his eldest son, Viscount Jocelyn, now Earl of Roden.

In his forty-first year, at his father's house at Penn, in Buckinghamshire, the Honourable Penn

Asheton Curzon, son of Lord C. lieutenant-colonel of the Leicestershire yeomanry-cavalry, and one of the representatives for that county, born 1757.

20th. At Wetzlaer, in his 30th year, General Hoche, commander in chief of the French armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Rhine and Moselle. His body having been opened, his death was found to have been occasioned by a species of convulsive asthma, and a polypus formed on one of the greater arteries, which had caused an inflammation that had reached the lungs.

25th. In his thirty-fifth year, the Honourable Robert-George-William Trefusis, Lord Clinton. He is succeeded in titles and estates by his eldest son; has left six children, and his lady pregnant with the seventh. His remains were interred in the family-vault at Trefusis, in the county of Cornwall.

In the seventy-sixth year of his age, and fortieth of his episcopacy, the Right Reverend Charles Walmesley, Lord Bishop of Rama, vicar apostolic of the western district, and senior bishop and vicar apostolic, doctor of theology in Sorbonne, F. R. S. and the last survivor of the eminent mathematicians who were consulted for calculating the alteration from the old to the new style; author of several literary works, particularly an *Explanation of the Apocalypse*, *Ezekiel's Vision*, &c. By the fire at Bath, some years since, at the time of the riots, we believe, the other valuable MSS. he had been compiling during a well-spent life of labour and travelling through many countries before his return to England, were all irretrievably lost.

Robert Shafto, Esq. brother to the Countess of Lisburne.

Isaac Minors, Esq. surgeon, of Chancery-lane, Holborn.

27th. At his seat at Sevenoaks-Vine, in Kent, aged eighty-four, John Pratt, Esq. eldest son of John Pratt, Esq. the eldest surviving son of Lord Chief Justice Pratt, by his first lady, and uncle to Earl Camden, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, on whom the bulk of his fortune devolves.

At Exeter, whither he went for the recovery of his health, the Honourable Thomas Bruce, son of William, Earl of Kincardine, and brother to the late Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, a lieutenant-general in the army, colonel of the sixteenth regiment of foot, and M. P. for Great Bedwin, Wilts. His remains were deposited, on the 20th, in Exeter cathedral, with military honours.

8th. The Most Noble Henry de Burgh, Marquis and Earl of Clanrickard, and Lord Dunkellin, of the kingdom of Ireland, and a Knight of the Order of St. Patrick. He was the senior marquis of that kingdom, and born in 1742. Having left no male-issue, the marquissate becomes extinct, but the earldom, with his estates, descend to his brother, General de Burgh.

At Paris, in consequence of a disease under which he had long laboured, M. Louvet, the ex-deputy, author of "*Le Recit de mes Perils*," a work which exhibits a picture of the reign of terror in France, and editor of a Paris journal ("*La Sentinelle*."). He was also the author of "*Loliska*," the opera translated by Mr. Kemble. Louvet was a man of good talents, mixed with a great deal of vanity, and a great deal of vice.

27th. Lord Viscount Montague; who, though his connexion with the Suffex family does not appear in the peerages, had an undoubted right to the title which he assumed.

13th. In his seventy-second year, Edward, Earl of Kingston. He was born in 1726; represented the county of Roscommon in 1749 and 1761; advanced, by writ of privy-seal to the peerage, 1764; and, in 1766, created Viscount Kingston; and, in 1768, Earl of Kingston. He married, in 1752, Jane, daughter of Thomas Caulfield, Esq. of Donamon, in the county of Roscommon; and by her (who died 1784) had three sons and four daughters. He is succeeded in his title by his eldest son, Lord Kingsborough, father to the unhappy Miss King.

SHERIFFS, *appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year 1797.*

Berks. Bartholomew Tipping, of Wooley, Esq.

Bedfordshire. John Higgins the elder, of Turvey, Esq.

Bucks. John Sullivan, of Richings Park, Esq.

Cumberland. Hugh Parkin, of Skirsgill, Esq.

Cheshire. John Leche, of Stretton, Esq.

Cambridge and Huntingdon. William Waller, of Chesterton, Esq.

Devonshire. John Seal, of Mount Boon, Esq.

Dorsetshire. William Richards the younger, of Smedmore, Esq.

Derbyshire. Charles Hurt, of Wirksworth, Esq.

Essex. William Manby, of Stratford, Esq.

Gloucestershire. William Tindall, of North Cerney, Esq.

Hertfordshire. Sir John Saunders Sebright, of Beechwood, Baronet.

Herefordshire. John Earneby, of Brockhampton, Esq.

Kent. George Grote, of Beckenham, Esq.

Leicestershire. Samuel Bracebridge Abney, of Lindley, Esq.

Lincolnshire. John Cracroft, of Hackthorne, Esq.

Monmouthshire. Thomas Houghton, of Pontypool, Esq.

Northumberland. Matthew Bell, of Wolsington, Esq.

Northamptonshire. Sir William Langham, of Colsbrook, Baronet.

Norfolk. Joseph Wyndnom, of Hersham, Esq.

Nottinghamshire. John Galley Knight, of Warfop, Esq.

Oxfordshire. James Jones, of Atwell, Esq.

Rutlandshire. Thomas Hunt, of Wing, Esq.

Shropshire. William Tayleur, of Bantingsdale, Esq.

Somersetshire. Samuel Day, of Charlthouse, Esq.

Staffordshire. Sir R. Lawley, of Canwell, Baronet.

Suffolk. Chaloner Archdeckne, of Glemham, Esq.

Southampton. John Compton, of Minstead, Esq.

Surrey. Robert Taylor, of Ember Court, Esq.

Suffex. Charles Scrase Dickins, of Brighthelmston, Esq.

Warwickshire. Robert Knight, of Barrells, Esq.

Worcestershire. Moses Harper, of Astley, Esq.

Wilts. Sir John Methuen Poore, of Rushall, Baronet.

E 3

Yorkshire.

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Yorkshire. Sir John Ramsden,
of Bryam, Baronet.

SOUTH WALES.

Caermarthen. David Sanders,
of Glamerhydw, Esq.

Pembroke. Abraham Leach, of
Corston, Esq.

Cardigan. James Nathaniel Tay-
lor, of Stradmore, Esq.

Glamorgan. Robert Nous, of
Court-yr-Ala, Esq.

Brecon. John Macnamara, of
Llangoed Castle, Esq.

Radnor. Percival Lewis, of
Downton, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Caernarvon. Sir Edward Price
Lloyd, of Panlyglafs, Baronet.

Anglesea. Richard Jones, of
Trosly Marian, Esq.

Merioneth. Bell Lloyd, of Cro
gen, Esq.

Montgomery. Robert Knight,
of Gwernygoc, Esq.

Denbighshire. Robert Hesketh,
of Gwrych, Esq.

Flint. John Edward Maddocks,
of Vrnio Jw, Esq.

*SHERIFF appointed by his Royal High-
ness the Prince of Wales, in Council,
for the Year 1797.*

County of Cornwall. William
Slade Gully, of Trevenen, Esq.

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

*London Gazette.**Whitehall, January 17th.**Extract of a letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the Duke of Portland, dated Dublin Castle, January 10.*

I HAVE the satisfaction to acquaint your Grace, that, since the information transmitted to Mr. Grenville, that the French had entirely left Bantry Bay, there has been no re-appearance of them upon the coasts; so that I trust, from the violence of the tempest, and from their ships being ill found and ill victualled, their expedition is for the present frustrated. Upon reviewing what has passed during this expedition of the enemy, I have the satisfaction to reflect, that the best spirit was manifested by his Majesty's regular and militia forces; and I have every reason to believe, that, if a landing had taken place, they would have displayed the utmost fidelity. When the flank companies of the Antrim regiment were formed, the whole regiment turned out, to a man, with expressions of the greatest eagerness to march; and the Downshire regiment, to a man, declared they would stand or fall by their officers. At the time the army was ordered to march, the weather was extremely

severe; I therefore ordered them a proportion of spirits upon their route, and directed an allowance of fourpence a day to their wives until their return. During their march, the utmost attention was paid them by the inhabitants of the towns and villages through which they passed; so that, in many places, the meat provided by the Commissariat was not consumed. The roads, which in parts had been rendered impassable by the snow, were cleared by the peasantry. The poor people often shared their potatoes with them, and dressed their meat without demanding payment; of which there was a very particular instance in the town of Banagher, where no gentleman or principal farmer resides to set them the example. At Carlow, a considerable subscription was made for the troops as they passed: and at Limerick and Cork, every exertion was used to facilitate the carriage of artillery and baggage by premiums to the carmen; and in the town of Galway, which for a short time was left with a very inadequate garrison, the zeal and ardour of the inhabitants and yeomanry was peculiarly manifested, and in a manner to give me the utmost satisfaction. In short, the general good disposition of the people through

the south and west was so prevalent, that, had the enemy landed, their hope of assistance from the inhabitants would have been totally disappointed. From the armed yeomanry, government derived the most honourable assistance. Noblemen and gentlemen of the first property vied in exerting themselves at the head of their corps. Much of the express and escort duty was performed by them. In Cork, Limerick, and Galway, they took the duty of the garrison. Lord Shannon informs me, that men of three and four thousand pounds a year were employed in escorting baggage and carrying expresses. Mr. John Latouche, who was a private in his son's corps, rode twenty-five miles in one of the severest nights, with an express, it being his turn for duty. The merchants of Dublin, many of them of the first eminence, marched sixteen Irish miles with a convoy of arms to the north, whither it was conducted by reliefs of yeomanry. The appearance in this metropolis has been highly meritorious. The corps have been formed of the most respectable barristers, attorneys, merchants, gentlemen, and citizens; and their number is so considerable, and their zeal in mounting guard so useful, that I was enabled greatly to reduce the garrison with perfect safety to the town. The numbers of yeomanry fully appointed and disciplined, in Dublin, exceed 2000, above 400 of whom are horse. The whole number of corps approved by government amount to 440, exclusive of the Dublin corps. The gross number is nearly 25,000. There are also ninety-one offers of service under consideration, and 125 pro-

posals have been declined; and, in reply to a circular letter written to the commandants of the respective corps, their answers almost universally contained a general offer of service in any part of the kingdom. Many prominent examples of individual loyalty and spirit have appeared. An useful impression was made upon the minds of the lower catholics by a judicious address from Dr. Moylan, the titular Bishop of Cork. I cannot but notice the exertions of Lord Kenmare, who spared no expence in giving assistance to the commanding officer in his neighbourhood, and who took to his own demesne a great quantity of cattle which had been driven from the coast. Nor could any thing exceed the ardour of the Earl of Ormonde, who, when his regiment of militia were returned as part of the garrison of Dublin, solicited with so much zeal a command in the flank companies, that I thought it a measure due to his Majesty's service, to encourage his Lordship's request.

London Gazette Extraordinary.
Monday, Feb. 27.

Whitehall, Feb. 27.

A letter, of which the following is a copy, has been this day received from the Right Honourable Lord Cawdor by his Grace the Duke of Portland, his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the home department.

Filiguard, Friday, Feb. 24.

My Lord, In consequence of having received information, on Wednesday night at eleven o'clock, that three large ships of war and a lugger had anchored in a small roadstead upon

upon the coast, in the neighbourhood of this town, I proceeded immediately, with a detachment of the Cardigan militia and all the provincial force I could collect, to the place. I soon gained positive intelligence they had disembarked about 1200 men, but no cannon. Upon the night's setting in, a French officer, whom I found the second in command, came in with a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to inclose to your Grace, together with my answer: in consequence of which they determined to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and accordingly laid down their arms this day at two o'clock. I cannot at this moment inform your Grace of the exact number of prisoners, but I believe it to be their whole force. It is my intention to march them this night to Haverfordwest, where I shall make the best distribution in my power. The frigates, corvette, and lugger got under weigh yesterday evening, and were this morning entirely out of sight. The fatigue we have experienced will, I trust, excuse me to your Grace for not giving a more particular detail: but my anxiety to do justice to the officers and men I had the honour to command, will induce me to attend your Grace, with as little delay as possible, to state their merits, and at the same time to give you every information in my power upon this subject. The spirit of loyalty which has pervaded all ranks throughout this country, is infinitely beyond what I can express.

I am, &c. CAWDOR.

*Cardigan-Bay, 5th of Ventose,
5th year of the Republic.*

Sir, The circumstances under which the body of the French troops un-

der my command were landed at this place, renders it unnecessary to attempt any military operations, as they would tend only to bloodshed and pillage. The officers of the whole corps have therefore intimated their desire of entering into a negotiation, upon principles of humanity, for a surrender. If you are influenced by similar considerations, you may signify the same by the bearer, and in the mean time hostilities shall cease. Health and respect.

TATE, Chef de Brigade.

*To the Officer commanding his
Britannic Majesty's troops.*

Fishguard, Feb. 23.

Sir, The superiority of the force under my command, which is hourly increasing, must prevent my treating upon any terms short of your surrendering your whole force prisoners of war. I enter fully into your wish of preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, which your speedy surrender can alone prevent, and which will entitle you to that consideration it is ever the wish of British troops to shew an enemy whose numbers are inferior. My major will deliver you this letter, and I shall expect your determination by ten o'clock, by your officer, whom I have furnished with an escort that will conduct him to me without molestation.

I am, &c. CAWDOR.

*To the Officer commanding
the French troops.*

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Admiralty-Office, March 3.

Robert Calder, Esq. first captain to Admiral Sir John Jervis, K. B. arrived this morning with dispatches from

from him to Mr. Nepean, of which the following are copies:

Sir, *Victory, in Lagos Bay, Feb. 16.*

The hopes of falling in with the Spanish fleet, expressed in my letter to you of the 13th instant, were confirmed that night, by our distinctly hearing the report of their signal guns, and by intelligence received from Captain Foote, of his Majesty's ship *Niger*, who had, with equal judgment and perseverance, kept company with them for several days, on my prescribed rendezvous (which, from the strong south-east winds, I had never been able to reach), and that they were not more than three or four leagues from us. I anxiously awaited the dawn of day, when, being on the starboard tack, Cape St. Vincent bearing east by north eight leagues, I had the satisfaction of seeing a number of ships extending from south-west to south, the wind then at west by south. At forty minutes past ten, the weather being extremely hazy, *La Bonne Citoyenne* made the signal that the ships were of the line, twenty-five in number. His Majesty's squadron under my command, consisting of the fifteen ships of the line named in the margin*, happily formed in the most compact order of sailing, in two lines. By carrying a press of sail, I was fortunate in getting in with the enemy's fleet at half past eleven o'clock, before it had time to connect and form a regular order of battle. Such a moment was not to be lost; and, confident in the skill, valour, and discipline of the officers

and men I had the happiness to command, and judging that the honour of his Majesty's arms, and the circumstances of the war in these seas, required a considerable degree of enterprize, I felt myself justified in departing from the regular system, and passing through their fleet, in a line formed with the utmost celerity; tacked, and thereby separated one third from the main body, after a partial cannonade, which prevented their rejunction in the evening; and, by the very great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to arrive up with the enemy on the larboard tack, the ships named in the margin† were captured, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening. I inclose the most correct list I have been able to obtain of the Spanish fleet opposed to me, amounting to twenty-seven sail of the line, and an account of the killed and wounded in his Majesty's ships, as well as in those taken from the enemy. The moment the latter (almost totally dismasted) and his Majesty's ships the *Captain* and *Culloden*, are in a state to put to sea, I shall avail myself of the first favourable winds to proceed off Cape St. Vincent, in my way to Lisbon. Captain Calder, whose able assistance has greatly contributed to the public service during my command, is the bearer of this, and will more particularly describe to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty the movements of the squadron on the 14th, and the present state of it.

I am, &c.

J. JERVIS.

* *Victory*, *Britannia*, *Barfleur*, *Prince George*, *Blenheim*, *Namur*, *Captain*, *Goliath*, *Excellent*, *Orion*, *Colossus*, *Egmont*, *Culloden*, *Irresistible*, *Diadem*.

† *Salvador del Mundo* 112 guns, *San Josef* 112, *San Nicolas* 80 [84], *San Isidro* 74 guns.

List of the Spanish fleet opposed to the British, the 14th of February, 1797.

Santissima Trinidad, 130 guns; Mexicana, 112; Principe d'Asturias, 112; Concepcion, 112; Conde de Regla, 112; Salvador del Mundo, (taken) 112; San Josef, (taken) 112; San Nicholas, (taken) 84; Oriente, 74; Glorioso, 74; Atlante, 74; Conquistador, 74; Soberano, 74; Firme, 74; Pelayo, 74; San Genaro, 74; San Idelfonso, 74; San Juan Nepomuceno, 74; San Francisco de Paula, 74; San Isidro, (taken) 74; San Antonio, 74; San Pablo, 74; San Firmio, 74; Neptuna, 74; Banama, 74; Name unknown, 74; Name unknown, 74. [Then follows a return of the killed and wounded in the squadron under the command of Sir John Jervis, in the action with the Spanish fleet, on Feb. 14, 1797.—Total killed 73, wounded 227.—Total 300.]

*London Gazette Extraordinary.
Monday, October 16.*

Admiralty-Office, Oct. 16.

Captain Fairfax, of the Venerable, arrived early this morning with dispatches from Adam Duncan, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships, &c. employed in the North Sea, to Evan Nepean, Esq. Secretary of the Admiralty, of which the following are copies :

*Venerable, at sea, 13th Oct. 1797,
off the coast of Holland.*

Sir, Be pleased to acquaint the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, judging it of consequence their Lordships should have as early information as possible of the defeat of the Dutch fleet under

the command of Admiral de Winter, I dispatched the Rose cutter at three P. M. on the 12th (11th) instant, with a short letter to you immediately after the action was ended. I have now farther to acquaint you, for their Lordships information, that in the night of the 10th instant, after I had sent away my letter to you, of that date, I placed my squadron in such a situation as to prevent the enemy from returning to the Texel without my falling in with them. At nine o'clock in the morning of the 11th, I got sight of Captain Trollope's squadron, with signals flying for an enemy to leeward; I immediately bore up, and made the signal for a general chase, and soon got sight of them, forming in a line on the larboard tack to receive us, the wind at north-west. As we approached near, I made the signal for the squadron to shorten sail, in order to connect them; soon after I saw the land between Camperdown and Egmont, about nine miles to leeward of the enemy, and finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, I made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which I got between them and the land, whither they were fast approaching. My signals were obeyed with great promptitude, and Vice-Admiral Onslow, in the Monarch, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example; and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The Venerable soon got through the enemy's line, and I began a close action, with my division on their van, which lasted near two hours and

and a half, when I observed all the masts of the Dutch Admiral's ship to go by the board. She was, however, defended for some time in a most gallant manner; but being overpressed by numbers, her colours were struck, and Admiral de Winter was soon brought on board the Venerable. On looking around me, I observed the ship bearing the Vice-Admiral's flag was also dismasted, and had surrendered to Vice-Admiral Onslow; and that many others had likewise struck. Finding we were in nine fathoms water, and not farther than five miles from the land, my attention was so much taken up in getting the heads of the disabled ships off shore, that I was not able to distinguish the number of ships captured; and the wind having been constantly on the land since, we have unavoidably been much dispersed, so that I have not been able to gain an exact account of them, but we have taken possession of eight or nine: more of them had struck, but taking advantage of the night, and being so near their own coast, they succeeded in getting off; and some of them were seen going into the Texel the next morning. It is with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction I make known to their Lordships the very gallant behaviour of Vice-Admiral Onslow, the captains, officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron, who all appeared actuated by the truly British spirit, at least those that I had an opportunity of seeing. One of the enemy's ships caught fire in the action, and drove very near the Venerable; but I have the pleasure to say it was extinguished, and she is one of the ships in our possession. The squadron has suffered much in

their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of them have lost a number of men; however, in no proportion to that of the enemy. The carnage on board the two ships that bore the Admirals flags has been beyond all description; they have had no less than two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded on board of each ship. And here I have to lament the death of Captain Burges, of his Majesty's ship Ardent, who brought that ship into action in the most gallant and masterly manner, but was unfortunately killed soon after. However, the ship continued the action close, until quite disabled. The public have lost a good and gallant officer in Captain Burges; and I, with others, a sincere friend. Captain Trollope's exertions and active good conduct in keeping sight of the enemy's fleet until I came up, have been truly meritorious, and, I trust, will meet a just reward. I send this by Captain Fairfax, by whose able advice I profited much during the action, and who will give their Lordships any further particulars they may wish to know. As most of the ships of the squadron are much disabled, and several of the prizes dismasted, I shall make the best of my way with them to the Nore. I herewith transmit you a list of killed and wounded on board such of the squadron as I have been able to collect, a list of the enemy's fleet opposed to my squadron, and my line of battle on the day of action.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient
humble Servant,

ADAM DUNCAN.

[Then follows a list of killed and wounded on board the ships of Admiral Duncan's squadron.]

List

List and disposition of the Dutch fleet on the 11th of October, 1797.

VAN.

Vice-Admiral Reyntjes,
Commander.

Cerberus, Captain Jacobson, 68 guns, 450 men.

Delet, Captain Verdoorn, 56 guns, 375 men.—Taken.

Jupiter, Vice-Admiral Reyntjes and Rear-Admiral Meuses, 74 guns, 550 men.—Taken.

Alkmaar, Captain Kraft, 56 guns, 350 men.—Taken.

Haerlem, Captain Wiggarts, 68 guns, 450 men.—Taken.

Munnikendam, Captain Lancaster, 44 guns, 270 men.—Taken.

Heldin, Captain Dumishilde L'Eeftrille, 32 guns, 230 men.

Daphne brig, Lieutenant Fredericks, 18 guns, 98 men.

CENTER.

Admiral de Winter,

Commander in Chief.

Wassenaer, Captain Holland, 64 guns, 450 men.—Taken.

Batavier, Captain Souters, 56 guns, 350 men.

Vryheid, (the Liberty) Admiral de Winter and Van Rossem, 74 guns, 550 men.—Taken.

States General, Rear-Admiral Story, 74 guns, 550 men.

Leyden, Captain Musquetier, 68 guns, 450 men.

Mars, Captain Kolf, 44 guns, 400 men.

Waakzaamheid, Captain Lieutenant Nicrop, 24 guns, 150 men.

Minerva, Captain Eilbracht, 24 guns, 150 men.

Galatea brig, Lieutenant Rivery, 18 guns, 98 men.

Atalanta brig, Lieutenant Plets, 18 guns, 98 men.

REAR.

Rear-Admiral Bloys, Commander.

Admiral Devries, Captain Zegers, 68 guns, 450 men.—Taken.

Hercules, Captain Van Rysoort, 64 guns, 450 men.—Taken.

Brutus, Rear-Admiral Bloys, 74 guns, 550 men.

Beschermer, Captain Hinxt, 56 guns, 350 men.

Gelykleid, (the Equality) Captain Ruysen, 68 guns, 450 men.—Taken.

Ambuscade, Captain Lieutenant Huys, 32 guns, 270 men.—Taken.

Ajax brig, Lieutenant Arkenbout, 18 guns, 98 men.

Haasje, (Aviso) Lieutenant Hartenfeld, 6 guns, 31 men.

ADAM DUNCAN.

Disposition of the British Squadron in the order of battle, 11th of October, 1797.

LARBOARD, or LEE DIVISIONS.

Richard Onslow, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the Red, Commander.

1. Russel, Henry Trollope Captain, 74 guns, 590 men.

2. Director, William Bligh, Captain, 64 guns, 491 men.

3. Montague, John Knight Captain, 74 guns, 590 men.

4. Veteran, George Gregory Captain, 64 guns, 401 men.

5. Monarch, Vice-Admiral Onslow, Edward O'Bryen Captain, 74 guns, 590 men.

6. Powerful, William O'Bryen Drury Captain, 74 guns, 590 men.

7. Monmouth, James Walker Captain, 64 guns, 400 men.

8. Agincourt, John Williamson Captain, 64 guns, 400 men.

REPEATERS.

Beaulieu frigate.—Cutters: Rose, King George, Active, Diligent.—Speculator lugger.

STARBOARD, OR WEATHER DIVISION.

Adam Duncan, Esq. Admiral of the Blue, Commander in Chief, &c.

9. Triumph,

9. Triumph, William Henry Es-
sington Captain, 74 guns, 640
men.
10. Venerable, Admiral Duncan,
William George Fairfax Cap-
tain, 74 guns, 503 men.
11. Ardent, Richard R. Burges
Captain, 64 guns, 491 men.
12. Bedford, Sir Thomas Byard
Captain, 74 guns, 590 men.
13. Lancaster, John Wells Captain,
64 guns, 491 men.
14. Bellicieux, John Inglis Cap-
tain, 64 guns, 491 men.
15. Adamant, William Hotham
Captain, 50 guns, men.
16. Isis, William Mitchell Captain,
50 guns, 343 men.

REPEATERS.

Circe frigate,—Martin sloop.

ADAM DUNCAN.

Venerable, off Orfordness, Oct. 15, 1757.

Sir, In addition to my letter of the 13th instant, containing the particulars of the action of the 11th, and which I have not been able to send away until this day, I have to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that, from the wind continuing to blow on the Dutch coast, the ships have had great difficulty in keeping off the shore, and that we have unavoidably been separated. On Friday last the wind blew strong from the west-south-west to west-north-west, and continued so to do until Saturday morning; it then shifted to the north, when I made the signal to wear, stood to the westward, and fortunately anchored here last evening; the Venerable being so leaky, that, with all her pumps going, we could but just keep her free. This morn-

ing I observed the ships named in the margin* at anchor near us, three near the Kentish Knock, and three in Hosley Bay. The wind is at north-west, and much against the disabled ships: I have therefore sent the Lancaster and Beaulieu out to render them assistance. Sir Thomas Williams, in the Endymion, who joined me the day after the action, I also sent in shore, to keep by and assist the disabled ships; and I am informed that, in the course of the night, he fell in with a Dutch ship of the line off the Texel, and had engaged her; but I have not heard the particulars.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient

humble Servant,

ADAM DUNCAN.

Evan Nepean, Esq.

Articles of Capitulation for the surrender of the island of Trinidad, between his Excellency Sir Ralph Abercromby, Knight of the Bath, Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's land-forces; his Excellency Henry Harvey, Esq. Rear-Admiral of the Red, and Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels of war; and his Excellency Don Josef Maria Chacon, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, Brigadier of the Royal Navy, Governor and Commander in Chief of the island of Trinidad and its dependencies, Inspector-general of the troops of its garrison, &c.

Article I. The officers and troops of his Catholic Majesty and his allies in the island of Trinidad, are to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and are to deliver up the territory, forts, buildings, arms, am-

* Monarch, Powerful, Lancaster, Beaulieu.

munition, money, effects, plans, and stores, with exact inventories thereof, belonging to his Catholic Majesty; and they are hereby transferred to his Britannic Majesty, in the same manner and possession as has been held heretofore by his said Catholic Majesty.

II. The troops of his Catholic Majesty are to march out with the honours of war, and to lay down their arms, at the distance of three hundred paces from the forts they occupy, at five o'clock this evening, the 18th of February.

III. All the officers and troops aforesaid of his Catholic Majesty, are allowed to keep their private effects, and the officers are allowed to wear their swords.

IV. Admiral Don Sebastian Ruiz de Apodaca, being on shore in the island, after having burnt and abandoned his ships, he, with the officers and men belonging to the squadron under his command, are included in this capitulation, under the same terms as are granted to his Catholic Majesty's troops.

V. As soon as ships can be conveniently provided for the purpose, the prisoners are to be conveyed to Old Spain; they remaining prisoners of war until exchanged by a cartel between the two nations, or until the peace; it being clearly understood that they shall not serve against Great Britain or her allies until exchanged.

VI. There being some officers among his Catholic Majesty's troops whose private affairs require their presence at different places on the continent of America, such officers are permitted to go upon their parole to the said places for six months, more or less; after which period they are to return to Europe; but

as the number receiving this indulgence must be limited, his Excellency Don Chacon will previously deliver to the British commanders a list of their names, rank, and places which they are going to.

VII. The officers of the royal administration, upon the delivery of the stores with which they are charged, to such officers as may be appointed by the British commanders, will receive receipts, according to the custom in like cases, from the officers so appointed to receive the stores.

VIII. All the private property of the inhabitants, as well Spaniards as such as may have been naturalized, is preserved to them.

IX. All public records are to be preserved in such courts or offices as they are now in; and all contracts or purchases between individuals, which have been done according to the laws of Spain, are to be held binding and valid by the British government.

X. The Spanish officers of administration, who are possessed of landed property in Trinidad, are allowed to remain in the island, they taking the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty; and they are farther allowed, should they please, to sell or dispose of their property, and to retire elsewhere.

XI. The free exercise of their religion is allowed to the inhabitants.

XII. The free coloured people, who have been acknowledged as such by the laws of Spain, shall be protected in their liberty, persons, and property, like other inhabitants; they taking the oath of allegiance, and demeaning themselves as becomes good and peaceable subjects of his Britannic Majesty.

XIII. The

XIII. The sailors and soldiers of his Catholic Majesty are, from the time of their laying down their arms, to be fed by the British government, leaving the expence to be regulated by the cartel between the two nations.

XIV. The sick of the Spanish troops will be taken care of, but to be attended, and to be under the inspection of their own surgeons.

XV. All the inhabitants of Trinidad shall, within thirty days from the date hereof, take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, to demean themselves quietly and faithfully to his government, upon pain, in case of non-compliance, of being sent away from the island.

Done at Port d'Espagne, in the island of Trinidad, the 18th day of February, 1797.

RALPH ABERCROMBY,
HENRY HARVEY,
JOSEPH MARIA CHACON.

Royal Procession to St. Paul's

The 19th of December being the day appointed for a General Thanksgiving, for the three great naval victories obtained by his Majesty's fleets, under the command of Lords Howe, St. Vincent, and Duncan, a grand procession to St. Paul's, by the Royal Family and the two houses of parliament, took place. The Foot Guards were all on duty in the Strand soon after six, the Horse-Guards lining the Park, Pall-mall, and Charing-cross, assisted by a detachment of the Queen's regiment of light horse, and the sixth regiment of Dragoon-Guards. At seven, the seamen and marines,

with their officers, assembled in Palace-yard, and at eight the cavalcade commenced in the following order:—

A division of marines from Chatham barracks, with a band of music.

Seamen, six in front, with their lieutenants and petty officers, with drawn swords.

12 Marines	{	An Artillery Waggon, with the French Flags.	{	12 Marines
12 Seamen				12 Seamen

The following officers in their carriages:—

Vice-Admiral Caldwell, 1st of June, 1794 *—Vice-Admiral Goodall, 14th of March, 1795—Rear-Admiral Hamilton, 23d of June, 1795—Representatives of Admiral Earl Howe, Admiral Lord Bridport, and Admiral Lord Hotham.

A division of seamen, with their lieutenants, &c.

12 Marines	{	Artillery Waggon, with the Spanish Flags.	{	12 Marines
12 Seamen				12 Seamen

In carriages:—

Vice-Admiral Sir C. Thompson, 14th of February, 1797—Captain J. Harvey, Trinidad, 17th of February, 1797—Representatives of Admiral Earl St. Vincent, and Rear-Admiral Harvey.

A division of seamen, with their lieutenants, &c.

12 Marines	{	Artillery Waggon, with the Dutch Flags, taken from Admirals De Winter, Remytjes, and Lucas.	{	12 Marines
12 Seamen				12 Seamen

* The dates signify the days on which the several memorable actions were fought. In

In carriages:—

Admiral Lord Duncan, 11th of October, 1797 — Rear-Admiral Douglas, 17th of August, 1797 — The last officer being the representative of Vice-Admiral Lord Keith, to whom Admiral Lucas, with his squadron, capitulated in Saldanha Bay.

A detachment of Marines from Chatham.

The foreign ministers in their carriages.

The Earl of Aylesford, with Francis Barker, Esq.

The Members of the House of Commons; in the rear of whom came the Speaker, in his state-carriage.

Three Knights Marshalsmen,
Clerk of the Crown,
Masters in Chancery, and
The Twelve Judges.

The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in their robes, but not ranged (from accident perhaps) in the order of their rank or seniority.

Lord High Chancellor in his robes of state.

THE ROYAL CAVALCADE.

1st coach, Household Officers of the Duke of Gloucester.

2. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, and Princess Sophia of Gloucester.

3. Household Officers of the Duke of Clarence.

4. His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence.

A Party of the Life-Guards.

5. Household Officers of the Duke of York.

6. His Royal Highness the Duke of York.

VOL. XXXIX.

7. Ladies of the Bedchamber to the Queen.

8. Maids of Honour to the Queen.

9. Equerries to her Majesty.

10. Ladies of the Bedchamber to the Queen.

11. Master of the Horse to the Queen.

12. Gentlemen Ushers of the Privy Chamber.

13. Deputy Lord Steward.

14. Lords of the Bedchamber.

15. Attendants.

16. Master of the Horse to the King.

17. THEIR MAJESTIES.

Marshalsmen, State Trumpeters, and a numerous body of Life-Guards.

18. Mistress of the Robes to the Queen, and the Lady in Waiting.

19. The Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth.

20. The Princesses Sophia and Mary.

A strong Detachment of Life-Guards.

In this manner the procession paraded to Temple-Bar, where their Majesties were received by

The Lord Mayor, dressed in a crimson velvet gown, mounted on a fine grey horse, elegantly caparisoned, and bearing the sword of the city, which he delivered to the King, with his head uncovered. His Majesty accepted the civic compliment with the utmost politeness, and immediately returned the sword to his Lordship.

The two Sheriffs, and four of the Common Council, attended to the Cathedral, where the corporation received the King. — The sheriffs in their gowns of office, and the sword carried by the Lord Mayor immediately before his Majesty's

jefty's coach.—The four Common Council, in their gowns, before the Aldermen. — At the west door, the Peers in their robes, attended by the King at Arms, and other officers, met their Majesties, the gentlemen pensioners being all in waiting.

Exactly at a quarter past eleven, the great west doors of St. Paul's were thrown open, and the Royal Procession, being met by the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter, in their robes, entered the cathedral, and detachments from the 1st and Coldstream regiment of guards formed a double line from the west door to the dome ground-floor, which was flanked by two divisions of marines in the rear; and circularly within, eight commanders flags, taken from our three naval enemies, the French, the Spaniards, and the Dutch, by Admirals Earl Howe, Earl St. Vincent, and Viscount Duncan, were displayed on the right and left; the staffs borne by the flag-officers of Great Britain. Their Majesties were preceded by the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Gloucester, and Prince Ernest, and followed by the five Princesses, and saluted by the troops with rested arms, the drums, cymbals, and other instruments, playing the Grenadier's march. As soon as the King arrived at the naval circle, he stopped, and spoke for some time to Lord Duncan, who supported the captive colours of the Dutch Admiral De Winter. He also paused a moment to speak to Sir Alan Gardener, who bore the principal French standard, taken from that enemy on the 1st of June. At the entrance of the choir the Court of

Aldermen were drawn up on the right to receive them, to whom the Royal Visitants paid a marked respect.—On entering the choir, their Majesties were seated under a crimson canopy of state: the King took his seat on the right, and her Majesty on the left: the Princesses were in a compartment on the left. The Lord Chancellor was in a distinguished seat also on the left, as was the Lord Mayor near the pulpit; the Bishop of London and Speaker of the House of Commons had honorary stations on the right.—The service commenced about twelve. The vocal choir, on this occasion, was removed into the organ loft.—At the close of the first lesson, a naval procession commenced to choral music, from the body of the church to the choir, when the British Admirals advanced with the colours abovementioned, which were supported by junior Flag-Officers, and the Captains of those ships to which they were struck. They passed through the choir, where they were received by the hands of the Dean and Chapter, and by them borne and ranged on both sides the altar in consecrated order.—The remainder of the service being gone through, Dr. Prettyman, Bishop of Lincoln, as Dean of St. Paul's, preached a sermon, appropriate to the occasion, from the second book of Samuel, chapter 22d, verses 1st, 2d, and 3d.—The service of the day being concluded, the procession returned through the choir in fuller state than they had entered, being joined by all the Peers, Commons, &c. who were present in the choir. Their Majesties were preceded by the male branch of the family, in
their

their order and collars of state, viz. the Dukes of York, Clarence, and Gloucester, and Prince Ernest, the Foreign Ambassadors, &c. The Bishop of London was on his Majesty's right hand, and the Bishop of Lincoln on his left. The sword of state was borne by Earl Spencer, in his robes, on the right, and that of the city by the Lord Mayor, on the left of the King. — The King appeared in blue and gold; the Queen in mazarine blue, with a diamond head-dress; the Princesses in the same coloured vests, with chained head-dresses of gold and white feathers. — Their Majesties were received with applause as they passed the body of the church to and fro. The gallant Lord Duncan was greeted with rapturous and repeated plaudits. — Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas attended the Royal Procession in the Windsor dress uniform, and were received much more favourably within the church than they had been in their passage to it! The ceremony continued till half-past one, when their Majesties returned to their coach of state, and returned to Buckingham-house, under a similar escort. No material accident occurred to mar the splendor of the day, which closed with great credit to all who had the conduct of its canonical, civil, and military arrangements.

The service was concluded about half-past two, when the procession returned in the reverse order to that in which it went; and the Royal Cavalcade arrived at St. James's a few minutes after four o'clock.

The sailors and marines were universally cheered by the populace. The former were headed by

a number of lieutenants and midshipmen.

The streets, from the Palace to Temple-Bar, were closely lined on each side by the Horse Guards and the sixth regiment of dragoons, and from thence to St. Paul's, by the London Militia, the East India Volunteers, the Light Horse Association, and the Gentlemen of the Artillery Company. The regiment of dragoons and several other corps continued to parade the streets of Westminster for the greater part of the night, and all the other troops were under orders to attend at a minute's notice; but happily the peaceable demeanour of the people rendered their services wholly unnecessary.

Patroles of horse guards and other cavalry paraded the principal streets all night.

Mr. Pitt was very grossly insulted by the populace on his way to the cathedral; in consequence of which he did not return in his own carriage, but stopped to dine with the Speaker and some other gentlemen in Doctors Commons. He was escorted home in the evening by a party of the London light horse.

The whole business was conducted with the utmost order and propriety, and the beauty and clearness of the day greatly increased the splendor and brilliancy of the spectacle.

[Petitions having been presented from almost every county, city, and town in England, to his Majesty for peace and the dismissal of his ministers, we shall only give the following specimens containing most of the arguments that could be brought for that purpose, and of which most of the others are but echoes.]

*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.
The humble Address and Petition of the
Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery
of London, in common hall assembled,
on Thursday the 23d of March,
1797.*

May it please you Majesty,

WE, your Majesty's most faithful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, approach the throne with deep affliction, and with the most awful apprehensions from your Majesty's ministers invariably persisting in measures which an accumulation of unprecedented calamities has manifestly proved unwise and destructive, immediately tending to pervert and even to destroy the acknowledged principles of our justly boasted constitution.

We lament that by the evil instigations of your Majesty's advisers, these nations have been plunged into a war, unparalleled in misery and destruction, which has nearly ruined our commerce, impoverished our manufacturers, depopulated our country, sapped the public credit, and widely extended the most flagitious corruption.

We most deeply deplore that your Majesty's ministers, abandoning the principles they once professed, have endeavoured to prevent the remonstrances of your people, attacking the very vitals of our constitution, and depriving your subjects of liberties which their ancestors with so much energy "claimed, demanded, and insisted on as their undoubted right and inheritance," and which it is our duty to transmit to our posterity pure and inviolate; and for

the defence and preservation of which your Majesty's royal house was chosen and placed upon the throne of these realms.

We therefore most humbly beseech your Majesty to dismiss for ever from your Majesty's presence and councils those advisers, both public and secret, of the measures we lament, not doubting that by a change of councils such measures may be adopted as will speedily procure the inestimable blessings of peace, and produce such a system of oeconomy as shall restore the public credit and the happiness of your people. But, should your Majesty any longer confide in such advisers, we are firmly convinced that they will completely undermine that basis of national prosperity and happiness, the reciprocal confidence of a Sovereign and a free people, and inevitably destroy the boasted privileges, the internal peace, and the numerous blessings that Britons have heretofore enjoyed.

Watson Mayor.—In a meeting or assembly of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the several companies of the city of London, in common hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said city, on Thursday the 11th day of May, 1797,—

RESOLVED, That his Majesty's ministers have wantonly plunged this nation into an unjust and unnecessary war, which has produced a series of calamities unexampled in history, an enormous increase of public debt, an alarming diminution of our trade and manufactures, an abridgement of our rights and privileges, a shameful profusion of our national wealth,
by

by subsidizing allies abroad, and supporting a system of corruption at home, to the destruction of public credit: thus evincing a disposition to sacrifice the blood, treasure, and liberties of the kingdom, in support of measures repugnant to the principles of the constitution, derogatory to the dignity and safety of the King, and inconsistent with the happiness of the people.

Resolved, That it appears the more necessary that we should at this time have the full exercise of the right of petitioning, because the unprecedented calamities of the country demand that his Majesty's faithful subjects should represent to him the true state of affairs, and pray the dismissal of those weak and wicked ministers, whose misconduct and incapacity have brought this once great and flourishing nation into its present state of unparalleled distress, and who have proved themselves utterly incompetent to conduct the war, or negotiate a peace.

Resolved, That whoever advised his Majesty to refuse receiving the Petition of the Livery of London with the accustomed marks of attention and respect, thereby placing a barrier between the Monarch and his subjects, is an enemy to the King, and to the rights and privileges of the people.

Resolved, That any complaint made against the tyrannical or oppressive measures of his Majesty's ministers, must necessarily be unavailing, if the immediate communication with the King be suspended, and the representation of the Petition is to depend on the obsequious minions of authority, or criminal conspirators against public liberty.

Resolved, That the representa-

tives for this city in parliament be instructed to make a motion, or support a motion, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying him to dismiss from his presence and councils his present weak and wicked ministers, as the most likely means of obtaining a speedy and permanent peace." And they are hereby instructed accordingly.

Resolved, That the proceedings of the common halls on the 12th of April and on this day, be signed by the town-clerk, and published once in every newspaper in Great Britain. And that the electors throughout the kingdom be earnestly invited to assemble and instruct their representatives in parliament to address the King to remove his present ministers, as the only step by which the destruction of the constitution and the ruin of the country can be averted.

Resolved, That any petition to counteract the decisions of this and former numerous, respectable, and uninfluenced common halls, will be departing from the great and generally adopted political principle of majority and minority, legally collected.

Resolved, That the Lord Mayor, by dissolving the last common hall on a frivolous and unfounded pretence of the irrelevance of the resolution which was moved to the occasion on which the hall was assembled, by refusing to convene another common hall for all the purposes specified, on a like frivolous and unfounded pretence of the Livery of London not being a deliberative body; and by convening the present common hall, for purposes short of those which were specified in the requisition, has vio-

lated the rights of the livery, has suffered his political attachments to warp his official conduct, and proved himself to be utterly undeserving of the confidence of his constituents.

RIX.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Yeomanry, Freeholders of the county of Middlesex.

WE beg leave to approach your Majesty with the most dutiful assurances of the same unabated attachment to your Majesty's royal person, for which this county has been at all times distinguished. We humbly represent to your Majesty that we are driven, by the pernicious councils and palpable incapacity of your Majesty's present ministers, to appeal directly to your Majesty's personal benevolence and wisdom, to save us, if it be possible, from the fatal consequences of their mal-administration; that the burdens and distresses of every sort with which we are oppressed, are principally owing to the present war, and that it cannot be continued without ruin to your people: That, in order to plunge the country into this destructive war, all manner of false pretences have been successively set up and abandoned by your Majesty's ministers: That the objects of it were never expressly stated by them; and that, in the conduct of it, no distinct policy or system of action has been adhered to. At first they said it was a cause of general concern, in which your Majesty had reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of the other powers of Europe. The greater part of those powers

nevertheless either did not join, or very soon deserted the common cause; some of them have turned against us, and all of them have left it, in effect, to your Majesty and your people, to bear the burden of the contest. That your Majesty's ministers have perpetually deluded parliament and the nation with sanguine expectations of success, derived from the ruined state of the finances of France, concerning the result of which, their loose speculations and daily predictions have invariably proved false; but that their own perseverance, supported by such delusions, have really plunged this kingdom into difficulties which threaten us with universal bankruptcy, beggary, and ruin: That the expences of the war have been, and continue to be, enormous and insupportable, and are not to be compensated even by victory and success: That, by ill-concerted schemes of conquest in pestilential climates, the flower of your Majesty's armies has perished without action or glory: That, while parliament has provided, and the nation has paid, for the support of a naval force more than adequate to the protection of every part of the British empire, your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland has been left defenceless; and that even the brilliant actions which do honour to the personal skill and bravery of your Majesty's naval officers and seamen, are a reproach to the ministers, who have exposed your Majesty's fleets to contests against superior numbers, in which they had no right to expect success: That, by an illegal and arbitrary act of your Majesty's Privy Council, adopted on the representation of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer,

quer, a shock has been given to the credit of the Bank of England, which can never be fully retrieved: That the pretended necessity of reserving for the public service the specie deposited by individuals in the Bank, is a condemnation of your Majesty's ministers, by whose measures alone such necessity could have been created, and which may be pleaded at any time, and applied, with equal reason, to any private property whatsoever, which an arbitrary government may be able to seize and appropriate to their own purposes, under colour of the public service: That the memory of this detestable transaction will live in the minds of men, and create such a perpetual distrust of the good faith of the Bank of England, and of all bankers, as cannot be removed, even by the Bank's being permitted by your Majesty's ministry to revert to its principles, and to make its payments with honesty hereafter; since no man can be assured that, when a precedent of this atrocious nature has once been established with impunity, it will not be followed by the same or other ministers; or that even the apparent good faith with which the Bank may again begin to pay its creditors in specie, may not be intended for a snare to draw gold and silver into the Bank, where it may again be detained by an order of the Privy Council, on another representation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We most humbly represent to your Majesty, that all these evils are owing to the gross misconduct and utter incapacity of your Majesty's ministers, who have shewn themselves unable to make war with energy, or to negotiate for peace with dignity or candour.

That they have designedly thrown away every favourable opportunity of treating with advantage, and have made no use of success but to inflame and delude the nation, at any expence and hazard, into a senseless and desperate prosecution of the war: so that, in their hands, even fortunate events are converted into sources of additional distress and protracted calamity to your Majesty's faithful subjects. We therefore most humbly solicit your Majesty to dismiss your Majesty's present criminal and incapable ministers from your Majesty's councils, by which alone it is possible that public credit may be gradually restored, and that peace may be obtained on safe and honourable terms.

And your Majesty's petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants (householders) of the city and liberty of Westminster.

WE, your Majesty's most dutiful subjects, the inhabitants (householders) of the city and liberty of Westminster, humbly beg leave to approach your Majesty in a crisis of the greatest danger to our country that it has experienced since the Revolution. Your Majesty's ministers have involved us in a war, in the prosecution of which they have already squandered upwards of 130 millions of money. They have already laid taxes upon the people to the amount of six millions and a half annually: and the lives which they have sacrificed, and the sum which they have added to human misery, exceeds all calculation.

calculation or belief. We humbly represent to your Majesty, that in the hands of those ministers, nothing has prospered. Instead of restoring monarchy in France, they have been compelled to recognise the republic there established, and to offer proposals of peace to it. Instead of dismembering the territories of that republic, they have suffered it to add to them the Netherlands, Holland, and great part of Italy and Germany; and even a part of these kingdoms, which the fleets of that republic have insulted, have only been preserved from the calamities of an invasion by the accidents of the seasons. In their negotiations for peace they have been equally unsuccessful. It was to be expected. When they asked peace they were abject, but not sincere; they acknowledged their impotence, but not their errors; they discovered the most hostile dispositions towards France at the very time they proved their utter inability to contend with her. When they wanted to obtain our consent to the war, they assured us that it was necessary for the safety of our own commerce. At this moment most of the ports of Europe are shut against us, goods to an immense amount are lying upon the hands of our merchants; and the manufacturing poor are starving by thousands. They assured us the war was necessary for the preservation of property and public credit. They have rendered every man's property subject to an order of the Privy Council; and the Bank of England has stopped payment. They assured us that the war was necessary for the preservation of the constitution:—They have destroyed its best part, which is its liberty, by

oppressive restrictions upon the right of petitioning, and upon the freedom of the press; by prosecuting innocent men under false pretences; by sending money to foreign princes without the consent of parliament; while, by erecting barracks throughout the kingdom, they give us reason to suspect their intention of finally subjecting the people to military despotism. They assured us the war was necessary for the preservation of the unity of our empire. But they have so conducted, and are still so conducting themselves in Ireland, as to alienate the affections of that brave, loyal, oppressed, and persecuted nation, and to expose the most flourishing of its provinces to all the horrors of lawless military violence. These are not common errors: they are great crimes; and of these crimes, before God and our country, we accuse your ministers. Our affections to your Majesty's person, our loyalty to your government, are unabated:—your Majesty's virtues are a pledge for the one; the constitution which makes you King for the other. But duty to our fellow countrymen and to our posterity, which is but another name for that affection and loyalty, impels us to represent to your Majesty, that your ministers are defrauding us of the benefit of those virtues, by destroying the channels through which they flow. They have tarnished the national honour and glory; they have oppressed the poor with almost intolerable burthens; they have poisoned the intercourse of private life; they have given a fatal blow to public credit; they have divided the empire; and they have subverted the constitution. We humbly pray your Majesty,

therefore, to dismiss them
your presence and councils
er.

King's Most Excellent Majesty.

*humble Petition of the undersigned
holders of the county of Devon.*

Sheweth that it please your Majesty,

That your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, take opportunity of expressing our love and attachment to your Majesty and family, and those principles which placed them on the throne of these realms; and at the same time of declaring, that, in the present period, we think it little short of treason to be silent on the state of this Majesty's kingdom of Ireland. Not merely of a long, disastrous, and unnecessary war, which has destroyed public credit, commerce, and manufactures, we complain: your Majesty, in your wisdom, must have perceived the consequences of that war throughout every part of your dominions:—It is not the melancholy loss of blood and treasure of which we complain; because those evils cannot now be remedied; but we beg leave to approach your throne with a plain unexaggerated state of our present distresses and grievances. Ever since the administration of the great Lord Chatham, almost all good and wise men have concurred in the absolute necessity of a parliamentary reform, for the security of the throne and the people. Your Majesty's present minister has given lessons to the empire on that head which will never be forgotten; and the distress which has accompanied his de-

viation from that principle has demonstrated the necessity of that measure. The dutiful and loyal petitions of your people have not been attended to: the most constitutional and loyal means of seeking redress have been opposed by the most unconstitutional and illegal coercions: every right for the establishment of which our forefathers shed their blood, and for the protection of which your Majesty's ancestors were called to the throne, has been successively taken away by the undue influence of your Majesty's present ministers; the right of petitioning greatly invaded by the Convention-bill; the trial by jury, by summary convictions, under the most unconstitutional laws; the liberty of the press, and the freedom of speech, by the shameful encouragement of spies and informers; the right of *habeas corpus* has been suspended; and the great right, which is the security of all other rights, the right of bearing arms, has been grossly violated, not only by a series of laws repugnant to the written and acknowledged compact between the crown and the people, expressed unequivocally in the Bill of Rights, but, in a late instance, by an act of state avowedly illegal. We, therefore, humbly entreat your Majesty to dismiss from your councils and presence your present ministers, as the first step towards restoring peace, prosperity, and happiness to this distracted country, and thereby firmly securing the interests of the crown and people, which are both at present in the most alarming danger. And we further entreat your Majesty immediately to call such men to your councils as may assist your people in obtaining a reform

reform of parliament, embracing every religious persuasion, as the sure and only means of rendering this kingdom prosperous and happy.

AR. JOHNSTON, Chairman,
ED. POTTINGER, Secretary.

By and on the behalf, and at the desire of four thousand eight hundred and three freeholders of the county of Down, who subscribed their names to the above petition.

Return to the Order of the Honourable House of Commons, of the 24th of March, 1797, for an account of the Advances made, or ordered to be made, for the service of his Imperial Majesty, since the 13th of December, 1796:— And also of the securities for the repayment of the same; together with an account of the dates of the advances respectively.

ADVANCES MADE.

29th December, 1796	-	L.50,000
28th January, 1797	-	110,000
18th February	- - -	90,000
24th February	- - -	30,000
4th March	- - - -	100,000
11th March	- - - -	120,000
		<hr/>
		L.500,000

No further advances have been ordered.

The security for the repayments of these sums is the receipt of the agents of the Emperor, accompanied with an engagement of the Imperial Minister at this court, that the same shall be repaid out of any loan which may be made in England for the service of the Emperor, whenever circumstances permit such loan to be made.

CHARLES LONG.

*Whitehall Treasury Chambers,
March 8th, 1797.*

FINANCIAL STATE OF THE NATION.

Report of the Secret Committee appointed to enquire into the Financial State of the Nation.

I.—The public Funded Debt.

THE total amount of the public debts, as they stood upon the 5th of January, 1793, appears to have been, in funded capital,

L. 238,231,248 5 2½

And the total of the annual interest and charge of the public funded debt at that period amounted to

L. 9,325,866 4 3½

The public debts which arose between the 5th day of January, 1793, and the 5th of January, 1797, appear to have been created by the raising of 59,000,000l. sterling upon loans, and by the funding of navy, victualling, and transport bills, to the amount of 7,624,896l. 6s. 1d. sterling; amounting in the whole to the sum of

L. 66,624,896 6 1

And it appears that, in consequence thereof, the total amount of the public debts created between the 5th of January, 1793, and the 5th of January, 1797, was in funded capital

L. 88,840,122 14 0

And the total of the annual interest and charges upon the above increase of debt, was

L. 3,181,623 13 8

The total funded capital of the public debt was therefore, upon the 5th of January, 1797,

L. 327,071,370 19 2½

And the total annual interest and charge of the public funded debt, was

L. 12,507,489 0 11½

Your Committee think it necessary further to state, that in order to shew correctly the complete amount of the annual charge, the sum

sum of 1,000,000*l.* issued to the commissioners for reducing the national debt, should be added to the interest and charges of the debt existing on the 5th of January, 1793: and that a further annual sum, in respect of the 1*l.* per centum per annum, on capital funded since the 5th of January, 1793, payable to the said commissioners, amounting to 923,154*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* should be added also to the interest and charges of the debt created since that period.

These being taken together, viz. 1,923,154*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* and added to the former sums, viz. 12,507,489*l.* 17*s.* 11½*d.* the total annual charge of the public funded debt, including the sums applicable to the reduction thereof, as it stood upon the 5th of January, 1797, was *L.* 14,430,644 17 3½

Your Committee also beg leave to observe, that neither the amount of the stock created by funding certain Navy, Victualling, Transport, and Exchequer bills, in the course of the present session, nor by the loan of eighteen millions for the service of the year 1797, are noticed in the statement; as they neither are nor, by the course of the Exchequer, could be included in the account made up to the period marked out by the instructions to your Committee.

It appears, however, that the capital stock, created by funding the bills amounting to 13,029,399*l.* 8*s.* was *L.* 21,575,774 0 0
The loan - 20,250,000 0 0
Total 41,825,774 0 0

The total of the annual interest and charges, and 1*l.* per cent. upon the above additional debt, amounts to *L.* 2,151,250 1 0

Your Committee, in concluding this part of their enquiries, think it right to observe, upon the total of the capital stock so created and so constituting the public funded debt, 1st, That its amount is not to be considered as if it could only be extinguished by a redemption at par; inasmuch as the progressive reduction of the national debt by the present sinking fund constantly operates, by buying up the debt according to the current price of the stocks; the effect of which they have entered into more fully in a subsequent part of this report.

2dly, That the funded capital of the public debt includes in it the amount of the capital purchased by the commissioners for reducing the national debt.

And, 3dly, That the annual charge upon the public, by way of interest and annuities for terms, includes in it the interest of the stock purchased by the commissioners, and also of the annuities which have expired.

Your Committee think it also proper to state here, that by statute. 35 George III, chapter 93, provision was made for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of 4,600,000*l.* on account of the Emperor; under the authority of which statute there has been created In capital stock, 3*l.* per cents.

L. 3,833,333 6 8
And in annuities for twenty-five years, from the 1st of May, 1794, *L.* 230,000 0 0

Taxes.

The Committee proceed first to state the produce of each of the four years, preceding the 5th of January, 1797, of the permanent taxes which existed previous to the 5th of January, 1793.

Upon

Upon the result of their examination, the Committee find the actual average produce of the permanent taxes, for these four years, to be about *L.* 13,780,000 without adding the deficiency occasioned by the stoppage of distilleries.

The Select Committee of 1791 estimated the probable produce of the permanent taxes to be

L. 13,472,000

From this sum must be deducted the average produce of the taxes repealed in 1792, amounting, as appears by papers laid before the House of Commons, on the 10th and 15th of February, 1792, to about 223,000*l.* leaving a sum of

L. 13,249,000

Your Committee have also thought it proper to ascertain the average produce of the permanent taxes during the four years which immediately preceded the present war; and they find the same to have been, after allowing for the deduction of the shop-tax, and the duties repealed in 1792, about

L. 13,831,000

Your Committee have the satisfaction of observing, that the actual produce of the same taxes, on the average of the four years of war (without making any allowance for the stoppage of the distilleries) exceeds the estimate formed in 1791, by above 530,000; and is below their average produce in the four preceding years of peace only, by

L. 50,000

Your Committee have next proceeded to examine the produce of the several taxes provided for defraying the increased charge of the public debt, from the 5th of January, 1798, to the 5th of January, 1797; distinguishing the produce of each year.

Upon this examination they find that the duties continued in 1793, produced

In 1793	-	<i>L.</i> 247,638	0	0
1794	-	248,858	10	6
1795	-	202,385	0	0
1796	-	966,813	0	0

That the duties continued and imposed in 1794, produced

In 1794	-	<i>L.</i> 618,040	13	4½
1795	-	822,122	9	0½
1796	-	818,868	4	7½

That the duties imposed in 1795, produced

In 1795	-	<i>L.</i> 1,373,000	9	7
1796	-	1,332,794	19	4½

And they find that the duties imposed in 1796, had produced, on the 5th of January, 1797,

L. 604,644 9 2½

In stating the produce of these several taxes, your Committee think it necessary to observe, that the produce of new duties within the first year of their being imposed, can seldom afford correct means of estimating their real productiveness. In some instances the first year has been more productive than subsequent years; but, in general, the first year has been less productive, the collection of most duties not taking place before a considerable part of the current year has elapsed, and a considerable part of the produce of the fraction of the current year not being paid into the Exchequer till after the termination of that year, and the modes of collection not being brought at their beginning to their greatest degree of efficacy, an accurate estimate of it cannot be made from the amount of its produce which appears upon the Exchequer account.

Your Committee were, however, desirous of examining how far the produce of the taxes, imposed in the three first years of the war (of

which alone, at present, your committee have been enabled to form any adequate judgment) appears sufficient to defray the charges of such part of the public debt as has been funded during the same period. For this purpose they have looked to the year most distant from their commencement, as affording, for the reasons above given, the best means to judge of their productiveness.

In 1793, they find that the annual charge upon the public, on account of the interest, management, and 11. per cent. upon the debt funded in 1793, was

L. 252,812

The produce of the duties answerable for this charge was, in the year 1796, only - L. 166,813

But your Committee think it their duty to observe, that this produce must have been materially affected by the stoppage of the distilleries, which prevailed from June 1795 to November 1796.

In 1794, the annual charge upon the public, on account of the interest, management, and 11. per cent. on the debt funded in 1794, appears to be L. 773,824

The produce of the duties continued and imposed in that year appears to have been, in the year 1796 - L. 818,863

In 1795, the annual charge upon the public, on account of the interest, management, and 11. per cent. upon the debt funded in 1795, was - L. 1,227,415

The produce of the duties answerable for this charge was, in the year 1796 - L. 1,352,794

In 1796, the charge upon the public, for the interest, management, and 11. per cent. upon the debt created, was - L. 1,951,226

The actual receipt at the Exchequer of the duties imposed in that year was, on the 5th of January, 1797 - L. 604,644

Your Committee, for many of the reasons above assigned, do not think it possible for them at present to form, upon similar grounds, an estimate of a whole year's produce of the duties imposed in 1796; neither do they think it advisable to delay this their first report, by entering into any detailed examination of the particulars; they feel it, however, their duty to observe, that no adequate judgment can be formed of the future produce of these taxes from the actual receipt at the Exchequer at the abovementioned period.

III. — *Unfunded Debt and Demands outstanding.*

Your Committee have next proceeded to examine and state the amount of the unfunded debt and demands outstanding on the 5th of January, 1797, under the heads of Exchequer, Treasury, Army, Barracks, Ordnance, and Navy, as stated by the respective offices in the several accounts annexed, reserving to themselves the liberty of stating in any future report any further information or observations thereupon, which a more detailed investigation may enable them to lay before the House. They have distinguished under each head—1st, What part of the unfunded debt has been provided for; 2^d, What part, although provided for by the grants of former years, had not been paid on the 5th of January, 1797, by reason of the consolidated fund not having produced the surplus at which it was estimated; and, 3^d, What

What part appears at present to be unprovided for.

Totals of the Unfunded Debt.

1. Charged on funds which were insufficient on the 5th of January, 1797	L. 3,284,012 6 1½
2. Unprovided for	12,736,900 0 3½
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	L. 16,020,912 6 5½
3. Provided for, being the anticipation, in the usual form, upon the land and malt taxes,	L. 5,682,000 0 0

Your Committee think proper to observe in this place, that (besides what may be due to the public upon monies imprested, and

balances from public accountants) the following sums have been advanced by way of loan, and now remain due to the public:

Advanced by way of loan to the Emperor	-	L. 1,420,000
Ditto for relief of the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent	L. 910,000	
Ditto paid on bills drawn by the treasurers of the said islands, for the purchase of provisions, &c.	L. 140,000	
Remitted in specie to Ireland	52,500	
And a further sum of 600,000l. is proposed to be advanced to the planters of Grenada and St. Vincent, included in the statement of the supply for the present year	-	- L. 600,000

IV. — *Estimates.*

Your Committee have next proceeded to examine and state the expected total amount of the public expences for the year ending the 5th of January, 1798, as far as the same can now be ascertained or estimated by the several offices; and they find the estimates are as follow, viz.

1. Navy	-	-	-	L. 12,935,496	0	0
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In this estimate no future charge is included for neutral cargoes, as the value has not yet been ascertained by the assessors appointed by the Admiralty Court.

2. Army.

Ordinary expences	-	L. 6,897,958	5	}	11,034,958	5	0
Extraordinaries for 1797	-	4,137,000	0				

The extraordinaries of the army for the current year appear now to be brought forward, for the first time, by way of estimate, having always constituted a part of the charge of the succeeding year.

3. Barracks	-	-	-	449,076	0	0
4. Ordnance	-	-	-	1,321,024	9	2
5. Miscellaneous Services	-	-	-	1,149,843	17	6

In this sum are included 600,000l. proposed to be lent to persons connected with and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, and also a further sum of 464,920l. 17s. 6d. for articles which it has been usual to pay, in the first instance, out of the civil list, and to propose afterwards to parliament to vote a sum sufficient to repay what has been so advanced.

Brought

Brought forward L. 26,890,398 11 8

6. A sum, upon account, for making temporary advances by way of loan, for the service of the Emperor - - - - - 500,000 0 0

The following articles were stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as part of the supply for the year 1797, viz.

7. Deficiency of land and malt - - - - - 350,000 0 0
8. Commissioners for national debt - - - - - 200,000 0 0

Add to these a vote of credit, which your Committee are informed is intended to be proposed to parliament - - - - - 2,500,000 0 0

L. 30,440,398 11 8

The repayments to the Bank of 1,023,000*l.* stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as part of the supply for 1797, are omitted here, as having been included in the sum of 1,154,000*l.* stated to be a part of the unfunded debt of the Exchequer, not sufficiently provided for on the 5th of January, 1797.

V.—*Ways and Means.*

Your Committee find that the ways and means already proposed for the year 1797, consist of

Articles voted; viz.

Land and malt	-	2,750,000
Loan	-	18,000,000
Surplus of grants	-	420,000
		<hr/>
		21,170,000

And of articles estimated; viz.

Growing produce of the consolidated fund	} 1,075,000
Exchequer bills	- 5,500,000
Lottery	- 200,000
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Total	- 27,945,000

VI.—*Reduction of Public Debt.*

Your Committee have further proceeded to state an account of the progress that has been made in the reduction of the public debt since the 5th of July, 1789, of the

sums now annually applicable thereto, and of the further progress which may be expected to be made, as far as the same can be at present ascertained, in the reduction of the debt now existing. Your Committee have great satisfaction upon this subject, in contemplating the large means which are now annually employed for the reduction of the public debt, and the considerable progress which has been already made towards that important end.

The annual sum now applicable to that purpose, appears to amount to - L. 3,359,799 6 2

The capital stock purchased by the application of the several sums, appears to have been, on the 16th of March, 1797 L. 23,334,200 0 0

The further progress to be made in the reduction of the debt has been calculated, by order of the commissioners, according to the operation of the annual million, the interest of the stock redeemed by it, the amount of expired and unclaimed annuities, and an annual sum of two hundred thousand pounds in aid of this fund, granted by parliament, as applied to the reduction of the debt which existed before the war, and considered as then amounting to the sum of two hundred and forty millions.

These

These calculations, of course, depend upon the different prices at which the several stocks in which the public debt consists may happen to be purchased.

The earliest date, according to these calculations, at which the whole of the debt that existed prior to 1793, and taken at two hundred and forty millions, would be cancelled, is thirty-three years, from the 1st of February, 1797; and even the most remote date at which it would be cancelled, does not exceed fifty-four years.

Your Committee observe, that the said calculations relate only to the progress which will be made, upon different data, in the reduction of the debt existing before the war, by the application of the funds provided for that purpose.

The reduction of the debt which has been incurred during the war, depends upon different considerations. The amount of the sinking fund applicable thereto, including the 11. per cent. on account of the loan and bills funded in the present sessions, amount to - L. 1,341,411

The dividend on the stock, purchased thereby, is L. 77,068

The total amount of the new sinking fund was - L. 1,418,479

The capital of the new debt, to the reduction of which this sum is applicable, is L. 130,665,896

In order to give the House fuller information upon this part of the subject, your Committee have called for further calculations; but in the mean time they think it necessary to observe, that the new sinking fund appears to bear a much larger proportion to the new debt than the old sinking fund, with its accumulations, the annual grant of

200,000l. and the annuities expired, does at the present moment to the old debt: and that the old sinking fund, after reaching the sum of four millions, is no longer made applicable by law to the discharge at compound interest of what may then remain of the old debt: but the operation of the new sinking fund is to continue at compound interest till the new debt shall be totally extinguished.

Report from the Committee of Secrecy appointed by the House of Lords to examine and state the total amount of Outstanding Demands on the Bank of England, and likewise of the Funds for discharging the same, and to report the result thereof to the House, together with their Opinion on the Necessity of providing for the Confirmation and Continuance of Measures taken in pursuance of the Minute of Council of the 26th of February, 1797.

THE Committee having proceeded to take into their consideration the matters referred to them, report thereon as follows:

With respect to the first part of the order of the House, by which they are directed to examine and report the total amount of outstanding demands on the Bank of England, and likewise of the funds for discharging the same, they called upon the Governor of the Bank, and upon Mr. Bosanquet, one of the Directors of the Bank (who attended them in the absence of the Deputy Governor) for an account to that effect; which account, having by them been produced to the Committee, was verified by the Deputy Accountant of the Bank; and the same having been examined by

by the Committee, it was agreed to report the result thereof to the House, as follows:

That the total amount of outstanding demands on the Bank, on the 25th day of February last, was 13,770,390*l.* and that the total amount of the funds for discharging those demands, over and above the permanent debt due from government of 11,686,800*l.* was, on the same day of February last, 17,597,280*l.* and that the result is, that there was, on the 25th day of February last, a surplus of effects belonging to the Bank beyond the total of their debts, amounting to the sum of 3,826,890*l.* over and above the before-mentioned permanent debt of 11,686,800*l.* due from government.

The Committee think it right to observe, that this account is made up to the 25th of February inclusive; and that since that day, several considerable issues have been made by the Bank in bank notes, both upon government securities, and in discounting bills, the particulars of which could not immediately be made up; but that as those issues were made upon corresponding securities, taken with the usual care and attention, the actual balance in favour of the Bank has not been materially varied, but, if at all, has been rather increased.

In proceeding to the consideration of the second part of the order of reference, in which the Committee are directed to report to the House their opinion on the necessity of providing for the confirmation and continuance of the measures taken in pursuance of the minute of council of the 26th of February, the Committee have thought it right to confine their enquiries to

those points only on which that necessity appeared to them principally to depend; and having examined to these points the Governor of the Bank, and the said Mr. Bosanquet (one of the Directors thereof) the Committee find,

That the Bank of England has lately experienced an unusual drain of cash.

That this drain was owing, in great part, to demands for cash from the country; such demands being made upon the Bank indirectly from the country, but directly from the bankers of London, who are to supply the country.

That by the effects of this drain, the cash of the Bank has been of late very considerably reduced; that it has, however, been known, by those conversant in the affairs of the Bank, to be a great deal lower; but that on this occasion the rapidity of the demands has been unparalleled.

That those demands have been of late progressively increasing, but particularly in the last week: and that in the two last days of that week, the demands exceeded those of the four preceding days.

That there was every reason to apprehend that these demands, and the consequent progressive reduction of cash, would continue, and even increase.

That by the effect of such reduction, if it were to continue in the same, or in a still farther increased proportion, the Bank of England would be deprived of the means of supplying the cash which might be necessary for pressing exigencies of public service; and this led the Bank to make the communication they did to his Majesty's ministers.

And lastly, That since the date of the minute of council above mentioned,

tioned, no such alteration has occurred as materially to vary the situation of the Bank in this respect.

On this view of the present state of the important question referred to them, the Committee have agreed to report it to the House as their opinion, that it is necessary to continue and confirm the measures already taken, for such time, and under such limitations and restrictions, and with such power of discontinuing the same, as to the wisdom of Parliament may seem expedient.

The Committee think proper to conclude their report, with a summary of the chief points which have occurred in their enquiry respecting the causes that produced the order of council of the 26th of February last, as resulting from the evidence taken by them, and from the accounts laid before them.

In order to render the subsequent details relative to this important subject more intelligible, the Committee think it right to begin with taking a general view of the state of the circulation of the kingdom.

It appears by the evidence, that the circulation of this kingdom, by which its immense commerce is carried on, consists principally in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, either of the notes of the Bank of England, or of coin chiefly made of gold.—In the country, (where the notes of the Bank of England did not circulate to any great amount) it consists of the bills of country bankers, or of the banking companies in Scotland, payable to bearer on demand; and of coin of the description before mentioned.

Inland bills of exchange are thought by many to be a part of

the circulation of the kingdom. They are not strictly so, in the same sense as the two sorts of paper mentioned: they are rather transfers of debts from the drawers to the persons on whom the bills are drawn. They are generally made payable at distant periods; and as they are not payable at all times on demand, they cannot, like the former, answer all the purposes of cash.

In the metropolis, the quantity of paper much exceeds the quantity of coin in circulation. The Committee have no sufficient means before them to judge of the proportion of cash and paper in the metropolis, except as far as any inference can be drawn from the quantity of cash paid at the Bank, compared with the amount of the notes issued by that corporate body, as stated in the evidence of Mr. Newland, principal cashier of the Bank; and particularly from the proportion of cash paid quarterly at the Bank in discharge of the dividends of the public stocks, a part of which only is received by bankers, the remainder by persons of every description.

But in the country, and particularly in those parts of it where no considerable manufactures are established, and no great commercial enterprize is carried on, there is reason to conclude, that the quantity of paper exceeds in a less proportion the coin in circulation than in the metropolis. It must vary according to circumstances of time or place; and the Committee have no information which enables them to form a judgement on this subject. It can hardly, however, be doubted that there is too little of British coin, particularly of silver,

ver, current in the kingdom, from a cause which will be hereafter stated.

The Bank of England is at the head of all circulation. It is the great repository of the spare cash of the nation, and alone carries bullion to the mint to be coined. It is subject, on that account, to be called on for cash, directly or indirectly, by those who are in want of it, and is necessarily sensible of every material failure or distress which arises from any deficiency or want of coin, in every part of this kingdom or Ireland.

It appears that the circulation of paper was carried to its greatest height a short time previous to the beginning of the year 1793.

But early in that year a great diminution took place in the circulation of country bank bills, from the sudden failure of many of the country banks. Mr. Ellison states, that previous to this period there were about two hundred and eighty country banks in England and Wales, and that he does not believe they exceed at present two hundred and thirty; the business of which has by no means increased in proportion to the reduction of the number—and that the issue of country bank bills has considerably diminished—that the quantity of specie actually kept by the present country bankers, is at this time larger than it was before the year 1793, and that they have lessened their balances with the London bankers.

Mr. Thornton's evidence confirms the account given by Mr. Ellison of the failure of the country banks in 1793, and of the consequent diminution of the circulation of country bank bills at that time.

Subsequent to this event these country bank bills increased again in some degree, but never to their former extent. Both Mr. Thornton and Mr. Ellison are of opinion that considerable quantities of cash must have been drawn from the metropolis into the country, in order to supply the deficiency of these country bank bills.

In the beginning of the year 1793, when, from the causes before mentioned, the circulation of this kingdom began to be so much diminished, the present war commenced. A state of war always requires a more ample circulation, even within the kingdom:—the public loans, which in all wars are necessary, and in the present war have been particularly great, employ a considerable proportion of the circulating capital. The present increased value of money, which is sufficiently proved by the high rate of interest, clearly shows what must be the demand for it, and consequently the scarcity of it. But during the present war, it is worthy of remark, that expensive enterprises of a private nature have not diminished, as in all former wars, but even augmented. It appears by an account inserted in this report, that the number of bills of inclosure which passed in the four years preceding the present war, was one hundred and thirty-eight, and that the number which have passed during the four years of the war was two hundred and eighty-three. That the number of bills for navigations and canals, which passed in the four years preceding the present war, was thirty, and that the number which have passed during the four years of the war was sixty-nine. And farther, that the sum

sum authorised to be borrowed for the making those canals and navigations, was in the first four years 2,377,200*l.* and in the last period of four years 7,415,100*l.*

But the demand of money for public expences abroad, more particularly applies to the present subject: The loan made to the Emperor in the year 1795 of 4,000,000*l.*—the subsidies paid to foreign princes—the money remitted for the pay of British troops, or foreign troops in British pay, while this kingdom had an army on the Continent; and the advances made to the court of Vienna; together with the money sent to the West Indies and the Cape of Good Hope, for the pay of British troops there; if they did not all together draw British coin out of the country, in any great amount, must at least have prevented that influx of coin or bullion which, in consequence of a favourable balance of commerce, would have otherwise supplied the circulation of the kingdom. Mr. Boyd, however, in his evidence states, that in remitting the imperial loan, as well as the late advances to the Emperor, he never sent any British coin out of the kingdom (which could not indeed legally be done); and that in remitting the said loan, he sent in foreign coin or bullion to the amount only of about 1,200,000*l.* That the remainder of the loan, and the whole of the advances were remitted in bills of exchange. It is obvious, however, that the drains occasioned by expenditure abroad for the purposes before mentioned (large as the amount of them may have been) are nothing more than what has happened in all former wars, in which the government of Great Britain

has found it essential for its interests to maintain armies on the European Continent, or at any great distance from the kingdom.

It appears by an account inserted in this report, that all the remittances made for the services of the war in the West Indies, on the Continent of Europe, in the island of Corfica, and other distant parts of the world, amounted, during the four last years, to 33,510,779*l.* 0*s.* 7½*d.*

It appears by another account inserted in this report, which has distinguished the sums expended on the European Continent, from what were expended in other distant parts of the world, that the total of the money expended on the Continent of Europe during the said four years, including the Imperial loan and the advances made to the Emperor, amounted to 14,988,422*l.* 9*s.* 8½*d.*

It appears, lastly, by a third account inserted in this report, that the sums paid for all sorts of military services on the Continent during the war ending in 1763, amounted to 20,626,997*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.*

To the sums sent, during the present war, to the European Continent, and to the West Indies, and the Cape of Good Hope, for military purposes, should be added the sums drawn for by the commanders of our fleets on foreign service, in every part of the world.

It appears, on the other hand, by the accounts of the value of the imports and exports for the last twenty years, produced by Mr. Irving, inspector-general of imports and exports, that the demand for cash to be sent abroad, for the purposes before mentioned, was greatly compensated by a very large balance of commerce in favour of this kingdom, greater than was ever

ever known in any preceding period. The value of the exports of the last year, amounted, according to the valuation on which the accounts of the inspector-general are founded, to 30,424,184*l.* which is more than double what it was in any year of the American war, and one third more than it was on an average during the last peace, previous to the year 1792; and though the value of the imports to this country has, during the same period, greatly increased, the excess of the value of the exports above that of the imports, which constitutes the balance of trade, has augmented even in a greater proportion.

It is particularly observable, that the exports to Germany alone, for the two last years, have amounted to more than 8,000,000*l.* annually; when in time of peace they did not usually amount to more than 1,900,000*l.* And those exports to Germany exceed an amount, by at least 2,600,000*l.* the whole that was annually exported in time of peace to France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany.

The House will see in the evidence of Mr. Irving much information, for the purpose of shewing that all our principal articles of export, particularly those which consist of British manufactures, are greatly under-rated in their value, as well as many capital articles of import. Coffee is the only material article which appears to be over-rated in the books of the inspector-general; it is more over-rated on exportation, than on importation. The valuation upon which the accounts of the inspector-general are founded, was settled in the year 1696 or 1697, when the

prices of all these articles were greatly inferior to what they are at present, and before our manufactures had received the improvements which have been made in them of late years; so that the real value both of our imports and exports, particularly of the latter, is certainly considerably higher than is stated in his accounts. The House will also see many excellent observations, in the evidence of this gentleman, for the purpose of correcting the manner of taking the true balance of our trade. He observes, that in forming this balance, many articles of import are stated as unfavourable to this country, when they are, in fact, accessions of wealth, such as the produce of our various fisheries, and a considerable part of the imports from our possessions in the East and West Indies. The whole of the produce of these fisheries is certainly an accession of national wealth. So much thereof as is imported directly into this country, must be considered as an increase of stock to it: the value of such parts as are sent directly from the fishing places to foreign countries, and sold there, is either remitted in bills of exchange, which is wealth; or it is laid out in the purchase of commodities, to be imported into this country, which is an increase of stock. This produce is procured, not by any wealth sent from this country, but by the adventurous enterprize of our fishermen; and the value of such produce, when it is sent directly from the fishing places to foreign countries, cannot appear in any custom-house account. In like manner, a considerable part of the imports from the East and West Indies ought not to be stated, in the balance

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lance of our commerce, as unfavourable to this country, particularly such parts of the investments in the East Indies as are purchased by the revenues of the British settlements there; as well as those parts which are imported either from the East or West Indies, for the purpose of remitting private fortunes acquired there, or as the incomes of persons who, having estates or mortgages in the West Indies, reside and spend their incomes in Great Britain. The value of such part of these imports as is re-exported, will appear on the export side of the account, and serves to balance the value of the same articles, as stated on the import side; and the whole of the mercantile profit, which they leave behind, is in itself a considerable accession of wealth to this kingdom, that cannot appear in the custom-house accounts.

Mr. Irving has delivered it as his opinion, that the true balance of our trade amounted, on a medium of the four years preceding January 1796, to upwards of 6,500,000*l.* per annum, exclusive of the profits arising from our East and West In-

dia trade, which he estimates at upwards of 4,000,000*l.* per annum; and exclusive of the profits derived from our fisheries.

But whatever uncertainty may still remain, in forming an estimate of the true balance of our commerce in any particular year, the accounts of the inspector-general of imports and exports, serve at least to afford a good comparative state of the amount of our commerce in different years; for it is fair to presume, that the defects are not greater in the accounts of one year than of another.

Great however as this balance of commerce may appear, it would have been still greater in a very considerable degree, but from the unusual scarcity of grain, which made it necessary both for government and individuals to import large quantities of grain, for the relief of the inhabitants of this kingdom. In an account delivered by Mr. Claude Scott, an eminent corn factor, it appears, that for the three years preceding January 5th, 1797, there were paid to foreign countries, for grain imported into this kingdom, the following sums, viz.

In 1794	—	—	<i>L.</i> 1,983,856
In 1795	—	—	1,535,672
In 1796	—	—	3,926,484
			<hr/>
			7,446,012
Add, imported in 1793, as estimated by Mr. Scott in his evidence before the Committee	—	—	1,500,000
			<hr/>
Total			8,946,012
			<hr/>

This balance of commerce was also rendered less favourable, by the great sums paid for naval stores during the war, beyond what are usually paid in time of peace. It appears by an account presented by the Commissioners of his Majesty's navy, that the value of naval stores, imported

on account of his Majesty's navy, in the four years previous to 1797,
amounted to ————— L. 7,825,876

And in the four years preceding 1793, amount-
ed only to ————— 2,500,139 Excess
————— L. 5,325,737

And it appears by an account presented, of the amount of
bills drawn on the Commissioners for victualling, from
foreign parts, in the four years ending the 5th of Ja-
nuary 1797, that they amounted to 1,368,921

And in the four years ending the 5th of Ja-
nuary 1795, to ————— 134,629
————— 1,234,292

Total Excess L. 6,560,029
—————

Though it cannot be doubted that the balance of our trade, even with these deductions, must have brought great wealth in various articles of commerce, into this kingdom, and that unusual quantities of foreign merchandize must, in consequence thereof, have been deposited in it; yet it may be doubted, whether it brought so great a quantity of the precious metals, to be converted into coin, as in former periods; for it appears in the evidence of Sir John Hort, who was his Majesty's Consul General in Portugal for twenty-nine years, and of Mr. Whitmore, an eminent Portugal merchant, that the importation of gold and silver bullion from Lisbon into this kingdom, has been less than it was formerly: and that the exchange between Lisbon and London, which used formerly to be greatly in favour of London, has of late, from a variety of circumstances, been sometimes in favour of, and sometimes against, this country; and for the last three years, more against this country than in its favour, from causes which are fully explained in the evidence of those gentlemen. Mr. Whitmore adds, that the quantity of silver which

has of late been imported, has greatly exceeded the quantity of gold. But as the Mint price of silver bullion has been, during nearly the whole of the present century, considerably less than the market price of this precious metal, the silver bullion so imported could not be converted into coin, but after having left a quantity sufficient for the use of our manufactures, must have again been exported; and did not contribute in the smallest degree to augment the coin of this kingdom.

The accounts presented by the officers of the Mint, of the quantity of bullion coined in the last four years, shew that the quantity coined at the Mint in 1795, amounted only to 493,416l. and in 1796 to 464,680l. which is not more than a sixth of what was brought to the Mint to be coined in the two preceding years, and greatly inferior to what had been coined, upon an average of the former years of his Majesty's reign.

By an account presented by Mr. Irving, of the quantity of bullion exported from this country from the year 1790 to 1796 both inclusive, it appears that the quantity of gold bullion

bullion exported on an average in the four last years, being years of war, is not a third of what was annually exported on an average in the three preceding years of peace; and that the quantity of silver bullion exported in the four last years, being years of war, is also not a third of what was annually exported on an average in the three preceding years of peace; and this account receives a certain degree of confirmation, from the accounts delivered in by the East India Company, of the amount of Spanish dollars exported by the Company, or permitted by the Company to be exported by private persons; which prove that in the last three years the amount of Spanish dollars exported has been less than usual.

The Committee wished to throw farther light on this subject, by obtaining an account of the amount of gold and silver coin or bullion imported into this kingdom in the before-mentioned periods; but they find that, by a law passed in the 15th year of the reign of his late Majesty Charles II. ch. 7. sec. 12. coin and bullion are exempted from entry at the custom-house, on importation into this kingdom; so that the officers of the customs could not produce an account of any such importation.

There are, however, other circumstances in evidence before the Committee, which may have contributed to render less perceptible, hitherto at least, the advantages arising from the influx of wealth into this kingdom, in consequence of a favourable balance of trade.

It was observed by Henry Thornton, Esq. (and it is indeed self-evident) that in proportion as the commerce of this country increases, a

greater capital is necessary for carrying it on; and also, that any given quantity of commerce, in time of war, by the increased expences of freight, insurance, and mercantile charges, requires a greater capital than the same quantity of commerce in time of peace. These two circumstances must have had considerable influence, in the course of the last three years upon the circulating cash and paper of the kingdom, especially when it is considered, that, from causes already assigned, the circulation of paper was considerably diminished; and Mr. Bosanquet, a Bank Director, in assigning the causes of the great pressure on the Bank, for the want of cash, in the year 1783, is of opinion that the drain of cash at that time proceeded from the great extension of commerce which followed the peace, and which occasioned so large an export of the commodities of this country, that the circulation was hardly sufficient to support it.

It appears, lastly, by the evidence of the Bank Directors, that in consequence of the long credit given by our merchants, the payments for the great quantities of our manufactures, produce, and other merchandize exported, do not take place till a considerable time after their exportation, though a great additional capital has been previously employed in providing the articles so exported. The balance of payments, which arises out of the balance of trade, is necessarily posterior to it; and in countries like Great Britain, where long credits are given, it may not produce its full effect upon our circulation for a considerable time.

The result of all the various circumstances before stated, does not appear

appear, on the whole, to have produced any permanent disadvantageous effect on the cash of the Bank, till the month of September, 1795: The cash of the Bank had, indeed, been much lower than usual in March and June 1793; but it rose in the September of that year nearly to its usual average. From September, 1795, however, it continued progressively declining, so as to be, during the whole of the year 1796, considerably less than in the year 1795, but not lower at the end of 1796 than in the middle of that year; and in the commencement of the present year still less than in the year 1796—and in the week preceding the issuing of the Order of Council, it diminished rapidly: It was not, however, even at that period, in any degree so low as in the year 1783, and particularly in the month of October of that year.

The conferences between the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, on the apprehensions they entertained of the diminution of their cash, and the representations made by them, from time to time, on the effect which foreign loans and remittances had on the state of their cash, will appear by the evidence of the said Governor and Deputy Governor, and other Directors of the Bank, when they attended the Committee, either as a deputation or in their individual capacity, as well as from the minutes of those conferences, and the copies of the resolutions delivered by them to the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—It will appear also, from the evidence of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and from letters written by him to the Governor of the Bank; all which are inserted

in this report, and to which the Committee think it more proper to refer the House, than to give a summary of them.

The accounts before^h inserted, and the evidence just referred to, will also shew what was the nature of the advances made by the Bank to government—upon what funds or credit they were made—what was their amount at different periods—how far the amount of those advances, during the present war, have usually exceeded those made in time of peace—how far they have exceeded those made in the last war—and whether they were greater or less, immediately previous to issuing the Order in Council of the 26th of February, than at any preceding period.

The Committee were desirous of throwing farther light on this subject, by laying before the House some accurate account of the exchanges between Great Britain and other countries; as these, when they can be correctly ascertained, afford a good criterion of the balance of payments between Great Britain and other countries, and thereby shew, whether there is reason to conclude that any coin or bullion have been exported or imported. At present, the only places with which there subsists any regular course of exchange with Great Britain, are Lisbon and Hamburgh. At this last place, a great proportion of the accounts between Great Britain and the northern parts of Europe, is now settled and paid. The par of exchange with Lisbon can be accurately stated; it is 67½. It has already been shewn from the evidence of Sir John Hort and Mr. Whitmore, how far the exchange between London and Lisbon has been

been of late to the disadvantage of this country; and their account of it is fully confirmed by a statement of the course of exchange taken from Castaing's papers, inserted in this report.

With respect to the exchange between Great Britain and Hamburgh, the Committee have not been able to decide, to their satisfaction, what is the actual par of exchange between London and Hamburgh. The witnesses they have examined have widely differed with respect to the par of exchange between those places. The Committee, however, have inserted in the minutes of the evidence, the answers of Mr. Boyd to two questions put to him, and a paper presented to this Committee by one of the members of it, which throw considerable light on this intricate subject, and will account, in some degree, for the difficulty the Committee had experienced in determining, with sufficient accuracy, the par of this exchange.

The mercantile accounts in Hamburgh and London have a reference to different metals. Silver appears to be the common coin of Hamburgh, and gold is, in that place rather to be considered as a commodity. Gold is the mercantile coin of Great Britain, and silver has been for many years only a commodity, which has no fixed price, and is very rarely carried to the Mint to be coined, but varies according to the demand for it at the market. The market price of these precious metals appears also to have an influence on the Banco money of Hamburgh, in which the exchange are reckoned—It is probable that to these circumstances is to be imputed the difficulty of determining the par of exchange between Lon-

don and Hamburgh. On the present subject, therefore, all that the Committee can say with certainty is, that according to the evidence of the Governor of the Bank of England (which is confirmed by a paper annexed) the exchange with Hamburgh ceased to be unfavourable to this country in March 1796, became more favourable in the month of October last, and that it continued favourable till the 26th of February, when the Order of Council was issued, and that it continues so still.

The Committee have hitherto stated the several points relating to the more remote causes by which the circulation of the kingdom and the general state of the Bank may have been affected. They proceed now to those which immediately preceded the 26th of February last, and more directly contributed to the necessity of the Order of Council which was issued on that day.

It appears from the evidence of Mr. Ellison, that a few weeks previous to the 26th of February, two great mercantile banks at Newcastle stopped payment in cash, owing to the effect of a local alarm, similar, as stated by this gentleman, to that in 1793, which occasioned most of the country bankers to draw large sums of money from the metropolis, and induced them to keep in store larger quantities of specie than before the year 1793, in order to make their payments, if such should be required of them. Mr. Thornton confirms in general this account given by Mr. Ellison. He agrees also with Mr. Ellison with respect to the demand for cash made on the metropolis by the country bankers, for the purpose of being sent to different parts of the kingdom, where it is partly kept by the country

country bankers for the uses before mentioned, and partly drawn out of their hands by individuals, to be hoarded.

It appears by the evidence of Mr. Thornton, that there was, at this time, also a demand of cash to be sent from the metropolis to Scotland.

But those demands for cash, from the distant parts of the kingdom, were not the only causes of the embarrassments of the Bank of England at this period. It is stated in an account delivered by Mr. Pugh, one of the Directors of the Bank of England, and agent for the Bank of Ireland, that in the commencement of the year 1797 there was an unusual demand of cash made on the Bank of England to be sent to Ireland; and that there was an expectation of a loan intended to be raised in Great Britain, for the service of Ireland, which would necessarily have occasioned the exportation of a considerable quantity of coin from the metropolis to the latter kingdom. It is proper to add, that the kingdom of Ireland appears, for some weeks previous to the issuing the Order of Council of the 26th of February, to have experienced a great want of cash, similar to that which was experienced in Great Britain.

There is a circumstance that throws considerable light on one at least of the principal causes which produced this great demand for cash on the bank. It appears by the account of the state of the cash at the Bank at different periods, as laid before the Committee, that the greatest drain of cash which the Bank has experienced, subsequent to the year 1783, was in March and June 1793, that is, a short time af-

ter the failure of the country banks in that year; and in the commencement of the month of February of this year, that is a short time after the Newcastle bank stopped payment in cash, and when the alarms before stated produced great demands for cash from different parts of the country: So that, in both those periods, the same cause appears to have produced an effect nearly similar, that is, a very unusual drain of cash from the Bank.

The increased demand for cash must bear a proportion to the decrease of any other sort of circulation that is a substitute for it. The Committee will presently shew to what degree the circulation of the notes of the Bank of England had been diminished, immediately previous to the 26th February last. With respect to the decrease of country bank bills in circulation, Mr. Thornton, who appears to have collected his evidence from several parts of the kingdom with great accuracy, was desired by the Committee to deliver in an account of the proportion in which, according to his information, country bank bills circulated in different parts of the kingdom before the failures in 1793; at a period subsequent to that year; and at the present time. This account may be seen at large in the evidence; but the result is, that at the present time the circulation of these bills is in one part of the kingdom not more than about a third; in another, not more than half; and in a third, but a sixth of what was in circulation before the year 1793: and the Committee have already endeavoured to shew, in a former part of this summary, to what degree the means of coining, and, in consequence thereof, the

regular supply of new coin (which alone could fill up the void occasioned by the decrease of circulating paper) had diminished of late years.

From the evidence of the Governor of the Bank, and from the report of the last Secret Committee which has been laid before this Committee, it appears that it was not singly the diminished state of their cash which gave the Directors any great alarm; the Governor and Mr. Bosanquet rather impute this alarm to the progressively increasing demands for cash upon them, particularly in the week preceding the 26th of February, and to the reasons they had to apprehend that these demands, and the consequent progressive reduction of cash would continue, and even increase: and they add, that this drain was in great part owing to demands for cash from the country, such demands being made upon the Bank indirectly from the country, but directly from the bankers of London, who were to supply the country.

The Directors of the Bank, under the impression which these alarms and embarrassments had occasioned, appear to have judged it prudent to diminish their notes in circulation, and the consequent demands that might come upon them, so as to make the demands more nearly correspond with the state of their cash. It will be seen, in the accounts presented to the Committee, of the amount of bank notes in circulation at different periods, that the average amount of these notes in circulation, for several years previous to the end of the year 1796, may be stated at between 10,000,000*l.* and 11,000,000*l.* hardly ever falling below 9,000,000*l.* and not often

exceeding, to any great amount, 11,000,000*l.* It will appear, by one of the afore-mentioned accounts, that in the latter end of the year 1796, and in the beginning of 1797, the amount of bank notes in circulation was less than the average before stated; and on the 25th of February last it was reduced to 8,640,250*l.*

It is true, that in an account presented to the Committee, of the amount of bank notes in circulation in the years 1782, 1783, and 1784, the quantity was then generally even less than the sum last mentioned; but at that time the foreign commerce of the kingdom was not even one half of what it is at present, as will be seen in the account of imports and exports inserted in this report.

It is not probable that the reduction of bank notes to 8,640,250*l.* immediately previous to the issuing the Order in Council of the 26th of February, was owing to any diminution of the demands for them; for at that time the merchants of London were subject to difficulties, from not being able to get their bills discounted.

The Directors of the Bank had, on the 31st of December 1795, come to a resolution to diminish their discounts; but notwithstanding that resolution, they did not diminish the amount of their discounts in the course of the year 1796, compared with what they were in 1785, but had rather increased them; not, however, to such an extent as to make them correspond with the wants of the commercial world. A considerable degree of distress consequently ensued; which distress may also be imputed to another cause in evidence

dence before the Committee. By law, no man is to take more than 5l. per cent. interest for money lent or advanced by him; and this restriction is understood to apply to bankers in the business of discounting; so that in time of war, when a much greater interest than 5l. per cent. can be made of money, upon government securities, the discounts which merchants obtain from bankers and other individuals, are necessarily much diminished, and they are forced, on that account, to resort directly to the Bank.

Some of the persons whom the Committee examined on this part of the subject, have expressed a strong opinion of the inconvenience produced by the conduct of the Bank in diminishing their notes in circulation, and in restricting their discounts.

One of these persons is of opinion that an increased quantity of bank notes, proportioned to the increased occasion for them, must tend to prevent a demand for guineas rather than to promote it; and that if the quantity of notes issued is very considerably less than the occasions of the mercantile world require, a run upon the Bank will be the consequence. He is of opinion also, that the Directors of the Bank do not avail themselves of the full extent of their credit; and that the caution necessary to be observed by private bankers in the amount of their bills, does not apply to the case of the Bank of England, for several reasons which he assigns. A great quantity of bank notes, in his opinion, is absolutely necessary for the circulation of the metropolis; and that in this respect it is immaterial whether these notes are issued for advances made to government, or

in discounts to private persons; except, that in the last case, those whose bills are discounted to a greater extent, may suppose that more relief is granted to them. He allows, however, that as the Bank discounts, even in time of war, at 5l. per cent. there may be a greater disposition to borrow of the Bank at 5l. per cent. than it may be prudent always for the Bank to comply with.

Another of those gentlemen is of opinion, that the resolution of the Bank to restrict their discounts, excited an alarm and distrust that led to an increase of the drain of their cash; that it has contributed also to the forced sale and depreciation of public securities, and to other embarrassments occasioned by an insufficient supply of bank notes and cash; which supply has not kept pace with the demand arising from the employment and circulation of active capital, particularly for the last fifteen months: And he also is of opinion that it would not signify materially to the public, whether the quantum of bank notes introduced into circulation was created by discounting bills for the merchants, or by advances to government.

The Committee have judged it right to state the causes assigned by these gentlemen, of the distress that has lately prevailed from the want of sufficient means of circulation in commercial transactions. The Committee, however, do not mean to decide whether the Bank Directors might not have solid reasons for their conduct in this respect, or to convey any opinion on this doubtful and delicate question; but conceive it their duty to call the attention of the House to a point of so great importance, and refer the House to the

the arguments stated more at large in the evidence.

The Committee have thus gone through the chief points which have occurred in their enquiry respecting the causes which produced the Order in Council of the 26th of February last, as resulting from the evidence taken by them, and the accounts laid before them. They submit the same to the consideration of the House; but as the minutes of their proceedings are inserted in the former part of this report, and as the House is thereby possessed of the evidence on the whole of this subject, in great detail, the members of it will be enabled to supply any omissions, and to correct any defects which may be found in this summary.

The Committee being desirous of confining themselves to those matters on which they have thought proper to call evidence, and sensible of the difficulty (even at all times) of appreciating the extent and influence of alarm, forbear from advert- ing to the effects produced upon the state of pecuniary transactions and circulation, by the apprehensions of invasion generally prevalent towards the close of the last year, and in the beginning of the present, but of which the operations must doubt- less have been considerable. Nor will they attempt to estimate how far the interruption given to the banking operations of many great commercial cities, by the troubles and calamities which have agitated Europe, and the entire ruin of ma- ny commercial houses and estab- lishments, may have tended to de- range the accustomed course and confidence of general circulation.

The Committee think it suffi- cient merely to enumerate the con-

siderations of such general notoriety, and to submit them, without farther observation, to the wisdom of the House.

An Account of all Bills drawn on the Treasury from the island of St. Domin- go, from the Commencement of the War to the latest period such an account can be made out.

Amount of bills drawn from or on account of the island of St. Do- mingo, presented at the Treasury in the years

1794	} L. 4,383,596 8 2
1795	
1796	
and	
1797	

to 1st of May.

CHARLES LONG.

*Treasury Chambers,
May 11th, 1797.*

A return of the deaths and casual- ties which have taken place in the British forces, and in the forces in British pay, serving in the island of St. Domingo, from the commencement of the war to the 30th of September, 1796, as far as the same can be made up.

British Forces.

Dead	-	-	7,530
Discharged	-	-	333
Deserted	-	-	123

Forces in British Pay.

Dead, Discharged, and Deserted, 1,067.

N. B. Few of the returns of the foreign corps distinguish the deaths from the other casualties.

W. WINDHAM.

*War Office,
May 5th, 1797.*

An ACCOUNT of all Additions which have been made to the Annual Charge of the Public Debt by the Interest or Annuities of any Loan that hath been made, or Annuities created, subsequent to the 1st of January 1793: And also the Produce of the several Duties granted for defraying the Charge in respect of the same in the Year ended the 5th of January 1797.

<i>Additional Charge created in respect of 4,500,000<i>l.</i> borrowed anno 1793.</i>	<i>Annual Interest.</i>		<i>Charges of Management</i>		<i>Annuity at 1<i>l.</i> per cent. to be placed to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt.</i>	
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
On 6,250,000 <i>l.</i> additional capital, in three per cent. consolidated bank annuities	187,500	0 0	2,812	10 0	62,500	0 0
					2,812	10 0
					187,500	0 0
Total additional charge created anno 1793	—	—	—	—	252,812	10 0
Produce of the duties for defraying the additional charge, created anno 1793					166,813	0 0
Deficiency in the year ended 5th January 1797					85,999	10 0

Additional Charge created in respect of 11,000,000l. borrowed anno 1794, and by reason of certain Navy and Victualling Bills made out before 31st March, 1793, being delivered up to be cancelled.

On 11,000,000l. at three per cent. additional capital, added to three per cent. consolidated bank annuities —

25l. per cent. on the above 11,000,000l. making an additional capital of 2,750,000l. added to four per cent. consolidated bank annuities —

Annuity of 11s. 5d. per cent. on the above 11,000,000l. for 66½ years additional capital, added to long consolidated bank annuities

On 1,926,525l. 12s. 5d. additional capital in five per cent. consolidated bank annuities, by reason of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled —

APPENDIX TO

Annual Interest.	Charges of Management.		Annuity at 11. per cent. to be placed to the account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt.	
l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.
330,000 0 0	4,950 0 0	110,000 0 0		
110,000 0 0	1,237 10 0	27,500 0 0		
62,791 13 4	706 8 1½	9,680 0 0		
502,791 13 4	6,993 18 1½	147,180 0 0		
96,326 5 7	866 18 8½	19,265 5 0		
599,117 18 11	7,760 16 10	166,445 5 0		
		7,760 16 10		
		599,117 18 11		
		773,324 0 9		

Annual Interest.	Charges of Management.		Annuity at 11. per cent. to be placed to the Account of	
	l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.
540,000 0 0	8,100	0 0	180,000	0 0
240,000 0 0	2,700	0 0	60,000	0 0
85,500 0 0	961	17 6	12,835	0 0
865,500 0 0	11,761	17 6	252,835	0 0
80,494 17 10	724	9 1	16,098	19 6
945,994 17 10	12,486	6 7	269,933	19 6
			12,486	6 7
			945,994	17 10
			1,227,415	3 11

Additional Charge created in respect of 18,000,000l. borrowed anno 1793, and by reason of certain Navy and Victualling Bills made out on or before 30th of September 1793, being delivered up to be cancelled.

On 18,000,000l. at three per cent. additional capital, added to three per cent. consolidated bank annuities

On 31l. 6s. 8d. per cent. on the above 18,000,000l. making an additional capital of 6,000,000l. added to four per cent. consolidated bank annuities

On Annuity of 9s. 6d. per cent. on the above 18,000,000l. for 65½ years, additional capital added to long consolidated bank annuities

On 1,609,897l. 17s. 1d. additional capital in five per cent. consolidated bank annuities, by reason of navy and victualling bills delivered up to be cancelled

APPENDIX TO

*Additional Charge created in respect of the several sums of 18,000,000*l.* and 7,500,000*l.* borrowed anno 1796, and by reason of certain Navy and Victualling Bills made out before 30th September 1795, being delivered up to be cancelled.*

On 18,000,000*l.* with 20*l.* per cent. additional capital, making together the sum of 21,600,000*l.* at three per cent. but by reason of 4,200*l.* having been forfeited from the contributors neglecting to complete their payments, is reduced to 21,595,800*l.* additional capital, added to three per annuities

On 25*l.* per cent. on the above 18,000,000*l.* making an additional capital of 4,500,000*l.* added to reduced three per cent. consolidated bank annuities

Annuity of 6*s.* 6*d.* per cent. on the above 18,000,000*l.* for 64½ years, additional capital added to long consolidated bank annuities

Additional charge created by 18,000,000*l.* borrowed anno 1796

<i>Annuity at 1<i>l.</i> per cent. to be placed to the Account of the Commissioners for reducing the National Debt.</i>	<i>Annual Interest.</i>	<i>Charges of Management.</i>	
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	647,874	0	0
	9,718	2	2½
	216,000	0	0
	195,000	0	0
	2,025	0	0
	45,000	0	0
	58,500	0	0
	658	2	6
	841,374	0	0
	12,401	4	8½
	269,460	0	0
	12,401	4	8½
	841,374	0	0
	1,123,235	4	8½

Additional charge created by 18,000,000*l.* borrowed anno 1796

*Produce of the several Duties in the Year ended 5th January 1797, applicable to-
wards defraying the additional Charge created anno 1793.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
British spirits, anno 1791, continued anno 1793	23,977	0	0
Foreign spirits ditto ditto	142,836	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	166,813	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

*Produce of the several Duties in the Year ended 5th January 1797, applicable to-
wards defraying the additional Charge created anno 1794.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sugar, anno 1791, continued anno 1794	239,653	18	4
Licences for killing game, anno 1791, continued ditto	8,984	1	4
10l. per cent. on assessed taxes, anno 1791, continued ditto	97,449	6	8
Bills and receipts, anno 1791, after reserving 128,600l. carried to the consolidated fund, being the annual average produce of former duties there repealed	48,951	3	9
Distillers licences, anno 1794, after reserving 36,000l. per annum, to be carried to the consolidated fund for ditto	0	0	0
Paper duty, anno 1794, (excise) after reserving 75,000l. per ann. ditto	89,958	0	0
Ditto (customs)	6,605	8	10½
Slates and stones, anno 1794	17,830	18	10½
Attornies articles, ditto	20,037	2	9
Bricks and tiles, ditto (customs)	211	0	7
Ditto (excise)	61,540	0	0
Glass, anno 1794	42,333	0	0
British spirits, ditto	23,584	0	0
Foreign ditto	149,939	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	807,077	1	2
Additional charge created anno 1794	773,324	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Surplus in the year ended 5th January 1797	33,753	0	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

*Produce of the several Duties in the Year ended 5th January 1797, applicable to-
wards defraying the additional Charge created anno 1795.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
British spirits, anno 1795	22,163	0	0
Foreign ditto	152,065	0	0
Cocoa and coffee, ditto	15,319	0	0
Tea, ditto	200,107	0	0
Wines, anno 1795	432,689	0	0
Sweets, ditto	9,443	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Carried over	831,786	0	0

	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward	831,786	0	0
Ship policies, 1795	97,109	4	1
Receipts, ditto	7,094	6	1
Stamps, ditto	48,465	13	7
Hair-powder certificates, ditto	184,216	3	0
Fruit, silk, &c. ditto	104,028	19	5
Coals, ditto	20,094	13	2½
Taken out of the duty on postage of letters, being the computed annual increase of that revenue, by reason of the restriction in franking, pursuant to act 35 Geo. III.	40,000	0	0
	<hr/> 1,332,794	19	4½
Additional charge created anno 1795	1,227,415	3	11
	<hr/> 105,379	15	5½
Surplus in the year ended 5th January 1797	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Produce of the several Duties in the Year ended 5th January 1797, applicable to wards defraying the additional Charge created anno 1796.

	l.	s.	d.
Tobacco, snuff, &c. anno 1796	164,015	0	0
Horse-dealers licences, ditto	931	12	0
Wine ditto (customs)	101,522	15	10
Ditto (excise)	98,165	0	0
Sweets, ditto	2,325	0	0
Legacies, ditto, after reserving 10,269l. 15s. carried to the consolidated fund, being the annual average produce of former duties then repealed	0	0	0
Hats, ditto, after reserving 9,479l. 11s. carried to the consolidated fund for ditto	0	0	0
10l. per cent. on assessed taxes, anno 1796	47,833	15	8½
Horses, ditto	16,930	0	0
2s. duty on ditto, not otherwise chargeable	19,475	0	0
Dogs, anno 1796	4,770	0	0
Computed annual saving to the public, by reducing the allowance for waste on salt, &c.	32,000	0	0
Brought from the consolidated duties of customs, being the computed annual saving to the public on account of the allowance for drawbacks on the exportation of sugar, being discontinued in the year 1796	116,676	5	8
	<hr/> 604,644	9	2½
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

JAMES FISHER.

*Exchequer,
9th day of March, 1797.*

No. I. — *Copy of a Resolution of the Court of Directors of the Bank of England, dated December the 3d, 1795. Moved for by Mr. Sheridan.*

Resolved, That the following resolution of the court be communicated to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

That the Court of Directors, after a very solemn deliberation, adequate to the importance of the subject, are unanimously of opinion, that should such a loan * take place, they are but too well grounded in declaring (from the actual effects of the Emperor's last loan, and the continued drains of specie and bullion they still experience) that they have the most cogent reasons to apprehend very momentous and alarming consequences. They are, therefore, led to hope, (after expressing their acknowledgments to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for having hinted that the welfare and safety of the Bank should in this matter supersede every other consideration) that he will be pleased to lay aside the adoption of such a measure, which, they beg leave to repeat, would be in their opinion most fatal in its consequences.

No. II. — *Copy of an Opinion of the Committee of the Treasury, January the 14th, 1796.*

It is the opinion of the Committee of the Treasury, that the Governor and Deputy Governor should represent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, That they cannot look upon the scheme of assisting the Emperor to raise a loan in Germany, by the guarantee of the par-

liament of Great Britain, in any light which will not, one way or other, be detrimental to this country, even if a law were passed by parliament to prevent British subjects from taking any share therein; That such a call for money in Germany will occasion demands of it from hence: Germans, Italians, and other foreign capitalists, who have property here, will be induced to draw it away. People in Holland, who, by the late acts, have money locked up here, may go to Germany and draw for it from thence. That funds, which would otherwise be employed in speculations of trade with England, may, by such an opportunity of investment at home, be diverted from the one to the other purpose: That the exchange between this country and Hamburg may be much affected by it: That, in spite of legal prohibitions, it is to be apprehended that some people here would take shares in such a negotiation, under the names of their foreign correspondents. From these and other causes, they are fully of opinion, that the Governor and Deputy Governor can give no advice to Mr. Pitt in favour of such a measure; which is indeed of a wide political extent, and beyond the line of their duty to judge of.

No. III. — *Copy of a Resolution, dated the 11th of February, 1796.*

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this court, founded upon its experience of the effects of the late imperial loan, that if any further loan or advance of money to the Emperor, or to any other foreign state, should, in the present

* Viz. A loan of 3,000,000l. to the Emperor.

state of affairs take place, it will, in all probability, prove fatal to the Bank of England. — The Court of Directors do therefore most earnestly deprecate the adoption of any such measure; and they solemnly protest against any responsibility for the calamitous consequences that may follow thereupon. — Resolved, That the Governor and Deputy Governor do communicate these resolutions to the Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer.

Answers of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Two Resolutions of the Court of Directors of the Bank, of the 3d of December, 1795, and 11th of February, 1796, on the subject of an Imperial Loan.

Answer to the first. — The Chancellor of the Exchequer having perused the resolution with great attention, repeatedly said, that certainly, as matters were there stated, he should not think at present of bringing forward such a measure; adding, that though he should, in opening the budget, make it known that he made reserve with the present contractors for the loan, to permit the Emperor's raising three millions, should circumstances require it, he should lay aside all thoughts of it, unless the situation of things, relative to the Bank, should so alter as to render such a loan of no importance or inconvenience to them in perspective. The Governor promised him, that should such a change take place, and he should wish for the adoption of such a measure, he certainly would communicate it to him with pleasure. — Mr. Pitt wished very much to have the paper left with him, for the purpose of communicating its contents to the cabinet,

if he found it necessary; promising, that no one should have a sight of it elsewhere, and that if the Governor would call upon him in two or three days, he would return it to him.

Answer to the second. — Mr. Pitt replied, That after the repeated intimations which he had given to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, that no further loan to the Emperor would be resolved on without previous communication with the Bank, and due consideration of the state of their circumstances, he did not see any reason for these resolutions; that he did suppose they were adopted in a moment of alarm, and that he should consider them in that light.

Copies of all Communications between the Directors of the Bank, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, respecting Advances to Government since the 1st of November, 1794; exclusive of the Information contained in the Papers already laid before the House from the Bank of England.

(No. 1.)

Copy of a Resolution of the Court of Directors, the 15th of January, 1795.

Resolved,

THAT the Governor and Deputy Governor do take an early opportunity of informing the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the court of Directors, desirous at all times to give every assistance and accommodation to the public service, think it proper at the present period, when a loan, under the guarantee of this country, for a foreign state, of the large amount of six millions sterling and also one for

our own national wants of eighteen millions sterling, are about to be raised, to bring to his consideration, that it is their wish that he would settle his arrangements of finances for the present year in such a manner as not to depend on any farther assistance from them beyond what is already agreed for; and particularly, that the stipulation for the future advances to be made by them, if necessary, for the payment of Treasury bills of exchange, be strictly adhered to, as they cannot allow that advance at any time to exceed the sum of five hundred thousand pounds.

(No. 2.)

In the Court of Directors, on the 16th of April, 1795.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor were directed by the court to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to mention to him the uneasiness they have felt on being left, during so long a period, in an advance of one and an half, to upwards of two millions of money, for the bills accepted by the Treasury. That this mode of paying the Treasury bills in advance was never meant to be carried to any great extent, at the most to 500,000*l*, and that only as a temporary accommodation.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer did promise to the Governor and Deputy Governor, in December last, and particularly in a conversation on the 17th of January, that the amount of these bills paid at the Bank, then exceeding the sum of 500,000*l*, should certainly be paid off after the receipt of the first payment on the new loan; which promise hath not yet taken

place. The court have therefore come to a resolution, that they cannot in future allow of any disburse on this account exceeding the sum of 500,000*l*; and they do request that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will be pleased to order the same to be paid.

(No. 3.)

Copy of a Note from the Governor and Deputy Governor to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Bank, 5th June, 1795.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank present their respectful compliments to Mr. Pitt, and take the liberty of stating to him, that though he was pleased to promise, the last time they had the honour of an interview, that the amount of the Treasury bills paid by the Bank, should immediately be reduced to the sum of 500,000*l*. (beyond which sum, by the resolution of the court, it was not to pass) the Bank are now in advance on that account 1,210,015*l*. 17*s*. 5*d*; and before the end of next week it will be encreased to 1,658,467*l*. They at the same time beg to express their concern at being so repeatedly obliged to trouble him on the subject; hoping he will give such directions as may in future prevent it.

To the Right Honourable William Pitt, &c.

(No. 4.)

Resolutions of the Court of Directors, 30th of July, 1795.

Resolved,

THAT the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank be desired to inform the Chancellor of the

the Exchequer, that it is the request of this court that he will either adopt some other mode of paying the Treasury bills of exchange, than by directing them for payment at the Bank; or so to arrange the furnishing of money for the payment of these bills, that the amount for which the Bank should be in advance, shall not at any time exceed the sum of 500,000*l*.; as this court is determined to give orders to the cashiers to refuse payment of all bills whenever the advance shall amount to such sum of 500,000*l*. That previously the court is desirous of fixing on a certain day with Mr. Pitt when such order shall take place; but in the mean time depend on his former and repeated promise to reduce the present advance as speedily as possible.

(No: 5.)

Report of the Governor, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 6th of August, 1795.

THE Governor having laid before the court a letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which was received yesterday at four o'clock in the afternoon, containing a request for a farther accommodation on the credit of the growing surplus of the consolidated fund,

Resolved, That the consideration of this letter be postponed; and that the Governor and Deputy Governor be desired to wait on Mr. Pitt, and inform him, that this court cannot take his letter into consideration until it has received satisfaction respecting the repayment of the monies already advanced

ed for payment of Treasury bills of exchange, to reduce that account under the stipulated sum of 500,000*l*. above which the Bank was never to be in advance; and until it has had sufficient security held out that it shall not be called upon to make farther advances on this account in future: and that they do request Mr Pitt to enter into full explanations on this subject, which is not even touched upon in his letter.

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 7th of August, 1795.

The Governor and Deputy Governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt at the hour he had appointed:—When the Governor first observed to him that his letter did not arrive in time to be taken into consideration by the Committee on Wednesday; and that it was therefore of necessity laid before the court on Thursday, without much previous consultation on it in the Committee:—And the Governor then read to Mr. Pitt the following note, as containing the substance of what passed upon it in the court:

The Governor having laid before the court a letter received yesterday afternoon from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, containing a request for a farther accommodation of two millions and an half, on the growing produce of the consolidated fund,

Resolved, That the consideration of this letter be postponed; and that the Governor and Deputy Governor be desired to wait on Mr. Pitt, and inform him that this court cannot fully take his letter into consideration until he has finally settled the arrangement, notified to him last week, relative to the reduction

duction of the amount of the Treasury bills paid by the bank, so that the sum advanced may never exceed 500,000l; of which his letter makes not the least mention.

(No. 6.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 13th of August, 1795.

Downing-street, 12th Aug. 1795.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE to request the favour of you to state to your court, that if they think proper to afford the accommodation which I have requested in my letter of the 5th instant, by taking Exchequer bills payable out of the growing produce of the consolidated fund, they may depend upon measures being immediately taken for the payment of one million of the sum they have advanced for the payment of bills; and farther payments, to the amount in the whole to another million, may be made in the course of September, October, and November, in such proportions as may be found convenient. But as fresh bills may be expected to arrive, I am under the necessity of requesting that a latitude should be allowed for the payment of such bills to an amount not exceeding one million in addition; for which sum payment shall be provided before the end of February, or, if the court materially prefer it, of January. In order to guard against any fresh disappointment, I beg leave to suggest, that it may be useful if, from time to time, you send me notice whenever the amount advanced comes within fifty thousand pounds of the

limit fixed, that warrants may be prepared without delay.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Wm. PITT,
Governor and Deputy Governor
of the Bank.

IN the court held this day, after reading Mr. Pitt's letter of the 12th of August, it was resolved, That this court do not accede to the proposal contained in the said letter. It was farther resolved, That the court do consent to Mr. Pitt's request, in his letter of the 5th instant; namely, to advance two millions five hundred thousand pounds on Exchequer bills, on the security of the surplus of the consolidated fund, to be repaid as follows:

About eleven hundred thousand pounds from the produce of the quarter ending the 10th of October next; and for the remainder they are willing to wait till the ending of the quarter of the 5th of April, 1796.

And that the Governor and Deputy Governor be desired to inform Mr. Pitt, that the court still adhere to their former resolution, of insisting that the credit on the Treasury bills be restrained to 500,000l; but that the court will wait for the repayment of one million of the money already advanced beyond the said sum of 500,000l. until the latter end of November (if it is of essential service to the government of the country that it should do so) provided positive assurance is given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that this additional million shall punctually be repaid at that time; and that in no case, if this proposition

proposition is acceded to, the Bank is to be in advance beyond one million and an half for payment of the Treasury bills, which, by the end of November, are to be reduced to 500,000l.

The court also request, that the Governor and Deputy Governor will express to Mr. Pitt the earnest desire they have that some other means may be adopted in the next session of parliament, for the future payment of bills of exchange drawn on the Treasury.—When the last resolution was proposed, Mr. Winthrop moved the following amendment, and was seconded by Mr. Simeon, to be added after the words “consolidated fund,” and to leave out all the remainder :

“Provided at least two millions
“of the same shall be appli-
“ed to the discharge of the
“sum for which the Bank
“is now in advance, on ac-
“count of bills accepted by
“the Treasury; it being the
“intention of this court to
“restrain the amount of such
“advance to the sum of
“500,000l. agreeably to
“their former resolutions.”

The said amendment being put to the vote, was negatived; and the resolution as first moved, was carried in the affirmative.

August 14th, 1795.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor, in compliance with the desire of the court held yesterday, waited this day on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to signify to him, that his letter of the 12th instant had been duly considered; and it was resolved, that the proposals which it contained could not be acceded to; and to communicate to him the farther resolution of the

court respecting his request in his letter of the 5th instant, as minuted in this book yesterday. The Governor put into his hands a copy of the two resolutions, which Mr. Pitt read attentively; and returned soon after with a letter, written by himself at the request of the Governor and Deputy Governor, signifying his acquiescence in the said resolution, and promising punctually to comply with the conditions stipulated therein.

Downing-street, 14th Aug. 1795.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE to request the favour of you to inform your court, that I agree to the conditions specified in their resolution of yesterday (see the note of the 19th of August) for the advance of two millions and a half on the credit of the consolidated fund; and will take care that they shall be punctually complied with. I return the paper containing the resolution; and am, Gentlemen, &c.

(Signed) Wm. Pitt.
Governor and Deputy Governor
of the Bank.

(No. 7.)

*Copy of a written Paper delivered to the
Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

Bank of England, 8th Oct. 1795.

THE very large and continued drain of bullion and specie which the Bank has lately experienced, arising from the effects of the loan to the Emperor and other subsidies, together with the prospect of the demand for gold not appearing likely soon to cease, has excited such apprehensions in the court of Directors, that, on the most serious deliberation, they deem it right to communicate

communicate to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the absolute necessity they conceive to exist for diminishing the sum of their present advances to government—the last having been granted with extreme reluctance on their part, on his pressing solicitations and statement, that serious embarrassments would arise to the public service if the Bank refused.

It must occur to Mr. Pitt's recollection, that last January the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank did, by instructions from their court, formally announce to him their apprehensions of the consequences that were likely to ensue from the Emperor's loan taking place; the events seem fully to justify their fears, and to render every measure of caution absolutely necessary for their future safety.

In addition to the above causes it may be proper to state, that large firms are likely soon to be called for by the claimants of the cargoes and freights of the neutral ships taken, and about to be reimbursed; many of whom, as they are credibly informed, are instructed by their owners and proprietors to take back their returns in specie or bullion.

The present price of gold being from 4*l.* 3*s.* to 4*l.* 4*s.* per ounce, and our guineas being to be purchased at 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* clearly demonstrates the grounds of our fears; it being only necessary to state those facts to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Ever ready as the court of Directors have been to accommodate and give their assistance in the service of the public, they must now express their hopes that Mr. Pitt will, on the meeting of parliament, so arrange his plans of finance, as

not to depend upon the immediate advance of the duties on land and malt, 1796; and that he will be pleased to provide the means of reimbursement to the Bank, conformably to his agreement, of the million on account of the Treasury bills, and the one million one hundred thousand, part of the advance on the product of the consolidated fund, in case it shall not have been previously paid; and also to reimburse the remaining 1,400,000*l.* on the same product in January or February, instead of April.

(No. 8.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 23d of October, 1795.

THE Governor mentioned his having heard that there might be annexed to the ensuing loan, one of 1,400,000*l.* for the Emperor of Germany; and stated, that in such a case it would be highly proper for the Bank to have some intimation of it, that they might adopt such arrangements as the measure would render absolutely necessary.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, That he had not at present the most distant idea of it; though he did not pledge himself that on no occasion such a thing might happen. The Governor thanked him for his answer, which he told Mr. Pitt he received with pleasure, thinking, as he did, that another loan of that sort would go nigh to ruin the country. The Governor also acquainted him that the drain of cash continued, and was likely to do so while the bills from abroad continued to be drawn on the Treasury. Mr. Pitt said they might last two months longer, but, he believed, not beyond that time.

(No.

(No. 9.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 18th of November, 1795.

THE Governor informed Mr. Pitt, that the present price of gold was 4l. 2s. per ounce, and that the daily large drains of specie from the Bank, filled the minds of the Directors with serious apprehensions; and that in the present situation of their affairs, he must not rely on any aids from them, not even the vote of credit and supply bills.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer apologized for the warrants that were designed to be applied to the reduction of the amount of the Treasury bills paid by the Bank, having, from the most urgent necessity, been otherwise applied to the payment of the troops going abroad. With respect to the million which he had promised should be paid in the course of this month, in farther reduction of the Treasury bills, he said his intention was to take out that sum in part of the land and malt for 1796, and to pay it on this account, having no other means to do it by. The Governor then hinted to Mr. Pitt his apprehensions from a rumour that a farther loan to the Emperor was in agitation, notwithstanding the assurances which Mr. Pitt gave him some time back, that he had not then the most distant idea of such a measure. The Chancellor replied, that he then had not such a thought, from the tardy and slow operations of the Austrians; but the face of things having since changed, and the Austrian army having been of late very active and successful, he confessed it was his opinion that a continuance of such exertions was the surest way of distressing the

French, and bringing them to proper terms of peace; and on this ground ministry now had it in contemplation to let the Emperor have another loan, not exceeding two millions, trusting that it might be done with safety, and on the consideration that the subsidies of about 900,000l. per annum, which had been paid to different states in Germany for troops, would cease; and also the bills drawn for the support of our army on the continent, which had last year amounted to near three millions sterling: beside, that should the loan take place, he had no objection to modify the stated times for the remittance thereof, so as to cause the least bad effect on the course of exchange. And he farther added, That should the situation of the Bank be such as to make this measure a very hazardous one, he would, in compliance with our request, overlook every other consideration, and abandon the loan. The Governor and Deputy Governor then told Mr. Pitt that they would take the sense of their court to-morrow on the advances which he wished to have on the land and malt of 1796, and wait upon him with the determination of the court as soon as it should break up.

(No. 10.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 20th of November, 1795.

THE court of Directors having, on a consideration of the advances proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the land and malt, 1796, resolved to let him have the sum of one million, under the restriction that it be immediately applied to the discharge of so much of

of the Bank's advance on the Treasury bills; and also a farther advance of 500,000*l.* for his present accommodation, — The Governor and Deputy Governor went, as soon as the court was over, to wait on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to acquaint him thereof. But at the same time the Governor mentioned to him, that it was the expectation of the court that he should not take up any more on this fund until about February next; and then gradually, as the advance on the former year would be coming in. The Governor also said, that from the present situation of matters at the Bank, and from appearances for the future, it would be absolutely out of the power of the court to make the advance, which had been done before, of 2,500,000*l.* on the vote of credit which might be passed this session; and he felt it right to announce this in time to Mr. Pitt before the loan, that he might make his arrangements accordingly; which Mr. Pitt thanked him for having mentioned; said he supposed he might venture to issue about 1,500,000*l.* of such Exchequer bills to the public; and that he must provide for the other million by an addition to the loan. The Governor then repeated to Mr. Pitt the absolute determination of the court to have the advance on the Treasury bills quite cleared off, by an early payment out of the monies received in part of the loan.

(No. 11.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12th of December, 1795.

IN consequence of a message from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Governor and Deputy

Governor waited upon him this day; when he returned to them the paper which contained the copy of the court's resolution made on the 3d instant.

The Governor renewed the subject of the payment of the Treasury bills to Mr. Pitt, which amount now to 2,870,000*l.*; but Mr. Pitt said, the money hitherto received on account of the present loan, should be applied to the payment thereof; and a farther sum out of the payments in full, until that advance was reduced to 500,000*l.*

(No. 12.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 8th of January, 1796.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor this day waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his desire, when he mentioned to them his request that the Bank would accommodate him with an advance of 500,000*l.* which he wanted for the purpose of paying off sums due to the army agents, and for which he would pledge Exchequer bills on the land and malt of the present year; and if the payments made upon the loan for this year should amount in all before the end of this month to above 5,800,000*l.* the excess beyond that sum, as far as 500,000*l.* should be employed in repaying the Bank's advance on the Exchequer bills on the credit of the growing produce of the consolidated fund for the service of the last year. The Governor told Mr. Pitt that he did not think the court would object to such an advance, and desired him to write an official letter in time to be laid before the next court for that purpose.

Mr. Pitt said, he had an immediate

ate necessity for 200,000l. which the Governor said he might take up directly; not doubting that it would be approved of by the court of Directors.

(No. 13.)

The Governor's Report, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 28th of January, 1796.

THE Governor having informed the court that a notice was brought this morning from the Treasury, that certain bills drawn on the Commissioners of the Treasury, amounting to the sum of 201,000l. would fall due on Wednesday the 3d of February, and were directed for payment at the Bank; and that the sum now in advance on Treasury bills is 1,157,000l.

Resolved unanimously, That the Governor do give directions to the cashiers not to advance any money for the payment of these bills, nor to discharge any part of the same, unless money shall be sent down for the purpose; in which case such money is to be appropriated exclusively for the discharge of these bills.

Resolved, That the Governor, Deputy Governor, and a deputation from this court, do wait on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a copy of the above resolution; and do farther respectfully lay before him the determination of the court not to continue any longer the mode of advancing the payment of Treasury bills, than to such time as shall be fixed on between Mr. Pitt and the Deputation before mentioned; which time the court hopes will not be fixed for a distant day.

(No. 14.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 29th of January, 1796.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor, with Mr. Peters and Mr. Bosanquet, waited on Mr. Pitt this day with the resolution of the court, as stated in the foregoing minute. He dwelt much on the inconvenience, which it would put him to to comply with it; but after some conversation, said he would arrange his affairs, so as to provide the money in time for the payment of the Treasury bills due on the 3d of February, by applying to that purpose money which he had destined for other services.

As to fixing a period when the payment of the Treasury bills shall no longer be referred to the Bank, Mr. Pitt declared himself unable to settle that at such a short notice; but that he would look into the situation of his payments, and endeavour to form such a plan as soon as possible; and hoped to be able to conclude it by Friday the 5th of February, when he would expect to see the Deputation again.

(No. 15.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 5th of February, 1796.

THE Governor, Deputy Governor, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Bosanquet, this day waited upon Mr. Pitt again, according to appointment, to hear his determination about the latter part of the court's resolution, on the 28th ult. as to fixing a time when the present mode of paying the treasury bills in advance should be brought to a period. Mr. Pitt, after much conversation..

versation on the subject, said, That measures were now taking for a payment of 500,000*l.* more on this account, to the Bank, which would reduce their advance on this score to under 200,000*l.*; but that as matters were situated, he could not foresee a possibility of paying the remainder, and quite finishing the account, till May or June next; for that as some part of our cavalry had not been brought home from Germany, there must still be some monies drawn for their charges; but he did not think it could amount to above 300,000*l.* more in the whole. Mr. Pitt, however, said, he would digest his ideas on this subject more particularly, and send a letter with a proposal to the Bank-court against next Thursday.

Mr. Pitt dwelt much on the necessity of some farther support to be given to the Emperor, to enable him to continue his efforts against the French, as the most probable means of bringing the war to an end; but knowing the sentiments of the Directors of the Bank to be against any such assistance in money, he promised that he would not commit himself to any engagement for a farther loan to the Emperor, without a previous communication on the subject with the gentlemen of the Bank.

Mr. Pitt read some extracts of letters from the British resident and others at Hamburgh, which mentioned that large quantities of English guineas were imported thither by the packets from Yarmouth; and one mentioned that the guineas were melted down on arrival there. Mr. Pitt said, that attention should be paid to this circumstance at the ports from which the packets sailed.

(No. 16.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12th of February, 1796.

THE Governor told Mr. Pitt, That the court had received his letter of the 11th instant, and would comply with his desire of continuing to pay the Treasury bills as usual till May, when he hoped it would be totally done away; and that he might look to a temporary accommodation of 500,000*l.* in the interval; but absolutely required, that it should never exceed that sum.

Mr. Pitt said, That as far as lay in his power, it should not exceed it; but that demands did arise occasionally which he could not foresee, but which the public service required to be provided for; and if the money from the loan did not flow in fast enough, he might be obliged to have recourse for temporary assistance to the Bank; and that it lay with the court of Directors to judge whether they chose to accommodate the public or not.

(No. 17.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 11th of April, 1796.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor this day waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his desire; when he informed them, that he meant to propose in parliament a farther loan of about six millions and a half, in order to fund the four millions of Exchequer bills, which the Bank holds on the supply and vote of credit of 1795; two millions of Exchequer bills which have issued to the public, and about half a million, the amount of navy bills held by the Bank, due in the months when he means to fund them, but
which

which the Governor had informed Mr. Pitt that the Bank chose to have the payment of. Mr. Pitt said, he hoped to be able to bring this matter before the House on Monday next, the 18th instant; and would desire the Governor and Deputy Governor to come, some day this week, to a previous meeting with the parties who were to be concerned in this business.

(No. 18.)

The Governor's Report and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 19th of May, 1796.

THE Governor having informed the court, That the present advance on Treasury bills of exchange is 835,000*l.* beyond which there is a notice now lying in the House of a farther sum of about 200,000*l.* which will shortly become due; and that a notice was brought on Monday last from the Treasury, containing a list of bills drawn on the commissioners to the sum of 900,000*l.* more, of which the principal part would fall due on the 29th instant, which were directed for payment at the Bank,—the court resolved, That a representation in writing should be made to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject.

(No. 19.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 24th of May, 1796.

IN consequence of an appointment from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Governor and Deputy Governor waited upon him this day, with a view to lay before him the resolution entered into by the court on the 19th instant; but they found him so impressed with the necessity of providing the funds to pay off the Treasury bills for

900,000*l.* and that he had formed his plan for the liquidation thereof, that they thought it prudent to withhold the resolution from him.

Mr. Pitt explained his measure in the following letter to the Governor and Deputy Governor, which he wrote while they were with him, viz.

Downing-street, 25th May, 1796.

Gentlemen,

I BEG leave to acquaint you, for the information of your court, that a warrant is directed for the issue of 900,000*l.* for the payment of the bills to become due to that amount in the course of the present week. I must at the same time desire you to request of the court, in consequence of the pressure arising from this unexpected payment, that they will accommodate government by advancing a sum of 200,000*l.* to the account of the Paymaster General, to be repaid out of the cash to be received on the next payment of the loan of 7,500,000*l.*

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WM. PITT.

*Governor and Deputy Governor
of the Bank.*

The Governor afterwards mentioned in conversation the desire of the court to have the new arrangements made which should ease the Bank from the payment of the Treasury bills. The promise to which point Mr. Pitt acknowledged to have made; but being excessively hurried with a variety of business, and about to set off to attend the election at Cambridge, he desired leave to defer this object until some time next week, after his return, when he would resume it.

I

(No. 20.)

(No. 20.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 14th of June, 1796.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt with a statement of the Treasury bills paid by the Bank, which advance now to the sum of

L. 1,002,555	6	4
and of bills already		
advised, but not	}	230,093 16 1
yet due -		

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and requested that speedy measures might be taken to pay off the same. —Mr. Pitt told them, That he had made arrangements to pay off the 200,000l. which he had borrowed (as by his letter of the 25th of May, copied in the private minute book of the court) and also for the payment of 800,000l. out of the monies received on the last loan, for which he would take up Exchequer bills to that amount on the vote of credit of 1795; and, in consequence of these payments, he hoped the Bank would have patience to wait for the discharge of the advance on the Treasury bills above mentioned until the quarter ending the 5th of July, of the consolidated fund; when the surplus thereof should be applied to that purpose — Which the Governor said he should refer to the court for their opinion.

(No. 21.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 21 of July, 1796.

Downing-street,

Wednesday, 20th of July, 1796.

Gentlemen,

AS the pressure of demands for the public service, at the present

moment, prevents the payment in cash of the sum advanced by the Bank on Treasury bills, I should consider it as a great accommodation if the court would accept of Exchequer bills on the vote of credit, to the amount of the sum now due beyond five hundred thousand pounds. I would also beg the favour of you to propose to the court, in order to guard against any farther excess on that point, that any farther sums to be advanced for Treasury bills should be paid in Exchequer bills, on the credit of the consolidated fund, at the end of each month. I am also under the indispensable necessity of expressing my earnest hope, that the court will be induced to make a present advance of eight hundred thousand pounds, on the credit of the consolidated fund, which will enable me to make provision for the present demands, and to pay immediately the four hundred thousand pounds lately advanced by the Bank, and the Navy bills now due. I shall also be obliged to request a farther advance of the like sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, on the same security, towards the end of the month of August. It gives me much concern to be obliged to apply for an accommodation to so large an extent; but I cannot too strongly represent how necessary it is for the public service: and I trust the very large repayments which are secured to the Bank in the course of the present year, will admit of their making these temporary advances at a period when they are peculiarly important.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Wm. Pitt.

Governor and Deputy Governor
of the Bank.

P. S. In case the Bank should find

find it necessary (which I hope will not be the case) to dispose of any of the Exchequer bills on the vote of credit, before provision is made for their discharge, and any loss should arise from their being at a discount in the market, I should of course propose that such a loss should be made good by the public.

After a debate on the subject of this letter, the court came to the following resolution thereon:—

Resolved, That this court do consent to receive payment for the amount of advances on the Treasury bills which have been and shall be paid before the first of August, beyond the sum of 500,000*l.* and which will be 867,700*l.* in Exchequer bills, issued on the vote of credit of the present year, under the stipulation of indemnity from loss on the sale proposed by Mr. Pitt, and to wave their claim of repayment of the 500,000*l.* till the meeting of parliament; when the court will expect that this mode of paying Treasury bills shall be totally done away.

Resolved, That the court do not consent to advance any more money for the payment of such bills which fall due after the first of August.

Resolved, That the court do consent to the other part of the letter, — To advance the sum of 800,000*l.* on the credit of Exchequer bills on the consolidated fund, on condition of being paid off the 400,000*l.* lately advanced to government, and the Navy bills due and coming due; but they do not consent to advance the second sum of 800,000*l.* in the month of August.

The Governor, Deputy Governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. Sa-

muel Thornton, were desired by the court to carry up these resolutions to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; which they did as soon as the court broke up: and being admitted, they gave a copy of the resolutions to Mr. Pitt, who, having read them attentively over, said, “He was obliged to the court for what they did grant, which he should accept of; but added, that it would be of no material use, in the present circumstances of the nation, unless the other requisitions which he had made were complied with. That he must refer the affair again in a more pointed manner to the consideration of the court, which he would do in a letter to be sent to the Bank next Tuesday morning, for the previous deliberation of the Committee; and that he would be glad to see the Governor and Deputy Governor again before the next court should meet.”

(No. 22.)

Copy of a Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 28th of July, 1796.

Downing-street, Wednesday, July 27th.

Gentlemen,

AFTER attentively considering the resolutions of your court, which I received from you on Thursday last, I feel it an indispensable duty, however unwilling I am to urge any request which appears to them liable to any difficulty or objection, to represent to you, in the most earnest manner, that it will be impossible to avoid the most serious and distressing embarrassments to the public service, unless in addition to the accommodation which

has been already agreed to for the present month, the court can consent to advance the second sum of 800,000*l.* in the month of August, and can also make provision for the payment of such farther Treasury bills as may fall due in the next month, or as may be drawn payable in September and October. With respect to those for the two latter months, as none such have yet been accepted, I should hope an arrangement may be made for accepting them, payable at a period subsequent to October; by which means the inconvenience of the advance may possibly be in a great degree obviated. I must request you to take the first opportunity of laying this application before your court, and to state to them, that objects of the utmost importance to the public are involved in their determination upon it.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) W^M. PITT.

*Governor and Deputy Governor
of the Bank.*

Resolved, That this court do agree to advance, for the service of the public, the sum of 800,000*l.* towards the end of the month of August, on the security of Exchequer bills to be issued under the act of parliament on the surplus of the consolidated fund; and that such Treasury bills as have been accepted and shall fall due during the month of August, be likewise discharged on a deposit of like Exchequer bills, to be issued on the consolidated fund to an equal amount; which bills have been stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be nearly about the sum of 300,000*l.*

That this court do not engage to advance for any sum of Treasury bills which may be drawn, and shall fall due after the month of August.

That this court do expect that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will give a promise that a new mode of paying the Treasury bills shall be adopted immediately on the meeting of parliament, as this court will not continue the mode of discharging them any longer.

Resolved, That the court, having granted this accommodation with great reluctance, and contrary to their wishes, the Governor be desired to present to Mr. Pitt a copy of the following memorial; and request of him, that, for the justification of the court of Directors, the same may be laid before his Majesty's cabinet:—

“ The court of Directors of the Bank of England, fully sensible of the alarming and dangerous situation of the public credit of this kingdom, and deeply impressed with the communication lately made to them by the Right Honourable William Pitt, both by letter and in a conference with the Governor and Deputy Governor, are very willing and desirous to do every thing in their power to support the national credit, and to enable his Majesty's ministers to carry on the public service; but in complying with the request made to them by the Right Honourable William Pitt, in his letter of the 27th instant, they think that they should be wanting in their duty to their proprietors and to the public, if that compliance was not accompanied with the following most serious and solemn remonstrance; which, for the justification of their court,

court, they desire may be laid before his Majesty's cabinet.

"They beg leave to declare, that nothing could induce them, under the present circumstances, to comply with the demand now made upon them, but the dread that their refusal might be productive of a greater evil; and nothing but the extreme pressure and exigency of the case can in any shape justify them for acceding to this measure; and they apprehend, that in so doing, they render themselves totally incapable of granting any farther assistance to Government during the remainder of this year, and unable even to make the usual advances on the land and malt for the ensuing year, should those bills be passed before Christmas.

"They likewise consent to this measure, in a firm reliance that the repeated promises so frequently made to them, that the advances on the Treasury bills should be completely done away, may be actually fulfilled at the next meeting of parliament, and the necessary arrangements taken to prevent the same from ever happening again, as they conceive it to be an unconstitutional mode of raising money, what they are not warranted by their charter to consent to, and an advance always extremely inconvenient to themselves."

(No. 23.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 9th of August, 1796.

SOME lists of Treasury bills accepted, payable at the Bank, of which about 37,000*l.* fall due in September and October, being brought down to the Bank, the Governor and Deputy Governor

this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention this matter to him; and to remind him that the court had resolved not to pay any bills on the Treasury due in those months, unless provision was made for the same by the Treasury. Mr. Pitt thanked them for the attention, and told them, that it was meant to prepare money at the Bank for the discharge of those bills.

(No. 24.)

At a Court of Directors at the Bank, on Thursday the 3d of November, 1796.

The following Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, addressed to the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank of England, having been read, viz.

"Downing-street, Nov. 3d, 1796.

"Gentlemen,

"I HAVE to request you to represent to your court, that it will contribute essentially to the public service, if they think proper, to advance the amount (as it may be wanted) of Exchequer bills usually raised on the land and malt; and that I shall, in that case, be enabled to make provision for the payment of the balance now due on Treasury bills, at such time and in such proportions as may be agreed upon by them.

"I have the honour to be,

"Gentlemen,

*"Your obedient humble servant,
(Signed) "WM. PITT."*

Resolved, That the Lords of the Treasury be accommodated with the sum of 2,750,000*l.* on the land and malt taxes 1797, on the following conditions: — That the sum of 1,513,345*l.* 19*s.* 7*d.* already advanced by the Bank on Treasury bills of exchange, be paid thereout; and that all the Treasury bills

directed to be paid at the Bank, which shall fall due in the months of November and December, shall be discharged and satisfied by money to be sent down for the purpose; and that from the first day of January, 1797, provision shall be made, on notice that bills have been accepted to the amount of 100,000*l.* that money or Exchequer bills to that amount shall be issued to the Bank three days before the whole sum becomes due. The Governor was desired to inform the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the above resolution, and at the same time mention to him, that the court intended to adhere strictly to these terms, and hoped he would give directions that no alteration should take place respecting them.

(No. 25.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1st of February, 1797.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor yesterday waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to represent to him how uneasy the court were at their large advances for government, and especially on the Treasury bills paid, which now amounted to 1,554,635*l.* and would in a few days be augmented to 1,819,818*l.*; and required that some effective measure should be immediately taken for the payment of the whole of this sum, as had been so seriously promised them should be done, at the opening of this year.

Mr. Pitt acknowledged his intentions and wish to have done it; but said, that he had been prevented by the very pressing calls for various other services. He said, however, he would consider over

his payments and resources, and would endeavour to form some plan for the repayment of the Treasury bills against the next day, when the Governor and Deputy Governor were to wait upon him again about business of the national stock. Accordingly, this day Mr. Pitt resumed the subject, and said, that he was endeavouring to sell Exchequer bills; out of which he hoped to be able to pay about 300,000*l.* at present; which the Governor wished him to do, that the Bank might be provided for the bills now falling due. Mr. Pitt said, as to future payment, he believed he could propose to pay every week about 150,000*l.* or in that proportion, until the whole sum, now due, was paid off. Mr. Pitt, however, hinted in conversation, that another large sum of bills had appeared from St. Domingo. The Governor begged he would give an idea to what amount they were. He said, about 700,000*l.*; on which the Governor expressed great apprehension about such an addition to the present advance; and begged of Mr. Pitt to put off the acceptance of these fresh bills, or at least to protract the acceptance of them, to a term of two months beyond their tenor; which, he said, he would consider about, and take his resolution.

The Governor then desired Mr. Pitt to write a letter officially to him, and he would lay it before the court, and take their resolutions upon it. Mr. Pitt then hinted that he should want some money to send to Ireland; that he had been applied to for a large sum, but that 200,000*l.* in specie would be necessary. The Governor and Deputy Governor told him, that any farther drain of cash from the Bank would,

would, in these times, be very dangerous, as they acknowledged that the cash had been very materially lessened of late, and they therefore begged of him to try if 100,000*l.* would not be sufficient.

(No. 26.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 3d of February, 1797.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention to him that his letter, which contained the engagement to liquidate the present advance on Treasury bills, was yesterday laid before the court; who, after a long debate on the subject, had submitted to the plan as proposed by him; but that, by the direction of the court, they recommended a punctual performance of the payments promised — Which Mr. Pitt said should certainly be observed; and that he had hopes of being able to

pay it off, even quicker than he had proposed.

(No. 27.)

Resolution of the Court of Directors, and Deputation's Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 10th of February, 1797.

THE Committee met this day, and taking into their most serious consideration the certainty, which now threatens us, that Mr. Pitt will be obliged to bring forward here a loan for Ireland, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* and the evils which will probably follow on such a measure to this house, by the sending over to that country a great part of the sum in specie,—they resolved to ask of Mr. Pitt, a considerable reduction of the Bank's present advances to government, to be raised, as he hinted, by a new loan: and they made out a statement for that purpose to be presented to him, which was as follows:

		<i>L.</i>
Arrears of advance on land and malt	1794	337,000
Ditto ditto	1795	491,000
Ditto ditto	1796	2,392,000
Exchequer bills on vote of credit	-	968,800
Ditto on consolidated fund	1796	1,323,000
Treasury bills paid	-	1,674,645
		<hr/>
		<i>L.</i> 7,186,445
Besides arrears of interest, &c.		400,000

They desired that a deputation of the Governor, Deputy Governor, Mr. Bosanquet, and Mr. S. Thornton, would go up to Mr. Pitt, and request that, if the Irish loan must take place, he would undertake first to arrange the repayment of the above sum to the Bank, as the only means which the Committee can propose for the defence

of the Bank against the mischiefs they dread from the Irish loan.

And the Committee also desired, that, if necessary, a Special Court of Directors might be summoned to meet, on this business, on Monday next, at twelve o'clock, that the business may be brought before the court.

In consequence of the above resolution,
I 4

solution, the Governor, and other gentlemen deputed, went to Mr. Pitt, shewed him the statement of the Bank's demands on government; which they wished to have paid off, or so arranged before the settlement of the Irish loan. Mr. Pitt, on the article of the Treasury bills, said, that he had already laid his plan for the discharge of that article, which he meant to adhere to, and that therefore this article might be left out of the present agreement; and that he would lay his plan for the liquidation of the rest, by an addition to the late voluntary loan, or by some other measure as might be most forcible. The Deputation pressed on him the necessity of attending, in his plans, to the point of making the payments to the Bank precede those which might be fixed for the Irish loan. They also informed him of their intention to call a special court of Directors, to impart their business to them, which might be held on Monday or Tuesday next, as might best suit Mr. Pitt. He begged it might be called on Monday, as he said that Mr. Pelham, the secretary of state for Ireland, had been here some days on this business; and that it was of the utmost consequence that the matter should be fixed, and advice sent over to that country of it as soon as possible. On which the Governor told Mr. Pitt, that a court of Directors should be summoned for Monday; and requested, that he would furnish him with a letter, explanatory of the business, to be laid before the court; which Mr. Pitt promised should be sent to the Bank either to-morrow or on Sunday.

(No. 28.)

Letter from the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer, and Opinions of the Court of Directors.

Downing-street, 15th February, 1797.

Gentlemen,

SINCE our last conversation I have turned my attention to an idea, which has been suggested to me, of raising the money wanted for Ireland as part of one loan, together with that which may be requisite here, and of leaving the time and mode of remittance to be settled between the English and Irish governments, according to circumstances. Such a measure might possibly prevent some inconvenience, which would arise from there being otherwise two loans on the market at the same time, and might also give better means of regulating the remittance in the manner least inconvenient. It would at the same time hardly fail to be acceptable to Ireland, as it would probably procure money for them at a much cheaper rate than they could otherwise borrow it. I have to request the favour of you to learn the sentiments of your court on this point, and to communicate to me the result.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WM. PITT.

*Governor and Deputy Governor
of the Bank.*

After a debate on the subject of this letter, it was the opinion of the court, that it might be better for the minister of this country to have the controul over the remittance of the sum intended for Ireland, than, by an open loan for Ireland, to leave in the power of that government to draw the money away, without any consideration of the case of the Bank. And the Governor and Deputy Governor, and Mr. S. Thornton, were desired to wait on Mr.

Mr. Pitt with the following observation on his letter, as dictated by the court :—

“ It is the opinion of this court,
 “ That the plan of adding to the
 “ intended English loan the sum
 “ that has been proposed to be raised
 “ here for the government of
 “ Ireland, and of making the remittances
 “ at such periods, and in
 “ such manner, as may be least inconvenient,
 “ is preferable to the
 “ raising an Irish loan in England
 “ by itself, and fixing the payments
 “ and remittances in a manner
 “ which cannot be varied according
 “ to circumstances.

“ But the court must repeat their
 “ apprehensions, that any measure
 “ which tends to carry money out
 “ of the country, is replete with
 “ alarming consequences to the
 “ Bank of England.”

The paper containing the above was accordingly carried up to Mr. Pitt, who read it with attention, and then returned it.

(No. 29.)

Resolution of the Court of Directors, 23d of February, 1797.

“ Resolved, That it is the opinion
 “ of this court, that the Treasury
 “ bills of exchange shall be
 “ paid, which will become due in
 “ the course of next week, to the
 “ amount of about 150,000*l*.; but
 “ that no other Treasury bills of
 “ exchange shall be paid by this
 “ house until money be issued to
 “ the Bank to pay the same.”

The Governor and Deputy Governor were desired to go and wait upon Mr. Pitt with the above resolution, as soon as the court broke up.

(No. 30.)

Addition to No. 26.

THE Governor mentioned to Mr. Pitt the great distress and inconvenience which the Bank, the bankers, and the public, suffered for want of a fresh coinage of silver, and requested the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take some early measures for a redress thereof by a new coinage, at least of some part of what would be wanted.

(No. 31.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 18th of February, 1797.

THE Governor and Deputy Governor this day waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by his appointment; when he mentioned to them, that he was exceedingly pressed by the government of Ireland to allow them to raise a loan in this country; and he thought that about 1,500,000*l*. would be the sum. He knew it would be a difficult and unpleasant measure to be carried through, but thought it right to speak to the Governor of the Bank about it. The Governor immediately told Mr. Pitt, that such a scheme must have the worst effect possible; that it would cause the ruin of the Bank; for that such a loan raised here would all be sent over in money to Ireland, and would drain much of our specie from us. Mr. Pitt desired that the matter might at present be only communicated to the Committee of Treasury, but not to the court of Directors; which the Governor promised to do, and to wait upon him again to-morrow with Mr. Puket, as Mr. Pitt wished to speak with him also on the subject.

(No. 32.)

(No. 32.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 9th of February, 1797.

THE Governor this day communicated to the Committee the circumstance mentioned by Mr. Pitt yesterday, about a farther loan for Ireland; which struck them all as likely to produce the most disastrous consequences to the House. And the Committee joined in opinion fully, that the Governor in his interview with Mr. Pitt to-day, should tell him, that under the present state of the Bank's advances to government here, such a measure would threaten ruin to the house, and most probably bring us under the necessity to shut up our doors.

After the court this day, the Governor, with Mr. S. Thornton (as the Deputy could not attend) and Mr. Puget, waited on Mr. Pitt; who told them, that notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which they foresaw by his carrying into execution a farther loan for Ireland, he found it to be a measure of government absolutely necessary; but that he would do every thing he could to obviate the difficulties, by making the Bank more easy in other points; and he proposed to raise, by an addition to the present voluntary loan, or by other means, with the consent of the subscribers to that loan, whatever sum the Bank might desire to be paid off from its advances to government. He proposed this from an opinion that it was possibly in the power of the Bank to render itself safe by the diminution of its outstanding notes; and he added that he wished this reduction of their notes to be effected by a diminution of their ~~advances~~ *advances* to government, rather than

by lessening their commercial discounts.

On the Governor's stating that, in the event of the measure of an Irish loan being effected here, the Bank would probably think it necessary to restrain their advances, both to government and the public, by way of discount, Mr. Pitt answered, He had rather pay back five millions to the Bank than that they should restrain their discounts three millions; or to that effect. Mr. Pitt expressed an opinion that a good deal of the money that had been taken from this country last year was returned; and, perhaps, kept back in London, or in other parts of the kingdom, from whence he hoped to draw the resources he wants by a loan under the proposed circumstances. Some discussion took place with Mr. Puget, whether a part at least of the Irish loan might not be negotiated in Ireland: and reason was given to think that a trial for this would be made. Mr. Puget suggested, that a pecuniary assistance given by this government to the Irish government might be preferable to a loan, as the money might be demanded back when there was pressing occasion for it: but Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that if the necessity to call it back should arise, Ireland would not be able to pay it; whereas he hoped the specie would find its way back, by the regular course of trade, as soon as the internal state of that country would permit.

Mr. Pitt proposed that the repayment to the Bank should be made proportionate to the instalments on the Irish loan, or to exceed them considerably if desired; also that no discount for prompt payment should be made on the Irish loan.

On their return from Mr. Pitt, the

the Governor ordered a Committee to be summoned to meet to-morrow, on very special affairs, at twelve o'clock.

(No. 33.)

Letter from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Resolution of the Court of Directors, 13th of February, 1797.

AT a court of Directors held this day on special affairs, the Governor laid before the court the matter which had been proposed to the Committee of the Treasury by Mr. Pitt, and which had been the subject of the several minutes of the Committee on the 8th, 9th, and 10th instant, in their private book: and the Governor then read to the court the following letter, which he had received from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, viz.

Downing-street, Feb. 10, 1797.

Gentlemen,

I have to request you to acquaint your court, that from the representations received from Ireland, it appears indispensable for the public service, that a loan should be raised here for the use of that government, to the amount of 1,500,000*l.* on which I understand a considerable deposit will be requisite about the end of March. I am fully sensible that, in the present situation, such a loan might produce great temporary inconvenience here; and unless some measures were adopted to guard against its possible effects, might make it appear necessary for the Bank, from prudence and precaution, to restrain the accommodation which they now give to the commerce of the country, within much narrower limits than is desirable. In order to avoid this

great inconvenience, and at the same time to be enabled to provide for the urgent demands from Ireland, which are connected with the greatest interest and safety, to prevent farther embarrassments in the vigorous exertions which the present crisis may require, it may, I think, be expedient to propose to parliament to raise money sufficient for paying off six or (if it should be thought necessary) seven millions (including the Treasury bills) of the sum now outstanding, due from the public to the Bank. So great a reduction of their advances must, I trust, render them much more at ease as to the effect of other operations. I wish also to have it understood, that I should propose the repayments to be received by the Bank, to take place by instalments at least as early, and to as great an amount, as any remittance that could be made to Ireland under the instalments to be fixed for that loan. I shall be extremely glad to know the sentiments of the court on that subject, and to confer with you, and any other gentlemen of the court, on any point which may require explanation, and on the best means of carrying the measure into execution, if it meets with the concurrence of the court.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WM. PITT.

*Governor and Deputy Governor
of the Bank.*

The court received this communication with great uneasiness, from an apprehension of the bad consequences which would, in all probability, arise to the Bank from the remittance of such a sum to Ireland, and the great drain of cash which it would occasion; and after a very
serious

serious debate upon the subject, they came to the following resolution, viz.

“Resolved, That the court is
“of opinion, that the repayment
“of seven millions of the money
“advanced by the Bank to govern-
“ment, will be of very essential ser-
“vice to this house; but the court
“is nevertheless extremely appre-
“hensive that the negotiating the
“proposed loan for Ireland in this
“country, will necessarily endan-
“ger the safety of the Bank of
“England, by the large drains of
“cash which it must occasion for
“the remittance of that sum to
“Ireland.”

The Governor and Deputy Governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. Bosanquet, were deputed by the court to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer with this resolution; and they took with them a copy of it in a paper sealed up, that in case Mr. Pitt should require it to be left with him to shew it to the cabinet, it might be in a situation guarded from the eyes of the people in office. The Deputation waited on Mr. Pitt when the court broke up, and waited till he came home; when, being admitted, the Governor told him, that a special court had been held on the subject, and that he and the other gentlemen were deputed to bring him the resolution of the court upon it; which Mr. Pitt read attentively; and desiring to have a copy left with him, the one sealed up was given to him; which he was desired by the Governor to return to him when he had communicated it to the cabinet. In the conversation which took place afterwards, the Governor asked if it was not possible that a part of the 1,500,000l.

could be raised in Ireland for its own use. Mr. Pitt said, that the sum mentioned was all expected from this country; that a farther sum was wanted in the whole; but that the Irish government hoped to raise the remainder in that country. On the subject of the loan to be raised here to pay off the above sum to the Bank, Mr. Pitt said he meant to make it equal, not only to that purpose, but to set him at his ease for other parts of the public service, which he had not been able to calculate with sufficient exactitude on bringing out the last loan. That he meant to raise this additional sum in the same funds; and, if possible, by the same subscribers, to whom proposals would be made, with an allowance for their loss on the former engagement; and that if he was disappointed in this expectation, he must take other measures as usual.

After this, the Governor asked of Mr. Pitt if it could not be made compatible with the forms of office, that when the payments should come to be made on this proposed loan, the money might be retained at once by the Bank, as far as was intended for the liquidation of their advances, without being sent up to the Exchequer, as was hitherto practised; which mode had often caused a delay of many days, and once last year a total disappointment of the sum. Mr. Pitt said, that he saw no reason why this routine of office should not be altered;—that he would think of it, and order another arrangement.

(No. 34.)

*Resolution of the Court of Directors, and
Deputation's Interview with the Chan-
cellor*

cellor of the Exchequer, 21st of February, 1797.

THE Committee observing, with great uneasiness, the large and constant decrease in the cash, held a particular consultation on that subject this day; and on examination into the state of the cash since the beginning of this year, they found that in the course of the month of January there had been a decrease of l. and since the beginning of this month a farther loss of l. and that the cash was now reduced to between and about l. value, in bullion and foreign coin, and about the value of l. in silver bullion. Perceiving also, by the constant calls of the bankers from all parts of the town for cash, that there must be some extraordinary reasons for this drain, arising probably from the alarms of an expected invasion, the Committee, after maturely considering the matter, resolved to send a notice to the Chancellor of the Exchequer of the situation of matters at the Bank; and to explain exactly to him how the cash is circumstanced, that he may if possible and proper, strike out some means of alleviating the public alarms, and stopping this apparent disposition in people's minds for having a large deposit of cash in their houses. The Governor, Deputy Governor, with Mr. Darell and Mr. Bosanquet, were deputed to wait upon Mr. Pitt; who went to him,—and after describing to him the anxiety of mind which all the Directors were under on this subject, they explained to Mr. Pitt the exact particulars above mentioned. Mr. Pitt seemed aware that this unusual drain of cash from the Bank

must arise from the alarm of an invasion, which he observed was now become much more general than he could think necessary. He said, that by all his informations he could not learn of any hostile preparations of consequence making in France to invade this country, except the fleet which was refitting at Brest, after being driven off from the coast of Ireland; but that he could not answer that no partial attack on this country would be made by such a mad and desperate enemy as we had to deal with. The Deputation pressed on Mr. Pitt to declare something of this kind in parliament, in order to ease the public mind.

The Deputation then mentioned to him the necessity of bringing forward the new loan, out of which the repayment of the seven millions to the Bank was to be made, as in the present emergency it was of the utmost consequence that our advances should be contracted as soon as possible. He said, he was occupied on that point, and hoped, in a couple of days, to have his plan so arranged as to be able to call the gentlemen together, with whom it might be necessary to negotiate for a new loan. Mr. Pitt also mentioned, that he hoped the Committee would, in the present situation of matters, think it necessary to endeavour at obtaining a supply of gold from foreign countries; which the Governor told him they were considering about, and should do what they could therein.

(No. 35.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 22d of February, 1797.

Messrs. Goldsmid and Elinson attended the Committee this day, and

and were directed to give farther orders to Hamburg for the purchase of gold; and were told that an application would immediately be made to the minister to order a frigate or armed sloop to go to Hamburg to take in such gold as might be bought, and also to desire that the restriction on the captains of the packets, not to take any gold on board at Hamburg for this country, might be taken off. The Governor and Deputy Governor waited on Mr. Pitt on this subject; who promised to apply to the Admiralty for directions about sending out a frigate or armed sloop; and that he would apply to the Postmaster General to give the orders to the captains of the packets.

The Governor pressed Mr. Pitt again on the subject of the Treasury bills, and told him that he feared the court would not agree to pay the Treasury bills which fall due next week.

Mr. Pitt said he would send \$0,000l. to the Bank in part provision thereof, but that he did not think he could raise the money to the full amount of the bills due.

(No. 36.)

Interview with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 24th of February, 1797.

AT a Committee of the whole court held this day, it appeared that the loss of cash yesterday was above l. and that about l. were already drawn out this day, which gave such an alarm for the safety of the house, that the Deputy Governor and Mr. Bosanquet were desired to wait on Mr. Pitt to mention to him these circumstances, and to ask him how

far he thought the Bank might venture to go on paying cash; and when he would think it necessary to interfere before our cash was so reduced as might be detrimental to the immediate service of the state. Mr. Pitt said, this was a matter of great importance, and that he must be prepared with some resolution to bring forward in the council for a proclamation to stop the issue of cash from the Bank, and to give the security of parliament to the notes of the Bank. In consequence of which he should think it might be proper to appoint a Secret Committee of the House of Commons to look into the state of the Bank affairs; which they assured him the Bank were well prepared for, and would produce to such a committee. Mr. Pitt also observed that he should have no objection to propose to parliament, in case of a proclamation, to give parliamentary security for Bank notes. The Governor and Deputy Governor this day waited on Mr. Pitt, to mention to him, that it would in the present circumstances be highly requisite that some general meeting of the bankers and chief merchants of London should be held, in order to bring on some resolution for the support of the public credit in this alarming crisis: and they took the liberty to recommend to Mr. Pitt to have a private meeting of some of the chief bankers at his house to-morrow, at three o'clock, in which the plan for a more general meeting on Tuesday or Wednesday next might be laid; in the propriety of which Mr. Pitt agreed, and said he would summon a previous meeting for to-morrow accordingly. This was communicated by the Governor to the Committee.

Answer

Answer to (No. 1.)

ON the communication of the resolution (No. 1.) on the 17th of January 1795, the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed his thanks for the communication; and said, he should arrange his measures in conformity: but that though he was going to reduce immediately the sum of the Treasury bills, it might not be in his power to bring them down to the sum stipulated till after the first payment of the loan.

Answer to (No. 2.)

The Chancellor of the Exchequer having read the paper, seemed fully convinced of the propriety of the representation; and declared, that it should have been attended to on his part before, but that, in the multiplicity of public affairs, it had been forgotten. He, however, said, that it should be complied with out of hand, and that he would order 1,200,000*l.* to be paid to the Bank, on that account, immediately.

Answer to (No. 4.)

ON presenting this paper, Mr. Pitt said, it was not his fault that the account had not been diminished, for he had ordered, some time since, two warrants to be made out, amounting to above 600,000*l.* which were now completing, and would soon come down to us; shewing, at the same time, the preparatory parts thereof. The Governor then replied, that 600,000*l.* would not nearly reduce the amount to the agreed sum; that our calls had lately been so great, with large drains of cash and bullion, as made us earnestly wish to lessen our cre-

dits as much as possible; and then he wished Mr. Pitt would, without particular inconvenience to himself, name a day from whence the resolution of the court should take place. The Deputy Governor asked if Mr. Pitt could do this next Monday? (when the chairmen were to meet him on the national-stock business) He replied, he could not, he believed, be ready to do it by that time, but he might probably then inform us farther about it; and added his hope, that the Bank did not, for this year, mean to restrict him from the credit of 500,000*l.* on Treasury bills.

Answer to (No. 5.)

MR. PITT acknowledged, That he had not, in his note of Wednesday last, entered into any particulars about the payment of the Treasury bills; but that he meant, if the Bank assisted him with the two millions and an half in question, on Exchequer bills, payable out of the growing produce of the consolidated fund, in the quarters for October next and the April following, he did mean to pay part of the Bank's advance on the Treasury bills out of that money; but he hoped that the whole of it would not be required, but that it should be provided for out of other funds. —The Governor then observed to him, how frequent promises had been given to reduce this advance to the limit of 500,000*l.* which had never yet been carried into effect; and begged leave to represent how desirous the Bank court was to have the payment of the Treasury acceptances otherwise arranged than at the Bank; which Mr. Pitt said, should be taken up on a future occasion. The Governor said, he could

could not engage for any thing; but he knew how desirous the court always was to assist the government, though a provident care for their establishment must precede all other objects. Mr. Pitt observed on this, that the welfare of the Bank, we must suppose, was an object of equal importance to him as to us. The Governor then added, that though he did not engage for the court, if Mr. Pitt could promise that two millions of the sum, now asked for, should be applied to extinguish so much of the advance on the Treasury bills, he believed it might be acceded to. Mr. Pitt replied, that he could not answer for so large a part being paid immediately; but that he would, on this information, draw up a new letter to the court, to be considered next Thursday; and he wished to see the two Governors at twelve o'clock on Tuesday next, to submit to them the plan of his letter: and the Governor and Deputy promised to wait on him at that time accordingly.

Answers to (No. 7.)

AFTER Mr. Pitt had read this paper, with great attention, twice, he began by expressing his satisfaction and approbation of the measure of communicating such matters to him; saying, That he would most certainly frame his arrangements in a manner that might enable him to remove our fears, and prevent unpleasant consequences; and that he would endeavour to do this in such a manner as should produce no alarm; strongly recommending to the court of Directors to use every possible precaution to prevent that also.

The Governor then said, That he hoped Mr. Pitt did not conceive it to be the intention of the court to refuse the advance of the land and malt, 1796; but only that it was their wish to protract it for some time. Mr. Pitt said he understood it so, and should avoid applying for it until it might be more suitable to the Bank. He also said, he should certainly reimburse a million of the Treasury bills, and repay the 1,100,000*l.* as soon as the accounts were made up; and, if it was necessary, the 1,400,000*l.* remaining should be reimbursed.

The Governor mentioned to him the drain of cash to Ireland, the calls for the West India armament, and the probability of soon perceiving those that may be occasioned by the claimants of the neutral ships being reimbursed: in all which he seemed to concur. Then the Governor stated to him, that the price of gold being so much above the value of our guineas, must necessarily impress his mind with the unavoidable consequences. The Chancellor of the Exchequer viewed this in a most serious light.

The Governor then mentioned the probability of the claims of the American ships taken in the West Indies soon coming to a hearing, and which, he said, from report, would amount to near four millions. Mr. Pitt agreed that appeals were soon to be made, but he did not think the amount would come up to such a sum. The Governor then resumed the subject of the Treasury bills; and hoped that, after the meeting of parliament, Mr. Pitt would so arrange matters as to prevent their continuing to be paid by
the

the Bank in the manner lately adopted. His reply was, that this object would soon cease; their amount seemed to have impressed his mind with a design to discontinue the service that occasioned them; the troops were about to return home. He candidly acknowledged, that the expence of our troops on the Continent had been enormous; and intimated, that the bent and operation of the war, as long as it did still continue, would be naval, and in the West Indies.

The Governor then made his acknowledgements to Mr. Pitt for the indulgence of so much time as he had given to him and the Deputy Governor. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he was going out of town to-morrow, for a week, and at his return would be glad to see the Governor again, if any thing material should occur.

Summary of the Report of the Secret Committee appointed to consider of the Papers seized in Belfast. Presented in the Irish House of Commons by Mr. Pelham.

THE Committee began by stating, that they considered it to be a proper discharge of their duty to examine into the principles and motives of the Society of United Irishmen at its first formation: they assert, that in consequence of this examination they find that the Society, under the pretext of promoting a Parliamentary Reform, and what they called Emancipation of the Catholics, harboured a design to disunite this country from Great Britain, to overthrow the present constitution, and establish in its

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stead a republican form of government. The Committee rest this opinion, in a great measure, on a letter written by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a very active member of that society, to his friends in Belfast; in which there appears a number of expressions which seem to indicate that Mr. Tone considered the British connection as the bane of Irish prosperity. Another ground of the opinion of this Committee is, the declaration published by the Society of United Irishmen in Dublin, in the year 1791, when Mr. Rowan and Dr. Drenan were Chairman and Secretary, in which the prominent principle is, that *none but the people can speak the will of the people*. The Committee then proceed to the papers. They state the manner in which these papers had been seized in the house of a John Alexander, at Belfast, by Captain Barber and Mr. Fox; they recite in what rooms and in what company they had been found, and infer that they were the papers of two committees of United Irishmen. By one it appears that the society is organized in a very perfect manner; the lowest constituent part is the Baronial Committee, or the committee of the members who live in one barony. When this committee becomes numerous, it is split into two committees. When a certain number of these committees are formed in a county, they elect a County Committee; when a certain number of county committees are formed, they elect a Provincial Committee; and again, when two or more of these committees are created, they elect members who form the highest member of the society, a National Committee.— They are, among other things, im-

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powered to raise money in certain proportions, and to distribute it in certain ways; such as providing arms and ammunition; supplying the members who suffer for the cause with necessaries, and with the means of defence; providing for the families of those who may fall in any way for the common service; and they are enabled to regulate the election of military officers. There is a particular provision which fixes the manner in which the tribunal shall be chosen, who, when a revolution begins, shall decide on the property, and even the lives of accused individuals; and there is another provision which declares what description of suspected persons shall not be suffered to enter the ranks when the conflict shall begin. The other papers are minutes of the proceedings of the sub-committees of United Irishmen, and reports on a variety of subjects. They contain, in the first place, accurate returns of the numbers of men who have at different periods become members of the body; also returns of the sums subscribed by each respective place, and the purposes for which the money has been expended. The returns of guns, bayonets, swords, pikes, cannon, powder, ball-cartridges, and of bullets, are all reported with equal accuracy, and always accompany the returns of men and money. The society has risen to a number truly formidable — not less at this moment than one hundred thousand men. The amount of their arms appears to be very considerable; and they reckon among their ordnance eight pieces of cannon and one mortar. In their money accounts are found accurate statements of their expen-

diture for assisting prisoners and purchasing arms; and in one return it is remarkable that the officer who remits it says, "This money has been paid somewhat before the usual time, because it is expected our friends will soon arrive at Bantry," or words to that effect; and several instances occur in the papers, of allusions to the expected arrival of these friends. In some papers the committees earnestly exhort the people to temperance, to sobriety, and to peace, observing that the wish of government was to goad them into insurrection, by which the hopes of the people would be defeated, not only now, but perhaps for ever; and in one place occurs the remarkable advice "to have nothing to do with the father or his son." That the society exercise a judicial authority over their members appears also by these papers; for in more than one of them there is mention made of certain persons who had been charged with offences having been tried and acquitted; and one instance is found of the executive committee having been purged by another branch of the body for an abuse of their trust; three-fourths of them were removed, and men of acknowledged merit substituted in their room. In some of the minutes are to be found the names or the initials of persons reported to be bad, or unsound and dangerous members; exhortations are frequent to avoid communicating on the affairs of the society with persons who had not taken the test; and in one case it is said, that the old pass-word of the body was obliged to be changed, in consequence of some negligence of this kind: it is strongly inculcated on the

the committees to take care that the men should be regularly and judiciously formed into companies and battalions; that the men should be well known to their officers, and the officers to the men; and that all should hold themselves in readiness to appear at a moment's warning, as it was not known how soon they might be called out.

The Committee again take occasion to observe, that it appeared from these papers the United Irishmen made a pretext of reform and emancipation to cover a design to subvert, instead of amending the constitution; to confiscate property, and extinguish the possessors of it; and this they infer, *arguent*, from the circumstance that these two objects have not been mentioned in these papers as the end of their institution. In further corroboration of the opinion, they transcribe a paper called the Donaghadee Resolutions, in which it is emphatically stated to have been the opinion of the best statesmen, philosophers, and divines, that all power originated with the people—that when tyrants usurp power, or governors (legitimately constituted) degenerate into tyrants, it becomes the right and duty of the people to take arms to wrest that power from the hands which abuse it, and restore it to those to whom it of right belongs,” &c. &c.—The report goes on to state, that it has appeared to the Committee, though they are not at liberty to disclose the evidence, partly because it was merely oral, and partly because it might be necessary hereafter to produce it before a court of justice, that assassinations had been encouraged by the society, and that great pains had been taken

to seduce the fidelity of the soldiery—But the Committee declare themselves happy in being able to state, that his Majesty's troops have remained steady and faithful—and that the House may place the utmost confidence in their exertions.

Substance of the Instructions relative to the Baggage and Marches of the Army, in case the Enemy land in England; which have been sent to all Generals, and all Officers commanding Regiments.

“THE service on which the troops may be called, will be of such a nature while it lasts, that the usual convenience of the field cannot be allowed. All unnecessary baggage must be removed. No more than five waggons and three carts will be allowed to each regiment for every purpose. All other carriages whatever will be ordered to a great distance in the rear, and if at any time found near the army, will be ordered to be destroyed. Officers must prepare for moving in the lightest manner. The personal baggage of each officer must be contained in a small portmanteau. One tent will be allowed for sixteen men. During the march every officer will remain with his division, and never quit it on any account. No soldier to be permitted to leave his rank. The march must be so regulated that the troops may advance three English miles in an hour and a quarter. The troops should always consider themselves as if in the presence of an enemy. The line of march must never be lengthened, if it can be avoided. The proper closeness of the march, on all occasions, is a point of the highest consequence.

The troops must march on the greatest front the roads or overtures will allow. The line of carriages must at no time stop, whatever accidents may happen to any individual one; but such carriage must instantly be drawn on one side, and repaired, if possible. The officers commanding the several divisions of carriages, will be answerable for the strict observance of this article, a failure of which might stop and endanger a whole army.

“From the unremitting zeal and ardour of the troops, every success may be hoped for. In many situations our object will be in stopping the progress of an enemy, if superior in number, and endeavouring to penetrate into the country; instead of keeping all our forces collected, to oppose him in front, to allot a part only for that purpose, and, by throwing the rest in different bodies on his flanks, and even in his rear, as he advances, to circumscribe his movements, and, by unremitting attacks, to make his progress slow and uneasy. This will not be difficult to attain, should his march be confined to the great roads of the country, from the extension of his columns, and as an attack anywhere would necessarily make a stop everywhere. Should he endeavour to open parallel routes, and to march in several connected columns, this operation could be much retarded, would occasion great delay in point of time, and give us great advantage in assembling and increasing our numbers.

“In opposing the enemy in this manner every thing will depend on the alertness of the troops, the lightness of their equipment, and their *being freed from every incumbrance*

of baggage, carriages, or even a numerous artillery. It will depend on the nature of the ground how far the cavalry can give support, on such occasions, to the infantry; but in general they will be destined to annoy and circumscribe the flanks of the enemy's march. In carrying on this kind of war the troops would hardly ever be able to encamp but when it was apparent that the enemy, from necessity, would be obliged to remain in some particular situation, or that we took up a situation that was to be maintained. For this state of action we must always be prepared, and, though, while it lasts, exceedingly severe for the troops, must be more than equally distressing for the enemy, as his difficulty must increase the further he advances into the country; and whenever he becomes obliged to establish a chain of posts to keep up his communication with the point from which he originally departed, such posts will certainly be forced and cut off, and he thereby reduced to the greatest extremity, while the country, open to our rear, will afford us every help and assistance, and enable us, when he arrives at a certain point, and when it is judged proper, with united and increased force, to attack and utterly defeat him.”

The Will of the late Mr. Thellusson has been proved in Doctors Commons. The Heads of which are as follow:

To his wife he bequeaths 300 guineas, to be paid at the expiration of ten days after his death, together with all his jewels, watches, and trinkets, and his stock of wine, corn, hay, and straw. He also leaves

leaves in trust for her use, all his capital messuage at Plaistow, with all the lands, grounds, gardens, household furniture, and one thousand four hundred ounces of plate. Upon her death or marriage the said property to be sold, and the money arising from such sale to compose part of the residue of his estate: he likewise bequeaths to her the annual sum of 2,140*l.* during her life, provided she remains single during that time; but in case of her second marriage, he leaves her only the dividends of 5,500*l.* bank stock, and 300*l.* long annuities; and in that case directs the remainder of the above legacy to be divided between his three sons and his three daughters.—The above 5,500*l.* in case of such second marriage, at her death to devolve to his six children, in such manner as his wife may direct by her last will; and the 1,400 ounces of plate to be divided among his three sons, and their issue, with the benefit of survivorship.

To his brother-in-law, the Rev. Matthew Woodford, Archdeacon of Winchester, James Stanley, Esq. of Queen's Square, Barrister at Law, and Emperor John Alexander Woodford, of Queen-street, Esq. each the sum of 300 guineas, as a token of his acknowledgment to them for their trouble in the execution of his will.

To each of his servants living with him at his death, and who had been so for twelve months, half a year's wages, besides what might be due to them.

To his three sons, 7,600*l.* each, in order to make, with what he had before given to them, the sum of 23,000*l.* with a small annuity in the French funds.

To his executors, at the death or marriage of his wife, 1500*l.* bank stock, and 200*l.* long annuities in trust, for the use of his daughter, Maria, the wife of the Hon. Augustus Phipps, and to her children, according to her disposal. In case she should die without issue, it is then to be divided between his two other daughters.

The sum of 12,000*l.* in trust for his daughter Ann (the interest to be paid her while she remains single) subject to the condition of her marrying with the consent of her mother and the two executors; in case of her marrying without such consent, she is only to be entitled to the sum of 2000*l.* and 100*l.* long annuities; and part of the remainder of the 12,000*l.* is to sink into the residue of his estate, and the other part is to be divided between his two daughters.

To his daughter Augusta Charlotte, 1,500*l.* bank stock, and 200*l.* per annum long annuities, subject to the same conditions and restrictions as the legacy to his daughter Ann.

He then particularizes several annuities which he was possessed of in the French funds, which, with the arrears due on them, he leaves to his sons and daughters.

His house and warehouse in Philpot-lane he leaves to his sons, under certain conditions. The provisions which he has made for his said sons, the will observes, are sufficient to procure them comfort; and he intrcats them to avoid ostentation, vanity, and pompous shew, and to be industrious, as the best fortune they can possess.

To the wives of his three sons, his daughters, and some others, he leaves a ring of 50*l.* value; and to

his sister-in-law, Sophia Woodford, one of 25l. value.

To his eldest son, P. J. Thelluffon, after his mother's death, he gives his family pictures, &c. To his son G. W. Thelluffon, his gold seal with the family arms; the gold snuff-box which Louis XV. gave to his father, containing the portrait of the Dauphin, father to Louis XVI; the silver medal, a copy of the gold one given to his father by the city of Geneva; also the large silver coffee-pot and salver, given to him by the said city, with the arms of Geneva thereon. To his son Charles, a gold watch made by Mudge, with three seals mounted in gold.

The remainder of his plate, pictures, books, furniture, &c. he orders to be sold by public auction, to compose part of the residue of his estate.

To his executors and their heirs he gives in trust the whole of his Yorkshire estate, together with the advowson and presentation to the church of Marr, to be managed by them, and to purchase land with the accumulation of the growing profits till the grandson of his present grandson Charles (now an infant only four months old, and the son of the testator's third and youngest son Charles) shall attain the age of twenty-one; when the whole of this immense property, valued now at near 800,000l. will be at his disposal; in default of which heir or heirs the whole produce of the said estate to be applied to the use of the sinking fund, in such manner as shall be directed by act of parliament. The right of presentation to the advowson to belong to his sons and their descendants, in regular rotation.—The will then proceeds thus:

“ I order and direct, that, from the respective time or times any person or persons shall become entitled either to any part or share, or proportion of the aforesaid estates, as well those hereby devised, as what may hereafter be purchased in manner aforesaid, as to the whole thereof, he and they, and all claiming under him and them respectively, shall from thenceforth, thereafter, and at all times, severally use the surname of Thelluffon only; and in default thereof I order and direct that the said several manors or lordships, advowsons, messuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and real estates heretofore devised, and to be purchased, shall be thereupon sold and disposed of by Matthew Woodford, James Stanley, and Emperor John Alexander Woodford, and the survivors or survivor of them, and the trustees hereafter to be appointed; and that the money to arise and be produced from the sale thereof, be paid unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, Kings or Queens of England, to the use of the sinking fund, in such manner as shall be directed by act of parliament.

“ As I have earned the fortune which I now possess with industry and honesty, I trust and hope that the legislature will not in any manner alter my will, or the limitations thereby created, but permit my property to go in the manner in which I hereby dispose of it.”

The executors and executrix are, Matthew Woodford, James Stanley, Emperor John Alexander Woodford, and his wife. The Will is dated April 2, 1796, and occupies no less than twenty-three sheets of paper.

IRISH ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Some time previous to the dissolution of the Irish Parliament, when affairs in Ireland bore a very gloomy aspect, Lords Kenmare, Trimblestown, and Fingal waited on his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant with the following Memorial on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland:

To his Excellency Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Memorial of the under-signed Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland respectfully represents to your Excellency,

THAT notwithstanding the signal favours conferred upon the Roman Catholics of Ireland under the mild government of our present Sovereign, all which favours your Memorialists do with the most lively sense of gratitude acknowledge, many disqualifications and incapacities still continue to affect that numerous and loyal portion of his Majesty's subjects.

“Your Memorialists submit, that the condition of Ireland would indeed be desperate, if its security at this moment were to be sought rather in the coercion than in the loyalty of its Roman Catholic inhabitants, who form a considerable majority of those now armed to repel the enemies of their King and country; of those who must be called forth at every menace of danger, and whose zeal and alacrity in their country's cause have at all times been conspicuous.

“To the general fidelity of his Majesty's Catholic subjects — to their well-known aversion to anarchy — to their tried attachment to his Majesty's person and govern-

ment, and to the principles of civil society, — your Memorialists beg leave to add, as another consideration, that the grievances under which they labour become severe in proportion as precaution is unnecessary, inasmuch as they immediately aggrieve the higher and more opulent classes, who, even in a state of prevalent disaffection, would be bound by their own interest, without any nobler motive, to guard against the effects of an innovating spirit.

“Your Memorialists respectfully submit to your Excellency, that, in consequence of the several acts of parliament passed during the present reign, for the relief of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, trade, industry, and the pursuits of agriculture, in particular, have been increased, much capital has been fixed in the country, and its wealth and resources augmented. They feel themselves justified in inferring a still greater increase of national prosperity from the repeal of all existing laws which aggrieve the extensive denomination of the Irish people — laws which your Memorialists respectfully contend, are only calculated to create repining and discontent among meritorious subjects, to divert the rising talents of the land from constitutional pursuits, to wound in the mind of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects the hopes of many, and to repress the liberal ambition of all.

“Far be it from your Excellency's Memorialists to stipulate with their country at a crisis of emergency, or to entertain an opinion that their political situation should be the measure of their duties, or certain privileges the price of their exertions. Should it again

become necessary, they are ready again to unite with their fellow-subjects in resisting the intrusion of an enemy, who seeks, under insidious pretences to subvert the happiness of Ireland. They do not wish to distract the public councils whilst occupied in providing for the general safety;—a momentous care, to which all others should be held subordinate.

“To that general safety, more than to the attainment of political privilege, your Memorialists look as their chief motive for soliciting your Excellency’s attention at the present moment, and humbly conceive that they cannot too strongly press upon your Excellency’s consideration, that no measure can so evidently tend to insure it, as that which removes from the minds of the great body of the people every impression of distrust and jealousy arising from exclusive restrictions; which impression they must continue to feel as long as any class of those who profess with them the Roman Catholic religion, remain on that account the object of any penal statute.

“Your Memorialists submit that the removal of such impression would in a very high degree tend to produce that general ardour and enthusiasm in the public cause, to which alone, in the present alarming state of things, this kingdom can rationally look for its safety and preservation. Under this conviction, they trust it will not be deemed at this moment unseasonable to solicit, in their own and their country’s behalf, the attention of his Majesty’s government, and to express a hope, that for the common benefit, and through the favourable representation of your Excellency,

your Memorialists may again be indebted to the benignity of their Prince, and again experience the liberality of parliament, in a repeal of the remaining laws which exclude the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the political immunities enjoyed by their fellow-subjects.

“And your Memorialists,” &c.

Trial of Mrs. Phipoe, for the Murder of Mary Cox.

MARY Benson, otherwise Maria Theresa Phipoe, was indicted at the Old Bailey, for the wilful murder of Mary Cox, by giving her a wound on the throat; and in several parts of the body, with a clasp-knife, on the 25th of October last; of which wounds she languished and died. The prisoner resided in Garden-street, Shadwell: she was intimately acquainted with the deceased, and they frequently visited each other. On Wednesday, October 25, the deceased came to the lodging of the prisoner, and was shewn up to her apartments, which were on the first floor. Soon after the deceased came, the prisoner came down to the mistress of the house (a Mrs. Munday) and gave her a guinea, and requested she would buy half a pint of brandy for her. She did so; but when she returned with the liquor and the change, she found the prisoner’s room-door locked. When the prisoner heard that Mrs. Munday had returned with the liquor, she called out that she was not then ready for it; but that she would come down for it when she should be. Immediately after this, Mrs. Munday heard a noise of a violent scuffle in the prisoner’s room, and a sound

a sound from thence like a person groaning with great pain. This frightened her very much: she ran out, alarmed the neighbours, and brought in two women with her, a Mrs. Macdonald and a Mrs. Eyles. They proceeded up stairs, and desired to be admitted. The groaning was still heard, but faintly; and the prisoner was heard to say, "Jesus Christ!" On their enquiry what was the matter, the prisoner called out, "The woman was in a fit; but she is recovered, and I am rubbing her by the fire." They desired the door might be unlocked; on which the prisoner opened it, and said, Mrs. Munday might come in, but nobody else; at the same time she desired that a doctor might be sent for; on which Mrs. Munday went out for one. The door remaining a-jar, Mrs. Macdonald pushed it open, and went in; when the first thing that struck her was the appearance of the deceased, sitting on the ground, "bleeding like an ox," and holding up her handkerchief to the wound on her throat. She exclaimed, "What have you been about, Mrs. Benson? has the Lord left you?" On which the prisoner held up her finger, and said, "Look at my finger!" and was proceeding to tell something about the transaction, when the witnesses, terrified at those shocking appearances, ran down stairs into the passage. She had not been long there when she saw the deceased come down stairs, all over blood, and go into the kitchen; the prisoner went after her, and seemed to be assisting her to walk. About this period Mrs. Munday, two women, two parish beadle, and soon after a surgeon, came in. The deceased was in the

kitchen at this time, and the prisoner had withdrawn to her room. They described her as sitting on a chair when they saw her, supporting her head with one hand, and unable to speak. She was terribly cut and mangled, and very bloody. One of the beadle was particularly attentive to her. She by signs requested him to put his hands into her pocket. He took a watch out of it, which she in the same manner desired he would take care of. She was asked whether it was the woman above stairs (meaning the prisoner) that had used her so? Her motions were such as appeared to indicate an affirmative answer. To the question, if she had cut off the prisoner's finger, the answer was in the negative. The surgeon described her to have received several wounds, any single one of which was sufficient to kill her. She was shortly after taken to the London hospital. The attention of the parties was then directed towards the prisoner. She was up stairs. Dunbar, among others, went up. He asked her how she came to use the poor woman so? To which she replied, "I believe the Devil and my passion bewitched me." He perceived a case-knife lying on the table, which was bloody; he asked her if it was with that she had wounded the deceased? She answered in the affirmative. With respect to the cutting off her finger, which then lay upon the table, she said it was cut off by Mrs. Cox, the deceased. He then, by her directions, took charge of some money and notes, which she had about her, and in the apartment. She was soon after also taken to the London hospital. At this place she was searched, when a clasped knife,

with a sharp pointed blade of about four inches long, was found inside her stays, which was all over bloody. She expressed an unwillingness to be searched. Her behaviour subsequently at the hospital was such as to render the discipline of the strait waistcoat necessary. The surgeon above mentioned examined the prisoner's hand and fingers. He was of opinion that the finger could not be cut off in fighting or struggling with another person, because it appeared to be regularly chopped off, as if laid fairly on a block. The part and the bone was cut straight through, and not in the least hacked or mangled. He observed that the deceased, at the time she was spoken to in the kitchen, appeared to be perfectly collected, although unable to speak. The deceased died in the London hospital, after languishing a short time. One of the surgeons appeared, who had no doubt of the wounds she received being the cause of her death. And the magistrate, who attended to take her depositions at the hospital, which were given in the presence of the prisoner, stated that she was very sensible and collected, and at the same time convinced of her approaching dissolution. These examinations were read by the clerk of the court, and stated, in substance, that the deceased went to the prisoner's apartments in consequence of her own appointment. They were in treaty for some articles, as a gold watch, some linen, china, &c. For these she paid her 11l. Some coffee-cups lay on the mantle-piece; the deceased asked for one of them; the prisoner desired her to take it off; but while she was doing this, the prisoner ran to her and stabbed her in the throat with a knife; she

then got her down on the bed; she gave her a great number of wounds, and said, "You bitch, I will kill you out, you shall not be able to tell your own story." The depositions were regularly signed and attested. The evidence for the prosecution was materially to the above effect. The prisoner, in her defence, entered into a long detail of circumstances, which she solemnly averred had taken place, and which gave rise to the catastrophe. After stating the particulars of the treaty they were engaged in for the watch, &c. she said they differed materially as to terms. This gave rise to an altercation, which the deceased terminated by saying, "I suppose you want the money to go to London to be Courtois's whore again, as was proved at the Old Bailey." The prisoner answered, It was a damned lie: upon which very warm language ensued. In the end, the deceased, she said, snatched up a green handled knife, and cut off her forefinger. She was immediately covered with blood; she saw her finger lying on the ground, and her passion so far mastered her that she knew not what she did; she might have attacked the deceased, but her tremor and confusion were so great that she had not the least recollection of what she did at the moment. The first thing she could recollect was, that somebody put some liquor down her throat; she then heard a cry of murder: she was soon after seized and searched, and taken to the hospital. Besides the finger being cut off, she had several cuts in her arm.—The remainder of the defence related to her treatment at the hospital, and her exchanging forgiveness with the deceased. This address was of considerable length,

and spoken with a great deal of ease and collectedness. She called several times on the Supreme Being to witness the truth of what she had related. The evidence being concluded, Mr. Baron Perryn entered on his charge to the jury, which consisted chiefly of a summary of the evidence on both sides; and, from the general drift of his observations throughout the charge, his Lordship seemed to think that the plea of insanity could not avail the prisoner; she had exhibited no marks of it, as appeared by the evidence, at any period during the whole transaction; and under this impression he seemed to entertain no doubt of her guilt. On the prisoner's defence they were to exercise their judgment, and to consider, in comparing it with the general tenor of the evidence, if it could be founded in truth. Whatever doubts they might entertain, they would of course give the prisoner the benefit of them. The jury retired for a-

bout twenty minutes, and at their return found her Guilty. After a short interval, Mr. Baron Perryn proceeded to pass the awful sentence of the law upon the unhappy woman. He prefaced it by simply observing that she was convicted upon very strong evidence—he had no doubt of the propriety of the verdict—it appeared to him that she had barbarously murdered her friend, and a woman with whom she had always been on the best terms. The sentence was then passed in the usual form, fixing the next Monday for its execution; after which the body to be given to the surgeons for dissection. The unhappy Mrs. Benson heard the sentence with the utmost composure, not to say indifference; indeed she seemed rather hardened, and expressed some language respecting the decision of the court; which we feel ourselves not warranted in reciting. She was executed on the Monday following.

Average Prices of Corn for the Year 1797.

	WHEAT.		BARLEY.		OATS.		BEANS.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
January -	6	10	3	11	2	2	3	9
February -	6	6	3	7	2	0	3	5
March -	6	2	3	1	1	10	3	3
April -	6	2	3	1	1	10	3	2
May -	6	2	3	1	1	10	3	1
June -	6	3	3	0	1	10	2	11
July -	6	3	3	1	1	11	3	0
August -	6	7	3	2	2	0	3	3
September	7	4	3	6	2	2	3	5
October -	7	7	4	0	2	4	3	10
November	6	10	4	0	2	5	3	11
December	6	7	3	9	2	2	3	8
General Average	6	6	3	6	2	1	3	3

General

APPENDIX TO

CHRISTENED.				BURIED.				Decreased in burials this year 1891			
Males		Females		Males		Females		Males		Females	
9615		9030		8577		8427		1754		1678	
18645		18645		17014		17014		102		103	
								107		117	
								117		1	
								64		1	

* In Middlefex and Surry 24 have been executed; 15 of whom have only been reported to be buried within the bills of mortality.

THE CHRONICLE. 157

An Account of the net Produce of the Taxes for one Year ending the 5th of July, 1797, distinguishing the Duties imposed in 1793, 1794, 1795, 1796, and 1797.

Consolidated Customs	-	-	2,671,995	6	11
Consolidated Excise	-	-	7,172,361	14	8½
Consolidated Stamps	-	-	1,359,625	18	6
Total			£ 11,203,983	0	1½

INCIDENTS.

Consolidated Letter Money	-	-	156,000	0	0
Ditto Salt	-	-	369,909	4	2
Seizures	-	-	17,844	3	2½
Proffers	-	-	375	12	9
Compositions	-	-	1	6	8
Alum Mines	-	-	960	0	0
Letter Money	-	-	325,000	0	0
Sixpence Deduction on Pensions	-	-	51,525	0	0
One Shilling ditto on Salaries	-	-	32,434	6	6½
Hawkers and Pedlars	-	-	3,070	0	0
Hackney Coaches and Chairs, 1711	-	-	12,000	0	0
Ditto ditto 1784	-	-	12,000	0	0
Four-wheeled Carriages	-	-	150,901	14	8½
Two-wheeled ditto	-	-	47,577	18	2½
Houses and Windows	-	-	342,518	13	1½
Inhabited Houses	-	-	159,927	1	7½
First Fruits of the Clergy	-	-	3,833	19	7½
Tenths ditto	-	-	9,862	5	8½
Lottery Licences	-	-	00	0	0
Arrears of Waggon	-	-	14	8	6
Ditto Carts	-	-	723	11	6
Ditto Men Servants	-	-	3	15	0
Ditto Female Servants	-	-	1244	4	7
Ditto Houses and Windows, 1747 and 1758	-	-	00	0	0
Rent of a Light-house	-	-	6	13	4
Horses	-	-	108,635	17	1½
Male Servants	-	-	96,239	9	1½
Alienation Duty	-	-	1,721	8	8
Total			£ 1,904,330	14	3½

Duties pro anno 1793.

	L.	s.	d.
British Spirits	66,147	0	0
Foreign ditto	151,911	0	0
	218,058	0	0

Duties pro anno 1794.

	L.	s.	d.
Sugar 1791	242,262	3	3½
Game Duty	16,838	1	4
Carried over	259,100	4	7½

Bills

	<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>L.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over	259,100	0	0	Brought forward	636,443	12	3½
Bills and Receipts	38,245	3	9	Hats	22,529	9	0
	105,218	10	6½	Two Shillings ad-			
794	66,871	0	0	ditional duty on			
	148,288	0	0	Horses	59,590	0	0
Glass	43,685	0	0	Dogs	36,265	0	0
Bricks and Tiles,				10l. per cent.	84,959	13	10
	295	17	6½	Saved by reducing			
	60,140	0	0	the Allowance			
	77,096	0	0	for Waste on			
	5,981	15	10	Salt	32,000	0	0
Slates	16,603	13	4	Reduction on the			
Attornies Articles	17,630	2	9	Drawbacks on			
				the Exportation			
	839,159	8	4½	of Sugar	116,676	5	8
					997,464	2	9½
<i>Duties pro anno 1795.</i>				<i>Duties pro anno 1797.</i>			
British Spirits	66,630	0	0	British Spirits	55,297	0	0
Foreign ditto	148,192	0	0	Foreign ditto	45,864	0	0
Wine	285,830	0	0	Auctions	11,687	0	0
Sweets	5,759	0	0	Deeds	35,828	0	0
Cocoa	21,029	0	0	Cocoa	1,965	0	0
Stamps	47,539	13	7	5l. per cent	500	0	6
Ship Policies	96,884	4	1	Stage Coaches	13,953	0	0
Hair Powder Cer-				Sugar	29,747	0	6½
tificates	191,476	3	0	Bricks	271	0	0
Receipts	6,925	6	1	Tea	117,319	0	0
Fruits	126,527	9	8		312,431	6	0½
Tea	197,398	0	0				
Coals	25,066	0	2½				
Produced by the				<i>Totals.</i>			
restriction on				Total Customs,			
franking	40,000	0	0	Excise, and			
	1,259,256	16	7½	Stamps	11,203,983	0	1½
<i>Duties pro anno 1796.</i>				Ditto Incidents	1,904,330	14	3½
Horses	45,795	0	0	Ditto Duties <i>pro</i>			
Tobacco	164,063	0	0	<i>anno 1793</i>	218,058	0	0
Horse Dealers Li-				Ditto ditto 1794	839,159	8	4½
cences	1,032	12	0	Ditto ditto 1795	1,259,256	16	7½
Wines (Excise)	198,829	0	0	Ditto ditto 1796	997,464	2	9½
Wines (Customs)	221,713	0	3½	Ditto ditto 1797	312,431	6	0½
Sweets	5,011	0	0		16,731,683	8	3½
Legacies							
Carried forward	636,443	12	3½	JAMES FISHER.			
				<i>Exchequer, July 13th, 1797.</i>			

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled.

An Account of the Number of Perſons who pay Aſſeſſed Taxes; diſtinguiſhing the ſame into Clafſes, according to the Amount, from Six Shillings to Four Hundred Pounds and upwards, Annually.

200l. and under	250l.	38
250l.	300l.	13
300l.	350l.	2
350l.	400l.	4
400l. and upwards		2

Total number of perſons }
paying Aſſeſſed Taxes } 791,802

CHARLES DERING.

BARNE BARNE.

EDW. MEDOWS.

H. HAYES.

Office for Taxes,
28th of November, 1797.

J. HUNTER.

An Account of the Amount of the Bills accepted by the Treafury during the Year 1796, and by whom drawn.

BY the commiſſioners at the Windward and Leeward Iſlands	-	L. 723,384
From St. Domingo	-	2,211,068
From Corſica and the Mediterranean	-	435,368
From Jerſey, Guernſey, and Alderney	-	60,179
From Saint Vincent and Grenada	-	74,159
From the continent, by Commiſſary - General Brook Watſon's deputies	-	187,631
By S. Drewry, deputy commiſſary to the army, under the command of General Doyle	-	16,930
By Colonel Neſbit, inſpector general of foreign corps	-	187,113
By Colonel Crawford, on account of the Prince of Condé's army	-	351,890
By Claude Scott for wheat		211,673
On Claude Scott for wheat		147,862
By Meſſrs. Boyd, Benfield, and Co.	-	423,878
Carried over	-	L. 5,031,133

Under	6s.	190,122
8s. and under	10s.	129,563
10s.	15s.	57,716
15s.	1l.	40,218
1l.	1l. 5s.	33,055
1l. 5s.	1l. 10s.	32,064
1l. 10s.	1l. 15s.	28,283
1l. 15s.	2l.	24,171
2l.	2l. 5s.	22,060
2l. 5s.	2l. 10s.	17,451
2l. 10s.	2l. 15s.	16,517
2l. 15s.	3l.	15,563
3l.	3l. 10s.	25,846
3l. 10s.	4l.	18,856
4l.	4l. 10s.	16,753
4l. 10s.	5l.	13,881
5l.	6l.	22,220
6l.	7l.	15,468
7l.	8l.	10,500
8l.	9l.	8,164
9l.	10l.	7,378
10l.	12l. 10s.	12,712
12l. 10s.	15l.	7,991
15l.	17l. 10s.	5,035
17l. 10s.	20l.	3,389
20l.	25l.	4,211
25l.	30l.	3,417
30l.	35l.	2,544
35l.	40l.	1,701
40l.	45l.	1,106
45l.	50l.	807
50l.	60l.	1,006
60l.	70l.	704
70l.	80l.	382
80l.	90l.	263
90l.	100l.	193
100l.	150l.	313
150l.	200l.	111

Brought over	L. 5,031,133	L.	s.	d.
By the Imperial Bank	100,000			
Miscellaneous, including Governor's allowances paid to Toulonese, &c.	219,373			
Total	- L. 5,350,506			
Bounties for raising seamen	-	23,648	16	7½
THOMAS IRVING, Inspector General of the Imports and Exports of Great Britain. March 3d, 1797.				

Amount of the Sums paid during the Year ending the 5th of January, 1797, from the Revenue of Customs, on account of Bounties for Corn imported, or Bounties for raising Seamen.

	L.	s.	d.
Bounties on corn imported	573,410	4	9½

[The First Report from the Committee appointed to take into Consideration the Means of promoting the Cultivation and Improvement of the Waste, Unclosed, and Unproductive Lands, and the Common Arable, Meadow, and Pasture Lands, will be found under the head of Useful Projects, in this volume.]

Statement of Services and Grants, made out from the Journals of Parliament, from the Year 1722 to 1797.

Years.	Total Services.			Total Grants.			Deficiency of Grants.			Overplus.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1722	2,666,295	9	1	2,600,872	13	3	65,422	15	9			
1723	1,926,551	16	11	1,869,220	5	2	57,331	11	8			
1724	1,918,092	18	4	1,778,859	2	7	139,233	15	8			
1725	2,094,132	8	11	1,748,543	6	3	345,589	2	8			
1726	3,409,696	1	2	3,257,046	13	8	160,306	17	5			
1727	3,444,818	13	8	3,139,068	15	5	305,749	18	2			
1728	4,618,947	6	7	4,515,757	15	0	103,189	11	7			
1729	3,654,798	7	1	3,519,352	6	10	115,446	0	3			
1730	2,655,462	8	6	2,521,149	14	0	134,312	14	6			
1731	2,902,985	15	11	3,007,815	18	4				104,830	3	
1732	2,002,242	11	9	1,880,847	8	5	121,395	3	4			
1733	2,075,307	0	11	1,787,963	15	10	287,343	5	1			
1734	4,014,768	6	2	3,978,362	10	10	36,405	15	4			
1735	3,280,262	2	8	3,259,165	13	0	21,096	9	8			
1736	2,417,908	11	5	2,355,507	7	11	62,401	3	6			
1737	3,283,882	11	2	3,255,561	6	3	28,321	4	11			
1738	3,432,717	19	7	3,552,169	17	4				119,451	17	9
1739	2,787,729	9	10	2,876,451	17	9				88,722	7	10
1740	4,024,560	17	9	4,064,149	8	7				39,588	10	10
1741	5,267,030	7	5	5,003,298	9	10	263,731	17	7			
1742	6,137,507	17	6	6,150,000	0	0				12,492	2	5
1743	6,181,026	6	10	6,061,092	2	5	119,934	4	4			
1744	6,763,421	18	3	6,586,000	0	0	177,421	18	3			
1745	6,583,194	16	6	6,571,244	13	8	11,950	2	9			
1746	7,385,378	4	7	7,250,000	0	0	135,378	4	7			
1747	9,934,336	17	9	9,362,508	19	2	571,827	18	7			
1748	10,620,186	9	6	10,050,000	0	0	570,186	9	6			
1749	5,125,736	5	3	4,750,000	0	0	375,736	5	3			
1750	4,334,323	19	3	4,268,526	10	3	65,797	8	11			
1751	6,194,793	1	6	6,140,041	16	1	54,751	5	5			
1752	4,131,964	10	11	4,150,000	0	0				18,035	9	0
1753	2,414,973	14	1	2,422,911	8	4				7,937	14	2
1754	2,541,006	1	11	2,544,348	1	1				3,341	19	2

Years.	Total Services.			Total Grants.			Deficiency of Grants.			Overplus.		
	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.
1755	4,241,004	16	4	4,237,966	9	5	3,038	6	10			
1756	6,936,496	18	11	7,077,065	4	2				140,568	5	2
1757	8,410,022	8	6	8,126,020	7	5	284,802	1	0			
1758	10,968,040	1	1	11,041,848	5	0				73,308	3	10
1759	13,103,515	1	2	13,033,385	0	11	75,170	0	3			
1760	15,942,217	2	8	15,852,706	9	9	89,510	12	11			
1761	19,213,630	15	5	19,101,067	10	0	112,613	5	5			
1762	18,625,046	11	9	18,617,895	2	8	7,151	9	1			
1763	10,246,609	9	9	10,117,120	9	6	129,489	0	3			
1764	7,722,657	14	7	7,472,997	9	9	249,660	4	10			
1765	7,969,337	12	2	7,745,213	5	0	224,124	7	0			
1766	8,729,334	19	3	8,632,720	0	8	96,614	18	7			
1767	9,105,310	2	8	8,801,725	11	3	306,514	11	4			
1768	8,723,185	17	4	8,777,614	11	1	143,571	6	3			
1769	7,317,757	3	3	7,264,649	19	9	33,107	3	6			
1770	7,856,729	16	10	7,946,538	13	8				89,658	15	9
1771	8,111,277	13	2	8,081,912	12	11	29,364	0	2			
1772	8,329,932	2	9	8,328,471	2	10	1,510	19	11			
1773	6,018,583	12	9	6,145,565	0	2				126,981	7	5
1774	7,390,989	12	8	7,274,461	10	3	112,528	2	5			
1775	7,125,750	5	7	7,088,401	13	0	37,348	12	7			
1776	10,195,242	18	6	10,133,954	11	4	61,288	7	1			
1777	13,996,105	18	9	13,957,612	16	2	38,493	2	7			
1778	15,421,835	12	7	15,355,091	8	3	66,744	4	3			
1779	17,018,110	0	10	16,717,423	0	3	300,687	0	7			
1780	22,186,470	10	9	22,177,719	2	0	8,551	8	8			
1781	25,373,524	10	8	25,353,457	4	9	19,667	5	11			
1782	24,527,775	11	6	24,245,211	3	4	282,562	8	2			
1783	20,022,243	13	11	19,955,428	18	6	36,814	15	5			
1784	12,449,019	2	5	12,515,180	5	11				66,161	3	5
1785	10,332,228	2	11	10,295,089	19	8	127,138	3	2			
1786	13,575,742	11	1	13,335,417	11	3	240,324	19	10			
1787	12,950,721	11	0	12,887,049	12	9	63,671	18	2			
1788	12,666,412	13	6	12,334,762	15	2	331,649	18	3			
1789	12,373,989	3	5	12,142,471	0	11	231,517	12	2			
1790	13,203,816	14	4	12,996,088	11	3	207,728	3	1			
1791	15,314,599	11	1	14,877,608	13	0	436,990	18	0			
1792	12,179,428	12	6	11,954,103	10	2	225,325	2	4			
1793	17,799,718	15	5	17,324,696	1	7	475,022	13	10			
1794	24,164,077	18	9	22,571,105	3	5	1,592,972	15	3			
1795	32,751,496	4	1	30,403,541	13	4	2,347,954	10	9			
1796	32,101,454	9	3	32,530,000	0	0				428,545	10	8
1797	42,786,000	0	0	42,876,000	0	2				84,000	0	0

PRICES QF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1797.

N. B. The highest and lowest prices which each stock bore during the course of any month, are put down opposite to that month.

Jan. Feb. Mar. Apr. May June July Aug. Sep. Oct. Nov. Dec.

Principal Public Acts passed in the First Session of the 18th Parliament of Great Britain.

2d of November, 1796.

MALT tax act.

Land tax act.

Act for the augmentation of the militia.

Acts for raising a certain number of men, for the service of the navy and army, in England and Scotland.

11th of November.

Act for enabling his Majesty to raise a provisional force of cavalry to be embodied, in case of necessity, for the defence of these kingdoms.

Act for granting annuities to satisfy Navy and Exchequer bills.

23d of December.

Act for raising 18,000,000*l.* by way of annuities.

Act to indemnify such persons as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments.

Act for granting additional duties of excise on auctions, bricks, coconuts, British and foreign spirits, and tea.

Act for granting certain duties of customs on goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into, exported from, or brought or carried coastwise into Great Britain.

Act for granting an additional duty on stage-coaches.

Act for granting certain additional duties on distilleries in Scotland.

28th of December.

Act for altering rates of postage.

Act for more effectually securing stamp duties on deeds.

Act, authorizing his Majesty for a

limited time, to make regulations respecting the trade to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

3d of March, 1797.

Act to remove doubts respecting promissory notes of the Bank of England, for payment of sums of money under five pounds.

Act to enable the East India Company to raise money, by further increasing their capital stock.

10th of March.

Mutiny act.

Act for the regulation of the marine forces while on shore.

Militia act.

Act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers.

3d of May.

Act for confirming and continuing for a limited time the restriction on payment of cash by the Bank.

Act for increasing the seamen's pay.

Act for raising 14,500,000*l.* by way of annuities.

25th of May.

Act for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of 1,600,000*l.* to the Emperor of Germany, and the regular redemption of the capital created there by and, for enabling the Bank of England to retain the sums granted for repaying advances made by them to the public, and for other purposes.

Act for granting to foreign ships, put under his Majesty's protection, the privileges of prize ships under certain restrictions; and for allowing aliens in foreign colonies, surrendered to his Majesty, to exercise the occupations of merchants or factors.

Act for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce persons serving in his Majesty's forces, by sea or land, from their duty and allegiance to his Majesty, or to incite them to mutiny or disobedience.

Act for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships now in a state of mutiny and rebellion.

Act for prohibiting the importation of cambrics and French lawns into the kingdom, not being of the manufacture of Ireland, except for the purpose of being warehoused for exportation.

Act to enable the East India Company to pay the expences of two regiments of infantry to be raised for the defence and protection of the house and warehouses of the said company, and for such public services as are mentioned in an act, 34 Geo. III.

Act for making the port of San Joseph, in the island of Trinidad, a free port.

22d of June, 1797.

Act for granting to his Majesty certain stamp duties on the several matters therein mentioned, and for better securing the duties on certificates to be taken out by attornies.

Act to continue the alien act.

4th of July.

Act for carrying into execution the treaty of commerce, amity, and navigation, concluded between his Majesty and the United States of America.

Scotch militia act.

Act for regulating the shipping, and carrying off slaves in British vessels from the coast of Africa.

19th of July.

Acts for granting additional duties on inhabited houses, horses, male servants, customs, and deeds.

Act for granting certain duties on clocks and watches.

Insolvent debtor act.

Lottery act.

Act for granting 200,000l. towards the reduction of the national debt.

Act for making allowances in certain cases to subaltern officers of the militia in time of peace.

Act for regulating the trade to be carried on with the British possessions in India, by the ships of nations in amity with his Majesty.

Act for regulating the height between decks of vessels entered outwards for the purpose of carrying slaves from the coast of Africa.

Act to repeal so much of an act, 5th Geo. II. as makes negroes chattels for the payment of debts.

Act for better preventing forgery in transfers of stock at the Bank or India House.

Act for more effectually preventing the administering or taking of unlawful oaths.

Act to make perpetual the act for preventing the committing of frauds by bankrupts.

Act to prevent the counterfeiting any copper coin in this realm, made or to be made current by proclamation, or any foreign gold or silver coin; and to prevent the bringing into this realm or uttering any counterfeit foreign gold or silver coin.

Act to shorten the time now required for giving notice of the royal intention of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, that the parliament shall meet and be holden for the dispatch of business, and more effectually

tually to provide for the meeting of parliament, in the case of a demise of the crown.

20th of July.

Act for granting a further additional duty on horses.

Act to enable his Majesty more easily and effectually to grant con-

ditional pardons to persons under sentence, by naval courts martial, and to regulate imprisonment under such sentences.

Act for the better administration of justice at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; and for preventing British subjects from being concerned in loans to the native princes in India.

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE

For the Year 1797.

Thermometer.			Barometer.*		Hygrometer.			Rain.
1797	Greatest height.	Least height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	inches	Inches	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches
Jan.	49	25	29,52	30,09	90	69	85,1	0,960
Feb.	50	25	29,97	30,31	88	67	81,1	0,219
March	54	29	29,44	29,44	86	60	76,6	0,777
April	65	35	29,10	29,77	87	69	77,3	1,859
May	78	40	29,38	29,89	90	61	75,1	1,436
June	78	45	29,36	29,86	85	64	74,3	4,223
July	84	55	29,51	29,96	83	64	74,6	1,288
August	76	52	29,48	29,87	88	66	76,4	2,789
Sept.	69	45	29,04	29,75	90	65	79,3	4,061
Octob.	62	35	29,05	29,83	90	67	81,3	2,001
Nov.	57	27	29,14	29,92	91	73	85,0	1,473
Dec.	56	30	29,07	29,80	91	70	84,5	1,611
Whole year				29,92			79,2	22,697

* The quicksilver in the basin of the barometer is eighty-one feet above the level of low water spring-tides at Somerset-house.

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1797.

NAVY.

17 October, 1796.

l. s. d.

THAT 120,000 seamen be employed, including
20,000 marines.

The sum for maintaining them, including ordnance
for sea service — —

6,240,000 0 0

31 October.

Provision to satisfy navy, victualling, and transport
bills, made out on or before the 27th of October,
1796, amounting to L. 11,993,167 19s. 9d.

5 December.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to sea
and marine officers —

653,573 1 7

For buildings and repairs of ships, and other extra
works — —

768,100 0 0

25 April, 1797.

Towards defraying the expences, and preventing the
increase, of the debt of the navy —

5,000,000 0 0

8 May.

To defray the expence to be incurred by an increase
to the pay of the seamen and marines, and by the
proposed issue of full allowance of provisions

472,000 0 0

13,033,673 1 7

ARMY.

24 October, 1796.

That 60,765 men be employed for land service,
including 5,222 invalids.

For

	l.	s.	d.
For guards, garrisons, and other land forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey —	1,505,905	1	0
For forces in the plantations, including Gibraltar, Corfica, the Cape of Good Hope, and New South Wales —	1,411,231	19	5
For difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad —	40,096	9	9
For four troops of dragoons, and nine companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain, for recruiting regiments serving in East India —	13,335	18	0
For recruiting, contingencies, and allowances, for land forces; and extra feed for the cavalry	360,000	0	0
For general and staff officers, and officers of hospitals	94,195	14	0

5 December.

For horse furniture, clothing, and accoutrements, for augmentation to forces —	70,000	0	0
For allowances to several reduced officers of British American forces —	7,500	0	0
Upon account of reduced officers of ditto —	52,500	0	0
For allowances to reduced horse guards —	125	3	4
For reduced officers of land forces and marines	118,874	16	8
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers and others on quartering soldiers	180,000	0	0
For full pay to supernumerary officers —	136,675	14	3
For officers late in the service of the States General	1,000	0	0
For allowances to the paymaster general of the forces, secretary at war, &c. &c. —	186,779	17	1

4 April, 1797.

For the in and out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and the expences of the said hospital —	47,165	10	11
For pensions to widows of commissioned officers	11,602	7	3

6 April.

To defray the extraordinary expences of the army, from 25th December 1795 to 6th December 1796	3,280,513	13	2
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24 May.

For defraying the additional charge of an augmentation of the pay and allowances of his Majesty's land forces —	224,000	0	0
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26 June.

To defray the extraordinary expences of the army, from 7th December to 24th December 1796	106,962	13	4
To defray the expence of extraordinary services incurred, and not paid previous to 5th January 1797	438,000	0	0

Carried over 3,336,464 18 2

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over	8,336,464	18	2
Towards defraying the extraordinary services of the army for 1797	4,000,000	0	0
To satisfy demands outstanding in the barrack department	288,000	0	0
For supply of forage to the troops, and other expences attending the service of the barrack department for 1797	449,000	0	0
For defraying the charge of certain allowances to the subaltern officers, adjutants, and quarter masters of the land forces	60,000	0	0
For foreign corps, in the service of Great Britain, for 1797	381,637	17	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	13,515,102	15	2

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

24 October, 1796.

For the embodied militia in South Britain, and corps of fencible infantry in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and the islands of Scilly and Man	950,441	3	6
For contingencies and allowances for ditto	210,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia	112,811	0	0
For corps of fencible cavalry	397,734	4	2
For allowances and extra-feed for ditto	95,000	0	0

17 December.

Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.

24 December.

On account, towards defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia	177,000	0	0
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4 July, 1797.

Making provision for allowances to subaltern officers of militia, in time of peace.

11 July.

Towards defraying the charge of clothing and accoutrements for sundry corps of volunteer cavalry	30,000	0	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	1,972,986	7	8

ORDNANCE.

5 December.

For ordnance land service, for 1797	1,009,024	9	2
Ditto, not provided for in 1795	114,553	19	9
Ditto, sea service, not provided for in 1795	74,830	0	3
Ditto, land service, not provided for in 1796	425,366	10	6

Carried forward 1,623,477 19 8

l. s. d.
Brought forward 1,623,774 19 8

24 May, 1797.

Towards defraying the additional charge of an augmentation of the pay and allowances of the artillery and military artificers, &c.	—	16,000	0	0
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3 July.

For additional pay to certain officers of the artillery and engineers	—	3,281	11	4
		1,643,056	11	4

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

5 December, 1796.

For new roads of communication, and building bridges in the Highlands of North Britain	—	4,500	0	0
For the civil establishment of Upper Canada		7,000	0	0
Ditto of Nova Scotia	—	5,915	0	0
Ditto of New Brunswick	—	4,550	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Island	—	1,900	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Cape Breton	—	1,840	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland	—	1,232	10	0
Ditto of the Bahama Islands	—	4,100	0	0
For the salary of the Chief Justice of the Bermudas, or Somers Islands	—	580	0	0
Ditto of the Chief Justice of the Island of Dominica	—	600	0	0
For the civil establishment of New South Wales		5,523	10	0

20 December.

Upon account, to enable his Majesty to make temporary advances, by way of loan, for the service of the Emperor	—	500,000	0	0
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22 December.

To make good money issued for allowances to American sufferers	—	11,500	0	0
For relief to American and East Florida sufferers, pursuant to act 30 Geo. III.		51,682	17	6
To make good money issued for his Majesty's service abroad	—	71,431	5	11½
Ditto for relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France	—	140,090	0	0
Ditto for fixtures at the house of the Speaker of the House of Commons	—	681	16	3
Ditto to continue and perfect the Index to the Journals of the House of Lords	—	869	19	0

Brought over 814,095 18 8½

	<i>£</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Carried over	814,095	18	8½
To make good money issued to Mr. Campbell for the expence of convicts on the Thames	9,186	2	4
Ditto to Mr. Bradley, for ditto in Langstone and Portsmouth harbours	13,492	2	11
To make good money issued pursuant to addresses, and not made good by Parliament	28,263	1	6
<i>24 December.</i>			
To enable his Majesty to issue the like sum to Commissioners, to be advanced, under certain regulations, for the accommodation of persons connected with and trading to the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent	600,000	0	0
<i>25 April, 1797.</i>			
To make good money issued to the Secretary to the Commissioners for the reduction of the national debt	796	19	6
Ditto for a clerk to superintend the office for American claims	110	0	0
Ditto for relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France	31,000	0	0
To make good money issued to Mr. Campbell for the expence of convicts on the Thames	3,033	4	0
Ditto to Mr. Bradley, for ditto in Langstone and Portsmouth harbours	9,628	12	6
For defraying the expences of convicts at home for 1797	32,000	0	0
To make good money issued for repairs of the Fleet prison	4,515	8	1½
Ditto for repairs of the King's Bench prison	5,672	3	¾
Ditto towards defraying extraordinary expences incurred for prosecutions relating to the coin	1,461	15	6
Ditto in consequence of the expences of Mr. Hastings's prosecution	2,806	8	0
Ditto for the salary of the Chief Justice of Newfoundland	693	15	0
Ditto for expences on account of the settlement at New South Wales	31,825	14	1
Ditto for expences and allowances in the superintendence of the alien act	1,740	9	0
Ditto for his Majesty's secret service abroad	1,345	19	3
For supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	13,000	0	6
For the Board of Agriculture	3,000	0	0
For defraying the extraordinary expences for prosecutions relating to the coin, for 1797	1,800	0	0
Carried forward	1,609,467	13	8½

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought forward	1,609,467	13	8½
Towards defraying the charge of printing the Journals of the House of Commons, of printing and delivering the Votes, and of printing bills, reports, and other papers, for 1797	7,000	0	0
Ditto of the superintendence of the alien act for 1797	2,000	0	0
Towards defraying the expences of the settlement at New South Wales, for 1797	30,000	0	0
Ditto of allowances to American sufferers, for 1797	46,120	0	0

27 April.

Upon account, to enable his Majesty to make a temporary advance, by way of loan, for the service of the Emperor	200,000	0	0
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2 May.

To enable his Majesty to make advances, by way of loan, for the service of the Emperor	1,880,000	0	0
Provision for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on a loan of 3,500,000 <i>l.</i> to be raised on account of the Emperor.			
To enable his Majesty to make remittances, from time to time, to be applied to his service in Ireland, on provision being made by the parliament of that kingdom for defraying the interest and charges of a loan to that amount	1,500,000	0	0

6 May.

For the marriage portion of the Princess Royal	80,000	0	0
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18 May.

To pay bills drawn on and accepted by the Lords of the Treasury	1,650,000	0	0
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26 June.

Towards the relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, for 1797	180,000	0	0
For his Majesty's secret service abroad for 1797	150,000	0	0
For support of the Veterinary College	1,500	0	0

13 July.

To defray the sums which the Commissioners under the American Treaty have awarded to be paid by the British Government; and the expences attending the said commission	38,454	14	3½
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7,374,443 8 0½

NATIONAL

l. s. d.

NATIONAL DEBT.

26 June 1797.

To the Bank of England, to be by them placed to
the account of the Commissioners for reduction of
the national debt — —

200,000 0 0

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

31 October, 1796.

Provision to satisfy Exchequer bills, made out by vir-
tue of act of last session, for enabling his Majesty to
raise the sum of 2,500,000l.

25 April, 1797.

For paying off the Exchequer bills issued pursuant to
the said act — —

1,110,000 0 0

Ditto issued on the credit of the growing produce of
the consolidated fund, for the service of 1796

1,370,000 0 0

18 May.

Towards paying off the Exchequer bills made out in
pursuance of act of last session for granting land tax
and malt duties — —

833,000 0 0

3,313,000 0 0

DEFICIENCIES.

24 December, 1796

To repay to the Bank of England the like sum ad-
vanced by them, on the credit of the growing pro-
duce of the consolidated fund, for the service of
1795 — —

1,054,000 0 0

25 April, 1797.

To make good the sum of 3,500,000l. charged by act
of last session on the consolidated fund, for the ser-
vice of 1796 — —

2,177,000 0 0

3,231,000 0 0

VOTE OF CREDIT.

10 July, 1797.

To enable his Majesty to afford pecuniary assistance
to the Queen of Portugal, and to defray such ex-
traordinary expences, and take such measures as
the exigency of affairs may require

500,000 0 0

Total of Supply 44,783,262 3 5½

Ways and Means for raising the Supplies for 1797.

ANNUAL GRANTS.

20 October, 1796.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry	750,000	0	0
For raising four shillings in the pound on land, &c.	2,000,000	0	0

20 December.

That the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land tax.

6 July, 1797.

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the same.

2,750,000 0 0

EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

1 November, 1796.

For granting annuities to satisfy Navy, Victualling, and Transport bills, made out on or before 31st December 1795.

Ditto made out after 31st December 1795, and on or before 30th April 1796.

Ditto made out after 30th April 1796, and on or before 31st July 1796.

Ditto made out after 31st July 1796, and on or before 27th October 1796.

For granting annuities, in lieu of Exchequer bills, made out pursuant to act of last session for raising 2,500,000*l.* thereby.

1 December.

For applying 420,000*l.* now remaining in the Exchequer, being the disposeable overplus of the grants for 1796

420,000 0 0

8 December.

For raising 18,000,000*l.* by annuities

18,000,000 0 0

22 December.

Allowing an interest, by way of discount, to persons paying in the whole of their contribution money towards the loan of 18,000,000*l.*

Carried over 18,420,000 0 0

174 APPENDIX TO CHRONICLE.

l. s. d.
Brought over 18,420,000 0 0

27 April, 1797.

For raising 13,000,000l. by annuities — 13,000,000 0 0

2 May.

That the contributors to the loan of 13,000,000, who shall be possessed of certain Exchequer bills, may pay them in on account of the next instalment.

That the contributors to the loan of 13,000,000l. shall be allowed interest for proportional parts of sums paid in advance for completing any instalment.

5 May.

For raising 1,500,000l. by annuities — 1,500,000 0 0

18 May.

That the contributors to the loan of 14,500,000l. shall make their future payments on the sum of 1,620,000l. part of a further loan of 3,500,000l. on or before certain days specified.

1 June.

For granting an additional annuity to the contributors towards the loan of 18,000,000l.

6 July.

For raising 646,250l. by a lottery — 646,250 0 0

For raising 3,500,000l. by Exchequer bills 3,500,000 0 0

11 July.

For applying 2,000,000l. out of the monies that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund 2,000,000 0 0

39,066,250 0 0

Total of Ways and Means 41,816,250 0 0

S T A T E P A P E R S

Message from the King to the House of Commons, Feb. 27, 1797.

“ GEORGE R.

“ **H**IS Majesty thinks it proper to communicate to the House of Commons, without delay, the measure adopted to obviate the effects which might be occasioned by the unusual demand of specie, lately made from different parts of the country, on the metropolis.

“ The peculiar nature and exigency of the case appeared to require, in the first instance, the measure contained in the order of council which his Majesty has directed to be laid before the House. In recommending this important subject to the immediate and serious attention of the House of Commons, his Majesty relies with the utmost confidence on the experienced wisdom and firmness of his parliament, for taking such measures as may be best calculated to meet any temporary pressure; and to call forth, in the most effectual manner, the extensive resources of his kingdoms in support of their public and commercial credit, and in defence of their dearest interests. G. R.”

his Motion for Peace, published by him with the following Preface :

Portman-square, Mar. 27, 1797.

IT was my intention to have entered my protest on the Journals of the House of Lords the day after I moved my address to his Majesty for peace, and for that purpose I went to the clerk's office; but, to my utter surprise, I found that my address had never been entered upon the Journals. Upon enquiry, I was informed that Lord Kenyon had taken it home with him. I wish at all events that the public should be in possession of my protest; and I hereby pledge myself to my country and to the House of Lords, that I will this day, in my place in that House, demand the fullest reparation for this insult, offered through me to the whole House, in this illegal and unprecedented manner.

DISSENTIENT. First, Because seeing no means of salvation for this country but by an immediate, sincere, and lasting peace, I think the address which I moved March 23, 1797, calculated to produce that happy event; and that a refusal to carry that address to the throne tends to a continuation of this cruel war, which I hold to be certain and inevitable ruin.

Secondly, Because a Secretary of State's moving, That an address to

Lord Oxford's Protest against the Decision of the House of Lords on

his Majesty, on the 30th of December, 1796, should be read, is a poor, weak, and rude manner (to say no words of it), of answering the arguments advanced in my address.

Thirdly, Because I believe that the arguments advanced by me, have never before been touched upon, even in debate; and no attempts having been made to answer those arguments, the conclusion which the public must draw from it is, that they are perfectly unanswerable.

Fourthly, Because it was my sincere wish that the eyes of his Majesty should be opened to the dangers with which he is surrounded; and that giving peace to his exhausted subjects, and restoring to them their rights, should be his own gracious act.

Fifthly, Because I have the highest authority for every sentiment respecting the "economy and reform of abuses" which I recommended; namely, his Majesty's own words, in that most excellent and patriotic speech made at the close of the American war, and which I quoted in my reply.

Sixthly, Because, whenever a nation is in the situation we are in at present, it requires the united energy and public spirit of the whole nation to re-establish its credit; and I am persuaded that energy and public spirit are only to be obtained by the public possessing their ancient free constitution, which they so justly revere; and I maintain, that according to common law, which is common sense, and according to "the true spirit of the constitution," which is founded in wisdom, liberty, and justice, the people of Great Britain have a right, and ought to be fairly and equally represented in

that which, by its very name, is their House of Parliament.

Seventhly, Because I hold the borough system, and every other system of corruption that has of late years crept into practice, to be directly contrary to the true spirit of the constitution, and big with the most alarming evils to the King and people; and that to confer the honour of peerage on men who have no other merit than that of commanding boroughs and performing ministerial jobs, degrades that high dignity, and takes away one of the greatest motives that actuates the human mind, the hope of reward, by making it unworthy the acceptance of those men for whom it was intended; men who have rendered great and distinguished services to their country, by their valour, their talents, or their learning.

Eighthly, Because I am desirous of making this public avowal of my principles, which nothing on earth shall make me alter, and which I have learnt from the acts and writings of our ancestors, who loved liberty, and understood it.

Ninthly, Because I am resolved, whenever I see danger, boldly and independently, to the full extent of my ability, to discharge my duty to my King and country.

OXFORD AND MORTIMER.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 3d of April, 1797.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty having agreed to the marriage of his eldest daughter, the Princess Royal, with the Hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg, has thought fit to communicate intelligence of it to the House
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of Commons. His Majesty is fully persuaded that the marriage of her Royal Highness with a protestant prince, so considerable in rank and station, who is connected with the royal family by common descent from the Princess Sophia of Hanover, cannot but be acceptable to all his subjects; and the many proofs of affection and attachment to his person and family which he has received from this House, afford him no room to doubt that they will enable him to give such a portion to his eldest daughter as may be suitable to the dignity of the crown.

experience the ready concurrence of his faithful Commons, at this important conjuncture, in a measure calculated to enable the Emperor the more effectually to continue his exertions for the support of the common cause, and for the attainment of a general peace, on secure and equitable terms.

And his Majesty relies on the zeal and affection of his faithful Commons to provide for enabling his Majesty to defray such other extraordinary expences as may be necessary for the public service, and to take such measures as the exigency of affairs may require.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 29th April, 1797.

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty recommends it to the House of Commons to consider of enabling his Majesty to make remittances, from time to time, to be applied to his service in Ireland, in such manner as shall be approved by the parliament of that kingdom, to an amount not exceeding 1,500,000*l.* on provision being made by the parliament of Ireland for discharging the interest and charges of a loan to that amount.

And his Majesty further recommends to the House to consider of guaranteeing a loan, on account of his ally the Emperor, to be applied in making good the advances to the amount of 1,600,000*l.* which have already been made to his Imperial Majesty, and to defray the charge of such further advances as his Majesty may, from time to time, direct to be made in the course of the present year, to an amount not exceeding 2,000,000*l.*

His Majesty trusts, that he shall

Protest of the Duke of Bedford and Lord Chedworth, on the Duke's Motion for the Dismissal of Ministers, May 20th, 1797.

DISSENTIENT.

1st. **B**ECAUSE, acting according to the ancient practice of the British constitution, and in conformity with its true principles, we hold the advisers of the crown to be responsible for the condition of the state; responsible for its internal peace and general good government; for the preservation of all its ancient fundamental rights and liberties; for the protection of its commerce, of its credit, and the various sources of its prosperity and wealth; for the observance of order, discipline, and obedience, in all the departments of the public force; for the honour and success of our arms (if unfortunately engaged in war); for the preponderance of the British power, and for the glory and splendor of the British name. Instead of recognising in his Majesty's ministers that ability, foresight, and integrity, by which there its dearest

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dearest interests are preserved, we have seen, throughout a course of years, the affairs of the nation conducted with that incapacity, perfidy, and corruption, by which all great empires, from the beginning of the world, have found their ruin; and which, in the particular state and situation of Great Britain, have nearly exhausted its resources and its credit, and annihilated its constitution; which have brought shame upon its character in the eyes of foreign nations, and diffused largely among its subjects mistrust in the intentions of their governors, hatred of their power, and contempt for their debility.

2dly. Because, encouraged by the uniform, implicit, and fatal confidence of this House in the conduct of ministers, a system of government has arisen, which, if it be further persevered in, will render the fortunes of these realms utterly irretrievable, even should wisdom and virtue succeed in the minds of those ministers to ignorance and wickedness. That system is governed by principles the very reverse of those by which states and societies have hitherto been kept together. It is grounded on the doctrine that honour and reward is to attend on crime and folly, and that men are to be entrusted with power in proportion to their disposition to abuse it. Such perverted maxims of policy take from government all the support it derives from opinion. The opinion of its consistency is lost by ministers adopting and rejecting, as it suits the purpose of their power, systems which they alternately recommend and revile. The opinion of its justice is destroyed from seeing that power depends on a principle which

confounds the first distinctions of right and wrong. All opinion of its vigour and efficiency is lost in the daily insults to its authority, to which they are compelled to submit. Every species of disorder is hence introduced. The example of those who govern is followed by those who obey. Nothing regular or orderly is found in the intercourse between subject and sovereign. State necessity, instead of being reserved for occasions of the last emergency, is resorted to as the constant and every-day practice of executive administration. In such a system there is neither order nor freedom; and it is the energy of freedom alone that can resist with effect the zeal or fancied superiority of military means. Where no power is left to correct the vices of an ill administered commonwealth, nothing will remain to oppose to the enterprises of a foreign enemy.

3dly. Because to suffer ourselves to be found by a foreign enemy in this distracted condition, when we have the means of avoiding it, seems to us highly impolitic, and wantonly to call down destruction upon the state. We see nothing in the present ministers so valuable as to induce us to risk, for their preservation, any part of the common interest. They have already kindled, by their odious persecution of the Catholics in Ireland, the flames of civil discord in that country. We believe that an immediate change of men and of measures would yet preserve the common ties by which the two countries are united. If, unhappily, measures of intolerance are to be sustained by the sword, and if that oppressed country be torn from the British crown, as America was severed from

from our empire, rather than that these ministers should incur the loss of their offices, we are unable to see in what Great Britain would be the gainer. If an invasion of these realms should be the result of delaying to open a sincere negotiation for peace, fully as we rely upon the zeal and bravery of our countrymen for the event, we do not conceive that the mischief of such an attempt would in any degree be compensated by finding, at the close of it, those ministers still in their offices. Above all things, we deem it highly inexpedient that any numerous or important class of the people should, in so perilous a moment, conceive themselves to be placed in the alternative between foreign conquest and domestic usurpation. We think that in this crisis no excuse is left for not calling forth the whole wisdom, and all that remains of the energy of the British nation; that it is among the crimes of these ministers that they have exhausted in idle alarms, for factious purposes, those resources which ought to have been preserved whole and unbroken, to meet the disasters which are impending over us; and for having set up a cry of loyalty against liberty, to the destruction of that real strength by which alone our shores and our altars can, in the last extremity, be defended.

4thly. Because such a system is dangerous to our present safety and existence as an independent state; and the support uniformly given to it, tends to degrade and vilify this House in the opinion of the people. For the first time in our history, the continuance of a minister in office seems to be made a condition of the constitution. If that minister, after having reduced

his country to the lowest ebb of shame and misery, shall continue to receive and to dispense all trusts, honours, and emoluments, and to be supported in his abandoned courses by this House, no motive will remain to love and reverence a constitution exhibited in these colours to the people, through the medium of this House. Feeling no interest in our proceedings, they will lose all respect for our character, and all belief in our honour.

5thly. Because we believe the present ministers to be utterly incompetent to the cure of the evils they have produced. As the principles on which they have made the war offer no prospect for its success, those on which they have hitherto negotiated for peace, afford no hope for its attainment: as the improvidence and incapacity with which they have conducted the war, have contributed so largely to produce the calamitous situation of Europe, and to build up the prodigious power of the French republic, we conceive that they possess not the means of obtaining safe or honourable terms of peace for this country. We cannot expect that they will hereafter cherish or encourage that spirit of liberty under which, in former times, our greatness has grown and been matured. We are rather impressed with the fear that, under the same pretences which have caused all our present disasters, large military establishments will continue to be kept up, with a view of crushing all its efforts, and rivetting still closer the fetters of the people; that, released from the pressure of foreign hostility, they will have recourse to coercive measures in that unhappy country, where their oppressions

have already provoked the people to resistance. We can hope for no economy from men whose extravagance and waste exceeds whatever has been heard of the mad prodigality of former periods. We can expect no salutary reformati^ons from those who have endeavoured to engraft upon and bleed with the substance of the constitution itself, those abuses by which their rapacity is supported. Finally, we can expect from such men and such a system, no other issue but the establishment of a dominion of ministerial terrorism, supported by parliamentary corruption, instead of the ancient constitution of this country, conducted according to the principles of the Revolution.

(Signed) BEDFORD.
CHEDWORTH.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, June 1st, 1797.

GEORGE R.

IT is with the deepest concern his Majesty acquaints the House of Commons, that the conduct of the crews of some of his Majesty's ships now at the Nore, in persisting in the most violent and treasonable acts of mutiny and disobedience, notwithstanding the full extension to them of all the benefits which had been accepted with gratitude by the rest of his Majesty's fleet, and notwithstanding the repeated offers of his Majesty's gracious pardon on their returning to their duty, have compelled his Majesty to call on all his faithful subjects to give their utmost assistance in repressing such dangerous and criminal proceed-

ings. His Majesty has directed a copy of the proclamation which he has issued for this purpose, to be laid before the House; and he cannot doubt that his parliament will adopt with readiness and decision every measure which can tend, at this important conjuncture, to provide for the public security; and his Majesty particularly recommends it to the consideration of parliament to make more effectual provision for the prevention and punishment of all traiterous attempts to excite sedition and mutiny in his Majesty's service, or to withdraw any part of his Majesty's forces by sea or land from their duty and allegiance to him, and from that obedience and discipline which are so important to the prosperity and the safety of the British empire.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, July 6th, 1797.

GEORGE R.

AS the state of public business may soon enable his Majesty to put an end to the present session, his Majesty thinks it proper to recommend it to the House of Commons to consider of making provision to enable his Majesty to defray such extraordinary expences, and to take such measures as the exigencies of affairs may require; and in particular, to afford some pecuniary assistance, if the circumstances should appear to his Majesty to require it, to his ally the Queen of Portugal, for the defence of her dominions against any attack from the common enemy.

His

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament on proroguing the same, 20th of July, 1797.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I CANNOT put an end to this session of parliament without returning you my most sincere and cordial thanks for the assiduity and zeal with which you have applied yourselves to the important objects which have required your attention, and for the wisdom and firmness which you have manifested in the new and difficult emergencies for which you have had to provide.

I must particularly express the just sense I entertain of the salutary and effectual provisions which you made for strengthening the means of national defence; and the measures adopted for obviating the inconveniences which were to be apprehended to credit from the temporary suspension of payments in cash by the Bank, as well as of the promptitude, vigour, and effect with which you afforded me your assistance and support in suppressing the daring and treasonable mutiny which broke out in a part of my fleet, and in counteracting so dangerous and pernicious an example.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that, since the accession of the present Emperor of Russia, the commercial engagements between the two countries have been renewed in such a manner as will, I doubt not, materially conduce to their mutual interests.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I MUST return you my particular thanks for the liberal and extensive provision which you have made for the various exigencies of

the public service; and while I lament the necessity which increased them to so large an amount, it is a consolation to me to observe the attention you employed in distributing the heavy burthens, which they occasioned, in such a manner as to render their pressure as little severe as possible to my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE issue of the important negotiation in which I am engaged is yet uncertain; but, whatever may be the event, nothing will have been wanting on my part to bring it to a successful termination, on such conditions as may be consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of my dominions. In the mean time, nothing can so much tend to forward the attainment of peace, as the continuance of that zeal, exertion, and public spirit, of which my subjects have given such conspicuous and honourable proofs, and of which the perseverance and firmness of parliament has afforded them so striking an example.

Copy of the whole of the Proceedings relative to the late Negotiation at Lisle, from its first Opening to its final Rupture, which was presented by his Majesty on the 3d of November to both Houses of Parliament. The Papers thus presented are fifty-four in number, the eleven first of which relate chiefly to the Preliminary Arrangement that took place previous to Lord Malmesbury's departure for Lisle.

1. **A** NOTE from Lord Grenville to M. Delacroix, dated June 1st, proposing, in consequence of the signature of the preliminary

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liminaries

liminaries of peace, the conclusion of which was to put an end to the continental war, to enter without delay upon the discussion of the views and pretensions of Great Britain and France, for the purpose of signing preliminaries of peace, which might be definitively arranged at the future congress.

2. A Note from M. Delacroix to Lord Grenville, dated June 4th, expressive of the eagerness of the Executive Directory to receive the pacific overtures of the court of London, and of their desire that the negotiations should be set on foot at once for a definitive treaty: a proceeding which they conceived preferable to a congress, the result of which must be remote.

3. A Note from Lord Grenville to M. Delacroix, dated June 8th, announcing the determination of the British government to send without delay a minister to treat and conclude with the plenipotentiary who should be appointed by the Executive Directory; desiring to be informed of the wish of the Directory as to the place of the negotiation; and requesting the necessary passports for the King's Plenipotentiary to repair immediately to the place appointed.—The question of signed preliminary, or definitive articles, his Lordship observed, would necessarily depend upon the progress and turn of the negotiation.

4. A Note from M. Delacroix to Lord Grenville, dated June 11th, expressive of the satisfaction of the Executive Directory at the pacific disposition manifested by the court of London; enclosing the necessary passports, and informing him that the Directory had fixed upon Lisle as the place of negotiation.

5. The passport, in the following form:

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Union."

"In the name of the French Republic.

"To all officers, civil and military, charged to maintain public order in the different departments of France, and to make the French name respected abroad.

"Allow to pass freely
furnished with the full powers of his Britannic Majesty for the purpose of negotiating, concluding, and signing a definitive and separate treaty of peace with the French Republic,
native of, &c. &c.

going to Lisle, department of the north, the place appointed for the negotiation, without giving or suffering any hindrance to be given to him.

"This passport shall be in force for decades only.

"Given at Paris the 23d Priarial, 5th year of the Republic, one and indivisible.

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs,
(Signed) "CH. DELACROIX.

"By the Minister,
(Signed) "T. GUIRADET."

6. A Note from Lord Grenville to M. Delacroix, dated June 17th, agreeing to Lisle being made the seat of the negotiation; desiring a free communication between the ports of Calais and Dover; objecting to the terms in which the passport was drawn up, as not answering exactly to the powers and mission of the King's Plenipotentiary, whose full powers would include every case, and, without prescribing to him any particular mode of negotiation, would give him the most unlimited authority to conclude any articles or treaties, whether preliminary

preliminary or definitive, as might best conduce to the speedy re-establishment of peace, the minister being equally ready and authorized to begin the negotiation upon either footing. As to what regarded the question of a separate treaty, his Majesty insisted on providing for what was due to the Queen of Portugal, being willing to enter into the necessary explanations with respect to the interest of Spain and Holland. This note concludes with announcing the appointment of Lord Malmesbury as his Majesty's Plenipotentiary.

7. A Note from M. Delacroix to Lord Grenville, dated June 20th, expressive of the perfect coincidence of the Directory in the sentiments of his Britannic Majesty, stated in the foregoing note; agreeing to send a new passport; consenting to receive Lord Malmesbury as Plenipotentiary from the King, although "another choice would have appeared to them to augur more favourably for the speedy conclusion of peace," and desiring that "couriers should not be sent too frequently, the frequent sending of them having been one of the principal causes of the rupture of the former negotiation."

8. A Note from Lord Grenville to M. Delacroix, dated June 26th, announcing that Lord Malmesbury would set out for Lisle on the 30th, to negotiate for a definitive treaty. The remark respecting his Lordship, the note says, did not require an answer. "With regard to the rupture of the last negotiation, the circumstances and the motives of it were known to all Europe: and it was not at the moment of entering into a new pacific discussion that the British government conceived

it could be of any use to recall them to recollection.

9. A Note from M. Delacroix to Lord Grenville, dated June 29th, stating that the French Plenipotentiaries were already at Lisle, and that the necessary provisions had been made respecting packet boats and couriers.

10. An Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 6th, announcing that he had that morning had his first conference with the French Plenipotentiaries, when they mutually exchanged their full powers. Nothing more then passed.

11. A copy of the full Powers of the French Plenipotentiaries, Lestourneur, Pelley, and Maret, and the Secretary General Colchen, to agree upon and sign the articles of the treaty, conformably to the instructions of the Executive Directory.

(No. 12.)

Extracts of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, July 11, 1797.

I HAD the honour in my last, by Brooks, of the 6th instant, to inform your Lordship of my arrival here, of the manner in which I had been received, and of my having, in the usual form, exchanged my full powers with the French Plenipotentiaries. On Friday the 7th, at noon, we held our second conference. I opened this second conference with the French Plenipotentiaries, by saying, that I myself had no observations to make on their full powers, which appeared to be conformable to those usually given by the Directory to their

Plenipotentiaries,

Plenipotentiaries, and of course must be considered as sufficient for the purposes expressed in them; that I, however, had transmitted them by a messenger to my court, and reserved to myself the right of communicating any objections or remarks which I might receive by the return of my messenger, relative to them. M. Le Tourneur, to whom, as president of the commission, I addressed myself, replied, that they had taken precisely the same steps as myself; that they considered the full powers I had given in, as in due form, and sufficient; but that they also reserved to themselves the same right, in regard to instructions they might receive from the Directory on this subject, as I had claimed in regard to my court. To this, of course, I assented. On Saturday, the 8th instant, I gave in the *projet* precisely as I had received it from your Lordship; a copy of which (A) as it is translated into French, I think it my duty to inclose. One of the French Plenipotentiaries proposed that some time should be given them to take the proposals I had made into consideration, and begged of me, merely for the sake of accuracy, and to help their memory, that I would be good enough either to let M. Colchen put down on paper, or myself send them a note containing the words with which I wished the Articles left in blank to be filled up. I readily acquiesced in the latter mode, and immediately on my return sent them the inclosed note (B). On Sunday evening I received the inclosed note (C) from the French Plenipotentiaries, and in consequence of it went to the proposed conference yesterday. One of the French Plenipotentiaries informed

me on the subject of the *projet* I had given them, and the note with which I had accompanied it, that as these papers contain many points on which their instructions did not enable them to answer, they had, after having given them a very serious attention, sent them, with such observations as they had thought it their duty to make on them, to the Directory, and that the moment they received an answer, they would communicate it to me. But that in the meanwhile, not to delay the progress of the negotiation, they wished that several points which he termed insulated, but which, though not referred to in our *projet*, were, he said, inseparably connected with the general subject of peace, might be discussed and got rid of now if I had no objection, and that it was with this view they had requested me to meet them. — On my not expressing any disapprobation to this mode of proceeding, one of the French Plenipotentiaries began, by saying, that in the preamble of the treaty the title of King of France was used; that this title they contended could no longer be insisted on; the abolition of it was in a manner essential to the full acknowledgement of the French Republic, and that as it was merely titular as far as related to his Majesty, but quite otherwise in the sense in which it applied to them, he hoped it would not be considered as an important concession. — I informed him, that on all former occasions a separate article had been agreed to, which appeared to me to answer every purpose they required, and which it was my intention, as the treaty advanced, to have proposed, as proper to make part of this. The article

article (the first of the separate ones in the treaty of 1783) was then read; but they objected to it, as not fully meeting their views. It was to the title itself, as well as to any right which might be supposed to arise from it, that they objected. I could scarce allow myself to treat this mode of reasoning seriously. I endeavoured to make them feel that it was cavilling for a mere word; that it was creating difficulties where none existed; and that if all the French monarchs in the course of three centuries had allowed this to stand in the preamble of all treaties and transactions between the two countries, I could not conceive, after its having been used for so long a period without any claim or pretension being set forth in consequence of it, how it could now affect either the dignity, security, or importance of the Republic—that in fact such titles have ever been considered as indefeasible, and as memorials and records of former greatness, and not as pretensions to present power—and I quoted the titles of the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, &c. as examples exactly in point. I argued however in vain. They treated it very gravely, and made so strong a stand upon it, that I could not avoid taking it for reference, which I thought it better to do than, feeling as I did at the moment, to push the conversation farther.

The second insulated point was a very material one indeed, and which, although it has been adverted to as a proposal that might possibly be brought forward, I confess came upon me unexpectedly. — It was to ask either a restitution of the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon, or an equivalent for them.

They grounded this claim on the preliminary declaration made by Lord Hood on his taking possession of Toulon; and on the eighth article of the Declaration of the Committee of the Sections to him. They said, peace, they hoped, was about to be re-established; that his Majesty, in acknowledging the Republic, admitted that a sovereignty existed in the French Government; and, of course, that the ships, held only as a deposit by England till this legal authority was admitted, ought now to be restored. I replied, that this claim was so perfectly unlooked for, that it was impossible for me to have been provided for it in my instructions, and that I could therefore only convey my own private sentiments on it, which were, that they could not have devised a step more likely to defeat the great end of our mission. One of the French Plenipotentiaries said, that he sincerely hoped not; that without a restitution of the ships, an equivalent might be found to effect the purpose desired, since their great object was, that something should appear to prove that this just demand had not been overlooked by them, and was not left unsatisfied by us. I told him fairly, I did not see where this equivalent was to be found, or how it could be appreciated; and that considering the great advantages France had already obtained by the war, and those she was likely to obtain from the act of condescension I had already intimated his Majesty was disposed to make in order to restore peace, I was much surprised and deeply concerned at what I heard. I trusted, therefore, that this very inadmissible proposal would be withdrawn. They said it was not in

their

their power; and one of them, from a written paper before him, which he said were his instructions, read to me words to the effect I have already stated.

Their third question was as to any mortgage we might have upon the Low Countries, in consequence of money lent to the Emperor by Great Britain—they wished to know if any such existed, since, as they had taken the Low Countries, charged with all their incumbrances, they were to declare that they should not consider themselves bound to answer any mortgage given for money lent to the Emperor, for the purpose of carrying on war against them.

I told them, that without replying to this question, supposing the case to exist, the exception they required should have been stated in their treaty with the Emperor, and could not at all be mixed up in ours; that if they had taken the Low Countries, as they stood charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant, and that if no exception was stated in the first instance, none could be made with a retroactive effect.

The French Plenipotentiaries, however, were as tenacious on this point as on the other two; and as I found to every argument I used that they constantly opposed their instructions, I had nothing to do but to desire that they would give me a written paper stating their three claims, in order that I might immediately transmit it to your Lordship; and on this being promised, our conference broke up.

Between four and five, P. M. yesterday, I received the enclosed note (D); and I have left no time

since it is in my possession in preparing to send away a messenger, as independent of the disagreeable subjects brought forward in this last conference, and which it is material should be communicated without delay. I am anxious his Majesty should be informed of what has passed in general up to this day, as it may perhaps furnish some ideas as to the possible event of the negotiation.

No. 13. (A)

Project of a Treaty of Peace.

BE it known to all those whom it shall or may in any manner concern. The most Serene and most Potent Prince, George the Third, by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, Arch Treasurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire,—and the Executive Directory of the French Republic, being equally desirous to put an end to the war, which has for some time past subsisted between the dominions of the two parties, have named and constituted for their Plenipotentiaries, charged with the concluding and signing of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the King of Great Britain, the Lord Baron of Malmesbury, a Peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath, Privy Counsellor to his Britannic Majesty and the Executive Directory of the French Republic, who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:—

I.—As soon as this treaty shall be signed and ratified, there shall be an universal and perpetual peace,

as

as well by sea as by land, and a sincere and constant friendship between the two contracting parties, and their dominions, and territories, and people, without exception of either places or persons; so that the high contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintaining between themselves and their said dominions, territories, and people, this reciprocal friendship and intercourse, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hostilities to be committed either by sea or by land, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever. There shall be a general oblivion and amnesty of every thing which may have been done or committed by either party towards the other before or since the commencement of the war; and they shall carefully avoid for the future every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-established.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons of both parties to stop all hostilities; and for the execution of this article, sea-passes shall be given on each side to the ships dispatched to carry the news of peace to the possessions of the two parties.

II.—The treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick of 1697, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix la Chapelle of 1748; the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, and that of Versailles of 1763, serve as a basis

and foundation to the peace, and to the present treaty. And for this purpose they are all renewed and confirmed in the best form, so that they are to be exactly observed for the future in their full tenor, and religiously executed by both parties in all the points, which shall not be derogated from by the present treaty of peace.

III.—All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away or given during the war, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty; each party respectively discharging the advances which shall have been made for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners in the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts, attested accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which shall be furnished on each side; and security shall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the prisoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire release.

IV.—With respect to the rights of fishery on the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, and of the islands adjacent, and in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, the two parties shall return to the same situation in which they stood respectively, according to the treaties and engagements subsisting at the period of the commencement of the war. And with his view, his Majesty consents to restore to France, in full right, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

V.—The same principle of the state of possession before the war, is adopted

adopted by mutual consent, with respect to all other possessions and rights on both sides, in every part of the world, save only the exceptions which are stipulated by the subsequent articles of this treaty. And, to this intent, all possessions or territories which have or may have been conquered by one of the parties from the other (and not specially excepted in this treaty) shall be restored to the party to whom they belonged at the commencement of the present war.

VI.—From this principle of mutual restitution, the two parties have agreed to except which shall remain to his Britannic Majesty, in full sovereignty.

VII.—In all the cases of restitution provided by the present treaty, the fortresses shall be restored in the same condition in which they now are, and no injury shall be done to any works that have been constructed since the conquest of them.

VIII.—It is also agreed, that in every case of restitution or cession provided by any of the articles of this treaty, the term of three years from the date of the notification of the treaty, in the respective territory or place restored or ceded, shall be allowed to persons, of whatever description, residing or being in the said territory or place, possessed of property therein under any title existing before the war, or which has since devolved to them by the laws then existing; during which term of three years they shall remain and reside unmolested in the exercise of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their possessions and effects, upon the conditions and titles under which they so acquired the same, without being

liable, in any manner, or under any pretence, to be prosecuted or sued for their past conduct, except as to the discharge of just debts to individuals; and that all those who, within the time of months after the notification of this treaty, shall declare to the government then established, their intention to withdraw themselves or their effects, and to remove to some other place, shall have and obtain, within one month after such declaration, full liberty to depart and to remove their effects, or to sell and dispose of the same, whether moveable or immoveable, at any time within the said period of three years, without any restraint or hindrance, except on account of debts at any time contracted, or of any criminal prosecution for acts done subsequent to the notification of this treaty.

IX.—As it is necessary to appoint a certain period for the restitutions hereinbefore stipulated, it is agreed that the same shall take place in Europe within (one month)—in Africa and America within (three months)—and in Asia within (six months) after the ratification of the present treaty.

X.—For preventing the revival of the law-suits which have been ended in the territories to be restored by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that the judgments in private causes pronounced in the last resort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, shall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenor.

XI.—The decision of the prizes and seizures of ships and their cargoes taken at sea, or seized in the ports of either country, prior to the hostilities, shall be referred to the respective

effective courts of justice; so that the legality of the said prizes and seizures shall be decided according to the law of nations, and to treaties, in the courts of justice of the nation which shall have made the capture, or ordered the seizures. And, in order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signing of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may be taken in the British Channel and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, shall be restored on each side: --- that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean: two months from the said Canary Islands as far as the equinoctial line or equator: --- three months from the equator to any part to the westward of the Cape of Good Hope and the eastward of Cape Horn: --- and lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

XII. — The allies of the two parties, that is to say, her Most Faithful Majesty as ally of his Britannic Majesty, and his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic as allies of the French Republic, shall be invited by the two contracting parties to accede to this peace on the terms and conditions specified in the three following articles; the execution of which the said two contracting parties reciprocally guarantee to each other, being thereto respectively authorized by their a-

bove-mentioned allies: — And the two contracting parties further agree, that if their allies respectively shall not have so acceded within the space of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the party so refusing to accede, shall not receive from its ally any aid or succour of any nature during the further continuance of the war.

XIII. — His Britannic Majesty engages to conclude a definitive peace with his Catholic Majesty on the footing of the state of possession before the war, with the exception of which shall remain in full sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty.

XIV. — His Britannic Majesty in like manner engages to conclude a definitive peace with the Batavian Republic on the same footing of the state of possession before the war, with the exception of

which shall remain to his Britannic Majesty in full sovereignty, and of which shall be ceded to his Majesty in exchange for

In consideration of these restitutions, to be hereby made by his Britannic Majesty, all property belonging to the Prince of Orange, in the month of December 1794, and which has been seized and confiscated since that period, shall be restored to him, or a full equivalent in money given him for the same. And the French Republic further engages to procure for him, at the general peace, an adequate compensation for the loss of his offices and dignities in the United Provinces; and the persons who have been imprisoned or banished, or whose property has been sequestered or confiscated in the said republic

public, on account of their attachment to the interests of the House of Orange, or to the former government of the United Provinces, shall be released, and shall be at liberty to return to their country, and to reside therein, and to enjoy their property there, conforming themselves to the laws and constitution there established.

XV.—The French Republic engages to conclude a definitive peace with her Most Faithful Majesty on the same footing of the state of possession before the war, and without any further demand or burthensome condition being made on either side.

XVI.—All the stipulations contained in this treaty, respecting the time and manner of making the restitutions therein mentioned, and all the privileges thereby reserved to the inhabitants or proprietors in the islands or territories restored or ceded, shall apply in like manner to the restitutions to be made by virtue of any of the three last articles, viz. the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth, except in those instances where the same may be derogated from by the mutual consent of the parties concerned.

XVII.—All former treaties of peace between the respective parties, to whom the said three articles relate, and which subsisted and were in force at the commencement of hostilities between them respectively, shall be renewed, except in such instances only where the same may be derogated from by mutual consent; and the articles of this treaty for the restoration of prisoners, the cessation of hostilities, and the decision relative to prizes and seizures, shall equally apply to the respective

parties to whom the said three articles relate, and shall be held to be in full force between them, as soon as they shall respectively and in due form have acceded to this treaty.

XVIII.—All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties named in this treaty, on the rights, properties, or debts of individuals belonging to any other of the said parties, shall be taken off, and the property, of whatever kind, shall be restored in the fullest manner to the lawful owner, or just compensation be made for it: And all complaints of injury done to private property, contrary to the usual practice and rules of war, and all claims of private rights or property which belonged to individuals at the periods of the commencement of hostilities respectively between the said parties, viz. Great Britain and Portugal on the one side, and France, Spain, and Holland on the other, and which ought, according to the usual practice and laws of nations, to revive at the period of peace, shall be received, heard, and decided, in the respective courts of justice of the different parties; and full justice therein shall be done by each of the said parties to the subjects and people of the other, in the same manner as to their own subjects or people. And if any complaint should arise respecting the execution of this article, which complaint shall not be settled by mutual agreement between the respective governments within twelve months after the same shall have been preferred to them, the same shall be determined by sworn commissioners to be appointed on each side, with power to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent nation;

nation; and the decision of the said commissioners shall be binding, and without appeal.

XIX. — His Britannic Majesty and the French Republic promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XX. — The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in between the contracting parties, in the space of a month, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty..

In witness whereof, &c. &c.

No. 14. (B.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour of presenting to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, in consequence of the wish expressed by them in the conference of this morning, the following note: which he requests them at the same time to consider, not so much in the light of an official paper as of a verbal and confidential communication, and as a proof of his readiness to facilitate the progress of the negotiation, by giving them, on the very outset, all the explanations in his power on the *project* of the treaty which he has delivered to them.

If, as the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have assured him, it is contrary to their most positive instructions to enter into any discussion relative to the cession of those possessions which belonged to France before the war, it is useless to dwell on the VIth article, since the compensations which his Britannic Majesty might have demanded by that article, in return for the restitutions which he is disposed to make for the re-establishment of peace, must, in consequence of this declaration, be sought for in the cessions to be made by his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian Republic.

Lord Malmesbury therefore proposes to insert in the XIIIth article, after the words *status ante bellum*, the following words: "With the exception of the island of Trinidad, which shall remain in full possession to his Britannic Majesty."

Lord Malmesbury imagines that it is unnecessary for him to repeat the reasons which induce him to insist upon the retaining of this conquest, unless compensation should be made for it by some other cession which shall balance the augmentation of power accruing to France, from the acquisition of the Spanish part of St. Domingo.

With regard to the XIVth article, Lord Malmesbury proposes, that after the words *status ante bellum*, should be added, "With the exception of the town, fort, and establishment of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the possessions which belonged to the Dutch before the war in the island of Ceylon, and of the town and fort of Cochin, which shall be ceded to his Britannic Majesty in exchange for the town of Nega-

Negapatnam and its dependencies."

Lord Malmesbury repeats to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic the assurance of his readiness to concur with them, in every thing which shall depend on him, to bring the negotiation to a happy issue; and requests of them, at the same time, to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Lisle, July 7, 1797.

No. 15. (C.)

A note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated July 9, acknowledging the receipt of the foregoing paper, and proposing a conference with his Lordship on the subject on the following day.

No. 16. (D.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated Lisle.

THE Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic lose no time in complying with the wish expressed to them by the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, by transmitting to him a note on the three points which were the subject of their conference of this day.

I. They have positive orders to require the renunciation of the title of the King of France, borne by his Britannic Majesty. Lord Malmesbury is requested to observe, that the question is not only of a renunciation of the rights which might be pretended to be derived from this title, but further and formally of the title itself. The establishment of the French Republic and the acknowledgment

of this form of government by the King of England, will not allow of his retaining a title which would imply the existence in France of an order of things which is at an end.

II. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republic are ordered to demand the restitution of the vessels taken or destroyed at Toulon. Great Britain has publicly and formally declared that these vessels were taken in trust for the King of France. This trust is sacred. It incontestibly belongs to the Republic, which exercises the rights and the sovereignty that Great Britain attributed to Louis XVII. at the period of the capture of Toulon. His Britannic Majesty cannot, therefore, in acknowledging the French Republic, deny its right to the restitution required, or refuse either to make the restitution, or to offer an equivalent for it.

III. The Ministers Plenipotentiary have orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, of the mortgage on Belgium.—That country was mortgaged for the loans made by the Emperor in England. It has become an integral part of the French Republic, and cannot be burthened with such a mortgage.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurance of their high consideration.

(Signed)

LE TOURNEUR.

PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.

HUGUES B. MARET.

*Lisle, le 22 Messidor, 5th year
of the Republic,
(July 10, 1797.)*

COLCHEN,
Sec. Gen. of the Legation.
No.

(No. 17.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 13, 1797.

WITH respect to the demands contained in the note transmitted to your Lordship by the French ministers, they have been naturally received here with great surprise. On the subject of the Netherlands as connected with the Austrian loans, it is conceived that any explanation between his Majesty and the French government is wholly unnecessary. The loans raised in England for the service of the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by act of parliament here, rest, as your Lordship will perceive by the annexed copy of the convention on that subject, upon the security of all the revenues of all the hereditary dominions of his Imperial Majesty. They do not seem in any manner to come under the description contained in the VIth article of the preliminaries between Austria and France, respecting mortgages upon the soil of the Netherlands; on which ground alone France could have any pretence to interfere in the business. Nor is this subject one which appears to be in any manner a fit point of discussion between his Majesty and the Republic; the King neither forms, nor has any intention of forming any demand on the French government for the payment of any part either of the interest or capital of those loans. It is to the Emperor alone that his Majesty looks for the performance of his Imperial Majesty's engagements to him; and it is upon the Austrian government, and upon its revenues, that individuals concerned in those loans

have claims of private right, and means of personal demand, secured to them by the convention.

On the other two points I have nothing to add to the observations which your Lordship has already made upon them: and we can therefore only wait with patience for the answer to the *projet* delivered by your Lordship, which will enable us to form a judgment on the intentions of the government with whom we are treating.

Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 18.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 16th July, 1797.

IT was at the express invitation of the French Plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; one of them stated their motive for wishing to confer with me, not to be in consequence of any answer they had received from Paris on the subject of the *projet*, which, he observed, could not be expected so soon, but to resume the discussion on the article which he had objected to on my first reading the *projet*, and on which they conceived it was possible and even expedient to argue before we entered on the more important branches of the negotiation. It was Article II. that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein mentioned, from various reasons: First, That many, and even most of them, were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; Secondly, That they were in contradiction to the new order of things established in France, as they seem to imply an acknowledgement that a portion of the re-

gal authority is still existing; Thirdly, That they might be supposed to apply to conventions and stipulations, in direct contradiction to their present form of government; and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I trust in a way that would have done away his apprehensions on this point, when another of them interposed, by saying, That their sincere and only desire was that the treaty we were now entering upon might be so framed as to secure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inserted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the past as to the future, might be so clearly and distinctly expressed, that no room for cavil might be left. This he assured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew so many treaties in which such various interests were blended, and so many points discussed foreign to the present moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examining carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties, much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted most certainly all that he said, and that it was with this view, and on this principle solely, that the renewal of these treaties was proposed by his Majesty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did) the different wars which were terminated by these treaties, and the many important regulations stipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was simply an acknowledgement of the tenure by

which almost all the sovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French Republic, held their dominions up to this day. That these treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confusion would result from their not being renewed.

He replied, that our object was evidently the same; that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing these treaties *in toto* would the best contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the interests of the two countries, and stating it in one article, was more likely to attain this desirable object. The French minister again repeated, that their first wish was, that the treaty we were now making should be clear, distinct, solid, and lasting, and such a one as could not, at any future period, be broken through without a manifest violation of good faith. And I again repeated, that nothing could be so consonant to my orders, or the intentions of my Royal Master.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries was disposed to dwell on his objections, which were, that these treaties were signed when France was a monarchy, and that any retrospect to those times implied a sort of censure on their present form of government:—but this was arguing on such weak ground, and so incapable of being seriously maintained, that I, to avoid superfluous contradiction, was very willing to let it pass unnoticed. After a good deal of very conciliatory, and even amicable discussion, in which, however, neither party gave much way to the other, it was proposed by them that we should return home, to meet again as soon as was convenient,

venient, after an attentive and deliberate perusal of these treaties, in order to state respectively our ideas on this subject. I observed, that although I was perfectly prepared to do it at the moment, and felt almost bold enough to affirm, that no measure could be devised which would so completely meet our intentions as an unreserved renewal of the treaties they hesitated about, yet I was very willing to acquiesce in their proposal, with this simple observation, that if any delay arose from it, such delay was imputable to them and not to me. My words were, *Je ne me rends pas responsable des longueurs dans lesquelles cette discussion pourrait nous entraîner.* The French minister's answer was, *Si des longueurs servent à déterminer des objets qui pourraient donner lieu à des querelles à l'avenir, ce sera du tems bien employé.* It was not my wish to contest this assertion, and our conference ended with it.

(No. 19.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated July 16, 1797.

My Lord,

Yesterday, at the moment I was preparing to attend the conference, in which we were to enter into fuller discussions on the litigated subject of the renewal of the treaties mentioned in the second article of the *projet*, I received from the French Legation the inclosed paper (A). In about an hour I returned the inclosed answer (B), to which I received the inclosed reply (C); and I am this moment come from the conference which has taken place in consequence of it.

I began by saying, that I had solicited this interview from the same motive which would actuate every part of my conduct; that I wished to make my reports not only correct, but conciliatory, as far as depended on me; and I now was come, in order, if possible, to obtain from them such comments and explanations on the note they sent to me yesterday, as would enable me, when I transmitted it to my court, to secure the negotiation from being interrupted, perhaps abruptly terminated, by the perusal of it. If I understood it right, it meant, that the Directory requires, as a *sine qua non* preliminary, that every thing the King has conquered from all and each of his enemies should be restored, and that, till this restoration was consented to, the negotiation was not even to begin. I said, if I was correct in this statement, and the plain sense of the declaration would bear no other interpretation, I must add, that it would not only most certainly prevent the treaty from beginning, but would leave no room for treating at all, since it deprived his Majesty of every means of negotiation; for I could not suppose that it was in their thoughts to intimate that the principle of the treaty, as far as it related to his Majesty, was to be one of all cession, and no compensation; and yet that was precisely the position in which his Majesty was placed by their note.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries, who had let me proceed rather reluctantly, here stopt me, and said, that he and his colleagues were exceedingly happy that I had expressed a wish to see them before I dispatched my messenger; that they wished to assure me, that they had

thought it dealing fairly and honourably to state what they had received from the Directory in the very words in which it came to them: that they should be sorry if the declaration they had been directed to make me, should be of a nature to interrupt, much less to break off the negotiation; that it was the sincere wish of the Directory that the negotiation should proceed and end successfully; and that, far from shutting the door to further discussions, they were perfectly ready to hear any proposals we had to make, and only wished that these proposals should be, if possible, such as were compatible with their most sacred engagements. I repeated what I had said, that no door was left open if his Majesty was *in limine* to restore every thing; and that a peace on these conditions would not be heard of by the country. I observed, that immediately on leaving them, I should dispatch a messenger; but what that messenger carried would most materially affect the progress and issue of the negotiation; I therefore desired to know whether, in consequence of what I had heard from them, I might consider the strict and literal meaning of the declaration not to be a decided negative (which it certainly seemed to imply) on all compensation whatever to be made to his Majesty, but that proposals tending to this effect would still be listened to. One of them answered, "Certainly; and if they should be found such as it will be impossible for us to admit, we will, on our side, bring forward others for your court to deliberate on." Under this assurance, which at least, to a certain degree, qualifies the declaration

of yesterday, I broke up the conference.

No. 20. (A.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

THE Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have transmitted to their government the *projet* of the treaty, and the note relating thereto, which were delivered to them the 20th of the present month, by the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty. They have just received fresh communications and orders, which require that they should make the following declaration to Lord Malmesbury. — There exists in the public and secret treaties, by which the French Republic is bound to its allies, Spain and the Batavian Republic, articles by which the three powers respectively guarantee the territories possessed by each of them before the war. The French government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it has contracted by these treaties, establishes, as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for peace with England, the consent of his Britannic Majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, not only from the French Republic, but further and formally of those of Spain and the Batavian Republic. In consequence, the undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary request Lord Malmesbury to explain himself with regard to this restitution, and to consent to it, if he is sufficiently authorized to do so; if not, and in the contrary case, to send a messenger to his court, in order to procure

sure the necessary powers. The object of the conference which was to have taken place to-day being necessarily delayed by the purport of the above-mentioned declaration, the ministers plenipotentiary of the Republic have to express to Lord Malmesbury the regret they feel in losing this opportunity of conversing together, which they had themselves solicited:—But in case Lord Malmesbury should have any communication to make to them, they beg him to believe that they will always be happy to receive him, and to listen to him whenever he may think it proper. They request him, at the same time, to accept anew the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

PLEVILLE LE PELLEY.

HUGUES B. MARET.

Liste, 27 Messidor, 5th year of the Republic, (July 15, 1797.)

COLCHEN,

Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

No. 21. (B.)

A short note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated July 15, in answer to the foregoing, stating that his instructions by no means authorise him to admit that which their declaration seemed intended to establish; and requesting a conference with them upon the subject.

No. 22. (C.)

A note from the French Plenipotentiaries in reply to the above, of the same date, appointing the following morning for the proposed conference.

(No. 23.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville

to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's dispatches by the messenger Dreffins, were received here on the 17th instant, at night; and I lost no time in receiving his Majesty's commands on the very important subject of your letter, No. 9.

I am much concerned to be under the necessity of remarking, that the claim brought forward in the note transmitted to your Lordship by the French Plenipotentiaries, is in itself so extravagant, and so little to be reconciled either with the former professions of those ministers, or with their conduct in the previous stages of the negotiation, that it affords the strongest presumption of a determination to preclude all means of accommodation. If such is really the determination of the Directory, nothing can remain for this country but to persevere in opposing, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a system which must tend to perpetuate a state of war and civil tumult in every part of Europe.

The natural step upon the present occasion would therefore have been to direct your Lordship to terminate at once a negotiation which, on the footing now proposed by the enemy, affords neither the hope nor the means of any favourable conclusion; nothing being left for treaty where, as a preliminary step, one party is required to concede every thing, and all compensation from the other is absolutely and at once precluded. His Majesty's servants have, however, observed, that in the conclusion of your Lordship's conference with the French Plenipotentiaries

Plenipotentiaries on the subject of the note in question, the president of that mission informed your Lordship, that it was not intended to resist all compensation for the immense extent of restitution demanded from his Majesty, and for the other obvious circumstances of disadvantage to this country in the situation of Europe, as resulting from the war; and even added, that he and his colleagues would eventually bring forward proposals on this head for the deliberation of the King's government. It appeared possible that some advantage might perhaps arise to the great object of peace, from grounding on this declaration a further proceeding, such as might afford to the Directory (if they are so disposed) the means of replacing the negotiation on a more practicable footing. — With the view therefore of leaving nothing untried which can contribute to restore peace on any suitable terms, his Majesty has been pleased to direct that your Lordship should for that purpose ask another conference with the French Plenipotentiaries. In this conference your Lordship will remark in such terms as the occasion must naturally suggest to you upon the indefensible spirit and tendency of the demand now made by France. You will observe that France, treating in conjunction with her allies, and in their name, cannot, with any pretence of justice and fairness, oppose her treaties with them as an obstacle in the way of any reasonable proposal of peace in which they are to be included. In a separate negotiation, to which they were not parties, such a plea might perhaps have been urged; but in that case France would have been

bound to offer, from her own means, that compensation which she did not think herself at liberty to engage to obtain from her allies. And such was, in fact, as your Lordship must remember, the principle on which his Majesty offered to treat last year, when he was really bound by engagements to Austria, similar to those which are now alleged by France. But it never can be allowed that France, Spain, and Holland, negotiating jointly for a peace with Great Britain, can set up, as a bar to our just demands, the treaties between themselves, from which they are at once able to release each other whenever they think fit.

You will further remark, that even if, contrary to all reason, such a principle could for a moment have been admitted on our part, still even that principle, inadmissible as it is, could only apply to public treaties, known to those who agreed to be governed by them, and not to secret articles, unknown even to the French Plenipotentiaries, or concealed by one of them from the knowledge of the others.

You will add in explicit, though not offensive terms, that the whole of this pretence now set up by France is incontestably frivolous and illusory; being grounded on a supposition of a state of things directly contrary to that which is known really to exist; it being perfectly notorious that both Spain and Holland, so far from wishing to continue the war, were compelled by France to engage in it, greatly against their own wishes; and to undertake, without the means of supporting it, a contest in which they had nothing to gain, and every

ry thing to lose. It never, therefore, can be allowed to be a question of any possible doubt, but that the Directory, if they really wish it, must already have obtained, or could at any moment obtain, the consent of those powers to such terms of peace as have been proposed by his Majesty. If, however, France, from any motive of interest or engagement, is in truth desirous to procure for them the restitution of possessions which they were unable to defend, and have no means to reconquer, the project delivered by your Lordship afforded an opening for this; those articles having been so drawn as to leave it to France to provide a compensation to his Majesty, either out of her own colonies, or out of those of her allies, respectively conquered by his Majesty's arms. The choice between these alternatives may be left to the Directory; but to refuse both is, in other words, to refuse all compensation. This is nevertheless expressly declared not to be the intention of those with whom you treat. It is therefore necessary that your Lordship should demand from them a statement of the proposals which, as they informed you, they have to make, in order to do away this apparent contradiction, which the King's servants are wholly unable to reconcile by any suggestion of theirs, even if it were fitting and reasonable for them to bring forward any new proposals, immediately after the detailed project which was delivered on the part of this country at the outset of the negotiation.

Since that project is not acceded to, we have evidently, and on every ground, a right to expect a counter project, equally full and explicit, on the part of the enemy. You will

therefore state to the French ministers distinctly, that the only hope of bringing this business to a favourable conclusion, is by their stating at once plainly, and without reserve, the whole of what they have to ask, instead of bringing forward separate points one after the other, not only contrary to the avowed principle of the negotiation proposed by themselves, but, as it appears, even contrary to the expectation of the ministers themselves who are employed on the part of France. There can be no pretence for refusing a compliance with this demand, if the Plenipotentiaries of France are disposed to forward the object of peace. And the obtaining such a statement from them is, as I have before stated to your Lordship, a point of so much importance, in any course which this negotiation may take, that it is the King's pleasure that your Lordship should use every possible endeavour to prevent their eluding so just a demand.

After what has passed, it is, I fear, very doubtful whether such a counter project would be framed on principles such as could be admitted here; but it would at all events place the business on its real issue, and bring distinctly into question the several points on which the conclusion of peace, or the prolongation of war, will really depend.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 24.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 20, 1797.

My Lord,

THERE are two separate points on which it is necessary for me to say

say a few words to your Lordship, in addition to the instructions in my other dispatch, on the general subject of the negotiation.

The first relates to the assertion of one of the French ministers, that the Portuguese ships and troops were at Toulon. The fact is very immaterial as to any conclusion that could be drawn from it to affect the situation or just claims of the court of Lisbon; because your Lordship well knows that it is a principle universally recognized in the public law of Europe, that, when one of the parties, in a defensive alliance, furnishes to his ally the stipulated succours, those succours remain entirely at the disposal of the requiring party, to be employed wherever he shall judge proper, subject only to the limitations of the treaty which before existed; and if the amount of those succours is not increased beyond that engaged for, nor the means of using them extended by new facilities, the party furnishing the stipulated assistance is not understood to violate the laws of neutrality.

But the fact, in this case, would not bear out the assertion, even if the argument to be drawn from it were more conclusive; the troops of her Most Faithful Majesty having been, as I apprehend, no otherwise employed than in the two campaigns carried on by land upon the southern part of the frontiers of France and Spain.

The other point relates to what was said to your Lordship about the treaty of Pilnitz. It would certainly not require much argument to prove that the renewal of several treaties enumerated by name and date, and the latest of which was concluded in 1783, does not imply a renewal of another treaty,

supposed to be concluded in 1791. But what is more material to the present case is, that your Lordship should take this opportunity to explain, in the most distinct and unequivocal terms, that if any secret treaty was in fact concluded at the interview at Pilnitz, between the late Emperor and the King of Prussia (which is, to say the least, very doubtful in point of fact) this at least is certain, that his Majesty was no party to such treaty; and not only was not then included in it, but has never since adhered to it, nor even been apprised of its contents. The public declaration which was made at that interview, shews on the face of it that his Majesty was no party to it; and it is, indeed, notorious that it applied to circumstances which were done away long before the war broke out between Austria and France; and that the subsequent negotiations for the maintenance of peace between those powers turned on points wholly distinct from those supposed to have been referred to in the pretended treaty of Pilnitz.

This explanation, however little connected with the present negotiation, seems to be called for by the allusion made to you upon the subject; and, indeed, on a point on which so much misrepresentation has prevailed, it is useful not to omit the opportunity of stating the facts as they really are. I am, &c.

(Signed) GRENVILLE.

Right Hon. Lord Malmesbury.

(No. 25.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 25th July, 1797.

My Lord,
I have the honour to acknowledge

ledge your Lordship's dispatches, No. 19 and 20, of the 20th instant, which were delivered to me on Saturday, the 22d instant, by the messenger Major.

It was impossible that the claim brought forward in the note inclosed in my No. 9, could have produced on your Lordship's mind any impression different from that which you describe; and I am happy to find that the conduct I observed when it was first delivered to me, was such as put it in my power to execute with great consistency the spirited instructions your Lordship now sends me.

Immediately on the arrival of the messenger, I proposed an interview with the French Plenipotentiaries, and we met on Sunday the 23d, at one P. M.

I could not obey his Majesty's orders in a manner more likely to command attention, and to impress those who heard me with a just sense of the mixture of firmness and moderation with which his Majesty was pleased to conduct this important negotiation, than by employing not only the substance, but, as far as was practicable in conversation, the very words of your Lordship's dispatch, No. 19; and if I should attempt to relate minutely what I myself said in this conference, it would in fact be little more than a repetition of them.

I began by observing, that I was certain the French Plenipotentiaries must be fully prepared for what I now had it in command to say: I reminded them that I had taken upon me to affirm when we were last assembled, and immediately before I dispatched my messenger, that the requiring such a preliminary as that proposed in the note,

was putting an end at once to all negotiation, and that I was sure peace on such terms would not be heard of; that the orders I was then about to communicate to them would prove that I had not made this assertion lightly, or in consequence of any hasty opinion of my own, at the same time that it would also appear that my Royal Master was as anxiously and as sincerely inclined to listen to all reasonable and admissible conditions as he was determined to repel and reject all such as were of an opposite description. I then, my Lord, took up my arguments on the precise grounds set forth in your Lordship's No. 19. I neither omitted any thing, nor inserted any thing of my own, which could at all alter its spirit; and I only varied from the letter inasmuch as was necessary to make it applicable to a conference.

My first object was to state, in as forcible a way as possible, the utter inadmissibility of the pretension set forth in the note, the frivolous and illusory reasons alleged for bringing it forward; and I observed that, if it was persevered in, it must lead to this necessary conclusion, that there did exist when it was framed, an intention on the part of the Directory to break off the negotiation in the outset. My second object in point of reasoning, though a very primary one in point of importance, was either to prevent the negotiation breaking off at all, or if this was not to be prevented, to endeavour to be so clear and explicit in my language, and to draw the line so distinctly between such sacrifices as his Majesty might be inclined to make in order to restore so great a blessing as peace, and those to which the dignity of his

Crown



crown and interest of his subjects would never allow him to attend, 2^d to make it impossible that by any future cavil or subterfuge the interruption of the treaty, if unfortunately it should be interrupted, could be imputed to any other cause than the exorbitant demands of the French government; and the latter to ensure this purpose, I explained to them that his Majesty having already, in a detailed *projet*, stated freely and fully his conditions, and these conditions having been at once rejected by a sweeping claim on the part of the French government, it was not fitting or reasonable, neither could it be expected that any new proposals should originate with his Majesty: and that on every ground the King had a right to expect a *contre-projet* from them, stating at once, plainly and without reserve, the whole of what they had to ask, instead of bringing forward separate points, one after another, directly contrary to the principle on which we had agreed to begin the negotiation, and which, from their being insulated, could only tend to protract and impede its progress.

On the first point, on the inadmissibility of the preliminary conditions as proposed by the French government, one of the French Plenipotentiaries said, it was impossible for them to do more than to take it for reference, that the instructions they had received when the Directory sent them the note were precise and positive, and that they had received none since. He therefore had on that point simply to request of me, that I would state in writing the several grounds on which his Majesty rejected this proposition, in order that the report transmitted by them to the Direc-

tory might be correct: and he assured me, that if I did not think it proper to put in writing all the arguments I had used to them in the conference, they would have no scruple of employing those I omitted in such a way as was the best calculated to give them weight, and (to use the French minister's own expression) to place the negotiation once more on its legs.

In regard to the second point, he had no hesitation in agreeing with me, that the best method, and indeed the only one which could accelerate the whole of the business, was for them to give in a *contre-projet*; neither did he attempt to disprove our perfect right to expect one from them before we made any new proposals. But he said that it was not necessary for him to observe, that as long as they were bound by their instructions not to give way on the proposition I had now so decidedly rejected, that it was impossible for them to move a step without new orders from the Directory; that they would ask for these orders immediately, and lose no time in acquainting me when they were received.

I observed, that in our last conference he had intimated to me they were empowered to come to some explanation on the subject of compensation to be made to his Majesty for the great cessions he was disposed to make; that, at the same time, I conceived these explanations were of a nature to qualify the wide claim stated in the note; and that if I had abstained from pressing him further at the moment, it was from perceiving a reluctance on their part to bring them forward:—that, however, if they really had such proposals to make me, and if they were of a nature to meet in substance

stance and effect the basis laid down in the project I had given, I should be well disposed to listen to them.

One of the French ministers, after some hesitation and a sort of silent reference to one of his colleagues, said he thought, as matters now stood, it would be much better to wait their answer from Paris:—That it was a very important period, a crisis in the negotiation, the result of which probably would be conclusive as to its fate, and that it seemed to be of more consequence to make this result as conformable to what he hoped I was convinced were as much their wishes as mine, than to waste our time in discussions which were useless, not to say more, till this was ascertained.

I confined myself in my reply to saying, I had no objection whatever to giving to the French Plenipotentiaries a paper, stating the strong motives on which his Majesty rejected the proposition made in their note of the 15th; and that as I, on my part, had considered it a duty to make my reports as conciliatory as was consistent with truth and correctness, so I heard with great pleasure the assurances he gave me of their intending to observe the same line of conduct.

That as we seemed perfectly agreed as to the propriety of their producing a *contre-projet*, I had nothing to say on that point, except to express my most sincere wish that it would soon appear, and when it did appear, be such a one as would lead to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion of the negotiation.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

(No. 26.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has transmitted to his court the note which was delivered to him the 5th of this month, by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic: and having received the orders of the King his master on this subject, he hastens to repeat to them, in writing, conformably to the desire which they have expressed to him, the following reflections, which he had already stated to them verbally, in consequence of his most positive instructions.

He observes, in the first place, that to require “as an indispensable preliminary of negotiation for peace with England, the consent of his Britannic Majesty to the formal restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, as well those of the French Republic as further and formally those of Spain and the Batavian Republic,” is to wish to establish a previous condition, which excludes all reciprocity; refuses to the King all compensation, and leaves no object of ulterior negotiation.

That the French Republic, formally authorised by its allies to negotiate the articles of peace in their name, cannot fairly set up its partial treaties with them, in opposition to reasonable proposals of peace, since it is universally understood that the contracting parties always preserve the power to modify, by mutual consent, the conditions by which they may be engaged to each other, whenever their common interests may require it:—confe-

— consequently, the proposition made to the King of a general and gratuitous restitution as an indispensable preliminary, would necessarily impute to his Catholic Majesty, and to the Batavian Republic, dispositions far less pacific than those which animate the French Republic.

That, moreover, in consequence of what passed in the first conferences, Lord Malmesbury has always thought himself entitled to expect that the King his master would find a compensation for the sacrifices he was ready to make for peace, by retaining a part of his conquests; and he was the less able to foresee any obstacle, on account of the secret articles of the treaties which bind the French Republic, as the principle of compensation was acknowledged by a formal and positive declaration, made in the name of the Executive Directory, and communicated in an official note, dated the 27th of November, 1796; a declaration posterior to the completion of those treaties.

It was, therefore, in order to remove, as much as possible, every difficulty that, in the project of a treaty, which Lord Malmesbury has delivered to the ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, the alternative was left to France to settle this compensation on its own possessions, or on those of its allies; but the absolute refusal of this alternative appears to do away the only possible means of conciliating every interest, and of arriving at an honourable, just, and permanent peace.

Lord Malmesbury, persuaded that such cannot be the intention of the French government, hopes that, in consequence of the reasons

herein stated, a condition will not be insisted upon, to which his Britannic Majesty can by no means consent.

He again requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Lisle, 24th July, 1797.

(No. 27.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Sunday, August 6th, 1797.

My Lord,

I fully expected, when I received the inclosed note on Friday, that the conference proposed was to acquaint me with the instructions the French Plenipotentiaries had received from the Directory, on the note I had given in near a fortnight ago, as an answer to that in which the restitution of the whole of his Majesty's conquests from each of his enemies is required as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation. I was therefore surprised and disappointed when I had taken my place at the conference; to hear from the French Plenipotentiaries that the letters they had received that morning from Paris did not bring any specific reply to my last note, but only went to inform them that the Directory had taken the subject into their most serious consideration, and would acquaint them as soon as possible with the result.

I could not avoid expressing my concern and surprise that there existed any hesitation whatever in the mind of the Directory on a point which, although a very important, was certainly a very simple one:—

That

That to allow it to remain in doubt whether his Majesty was to have any compensation or not, was in other words to leave it in doubt whether the Directory sincerely meant peace or not:—And that, although I was very far from wishing for any improper haste, or not to move in a matter of such magnitude with becoming prudence and deliberation, yet I could not forbear lamenting that more than a month had now elapsed without our having advanced a single step, notwithstanding his Majesty had, in the very outset of the negotiation, manifested a moderation and forbearance unprecedented under similar circumstances: That anxious as I was not to prejudice it by any representations of mine, I must say, this delay placed me in a very awkward position, as I really did not perceive how I could account for it in a way at all satisfactory, at the same time that it was quite impossible for me to suffer a longer space of time to pass over without writing to my court.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries expressed his earnest wish that I would write immediately; he was confident this delay would be seen in its true light; and added, “*Si nous n'avancions pas à pas de Giant, j'espère que nous marchons d'un pas sur.*”—And another of them repeated this phrase. I expressed my sincere hope this might be the case, but it would have been much better proved by the communication of the counter-project they had in a manner pledged themselves to procure, than by any vague and indeterminate assurances of what might possibly be the result of the present suspension of all business. They observed to me, that the counter-project would of course be (virtu-

ally) contained in their next instructions; and that their only motive for wishing to see me, was to convince me that this delay had neither originated with them, nor been occasioned at Paris by any want of attention to this important business, or from any cause not immediately and closely connected with it. I desired to know from them when they thought it probable they should receive positive and explicit instructions; whether in three, four, or five days? — They said, it would be probably eight or ten; and one of them observed, that as our not meeting more frequently gave rise to many idle rumours and false reports, he would propose to me, if I had no objection, to meet every other day at two o'clock:—That it was very possible that in our next two or three meetings we might have nothing material to say, but that we should get better acquainted with each other, and in our conversations mutually suggest ideas which might be of use. I readily consented to this. I had a conference again this morning. As I was very desirous of being enabled to transmit to your Lordship some more satisfactory account as to the motives of this delay, I again pressed the French Plenipotentiaries on this point. They each of them repeated what they had said before; and on my endeavouring to make them feel how impossible it was that his Majesty should not be hurt at this demur on so very simple a point, one of them said, you ought to augur favourably from it; your note was a refusal to agree to what was stated by the Directory in their instructions to us *a fine qua non*: If the Directory were determined to persist in this *fine qua non*, they would have

have said so at once (*"Je vous assure qu' il nous auroit promptement renvoyé le courier,"* were his words): The time they take to deliberate indicates beyond a doubt that they are looking for some temperament; and it scarce can be doubted that one will be found.—I said I was well pleased to hear him say this; but that still he must be aware that it would not be an easy task for me to make my dispatches to-day either interesting or satisfactory. Another of the French Ministers said, that he really believed that this would be the only great impediment we should have to encounter, that every thing would go on quickly and smoothly, and that I must admit the present to be a very important and difficult point in the negotiation. I agreed with him entirely as to its importance, but could not acquiesce as to its difficulty.

I am very sorry, my Lord, that in such a moment, and after waiting so long, I should not be able to send you more explicit and decisive assurances; but it is not in my power to compel the French negotiators to move on faster. All I can do is by my conduct and language to take care that no part whatever of the imputation of delay should attach to me. I have, at every conference I have held, always declared my readiness to proceed; and I shall not fail to repeat this every time we meet.

Right Hon. Lord Grenville, &c.

(No. 28.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

THE Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic will be happy to have an opportunity of

conversing for a few minutes with Lord Malmesbury; and they have in consequence the honour of proposing to him to meet them at two o'clock to-day, or at any other hour which may be more convenient to him, and which he will have the goodness to appoint.

They renew, with pleasure, to Lord Malmesbury the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) LE TOURNEUR.

HUGUES B. MARET.

*Lisle, 17 Thermidor,
5th year of the Republic,
(August 4, 1797.)*

COLCHEN,
Sec. Gen. of the Legation
of the Republic.
(Aug. 4, 1797.)

(No. 29.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, August 14th, 1797.

My Lord,

IN consequence of the resolution we had come to, to meet on the days of the arrival of the post from Paris, our conferences for this last week have taken place regularly every other morning, except on Thursday the 10th of August, which being the anniversary of one of their national festivals, the French legation could not attend.

I have in mine, No. 17, given your Lordship an account of every thing which passed in these conferences, up to that of the 6th. On the 8th nothing was said at all worth transmitting, except an intimation flung out by one of the French Plenipotentiaries, that it would be necessary to take into consideration the rights of neutral nations

nations on this occasion. But as he spoke very vaguely, and in general terms, I did not choose to press him for an explanation, as I consider it more judicious to avoid discussions on separate and collateral points, and not to enter into negotiation till the whole can be brought under deliberation at once.

What passed on the 12th was rather more interesting. The return of Mr. Wesley afforded me a very natural opportunity of expressing the impatience with which an answer to my last note was expected by my court; that three weeks had now elapsed since its transmission, and that although I by no means wished to insinuate that due attention had not been paid to so very important a subject as that on which we were treating, yet I could not but greatly lament, that day after day should be allowed to pass away without our proceeding at all in the great business for which we were met. One of the French ministers said, that it was impossible I could lament this delay more than they did; that they had already declared to me that it was occasioned by a wish not to create but remove difficulties; and they could assure me positively, that the French government had no other object in view, and that I should find, when once we began fairly to negotiate, we should proceed very rapidly.

I replied it was indeed very material to make good the time we had lost. The French minister answered, you would not call it time lost if you knew how it was employed. On my expressing, by my manner, a wish to be informed, he went on, by saying, we will not scruple to tell you, though we feel we ought not yet to do it officially,

that we are consulting with our allies; that we have communicated to them all that has passed here; we have stated, that unless they mean to continue the war, they must release us from our engagements, and enable us, to a certain degree, to meet your proposals.

The conference of to-day is this moment over. One of the French Plenipotentiaries informed me, that he had received this morning a letter from the President of the Directory, assuring him, that, in four or five days they would receive their final instructions; and he added of himself, that he trusted these would be such as would enable us to continue our work without any further interruption. I said, I hoped these instructions would be in substance a counter project, as I did not see how any thing short of one could enable us to proceed so rapidly as he described. He agreed with me entirely, and assured me, that both he and his colleagues had repeatedly stated the necessity of a counter project being sent them; and he observed, that he really thought the French government might have foreseen every thing which had passed, and been prepared with one; and that this would have saved a great deal of valuable time. As I could not myself have said more, I readily gave a full assent to what I heard.

(No. 30.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, August 19, 1797.

AN expression mentioned in one of your Lordship's last dispatches to have fallen from one of the French Plenipotentiaries, leads to the presumption

sumption, that it is intended, on the part of France to bring forward some proposal about the navigation of neutral powers in time of war. Your Lordship will best judge of the proper opportunity of expressing his Majesty's decided and unalterable resolution on this point, not to admit of any proposal for treating with his enemies on the subject of the rights or claims of neutral powers.

The only other remark with which I have to trouble your Lordship by this messenger, relates to an expression in the late message of the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, which, if literally taken, conveys an accusation against his Majesty's government, that some delay has arisen on the part of this country in the negotiations at Lisle. This is so avowedly contrary to the fact, that it must be considered as impossible that such a charge could be intended to be made by a government which had at that moment delayed for three weeks making any answer to his Majesty's distinct and liberal proposals of peace, and whose Plenipotentiaries were daily apologizing to your Lordship for this unbecoming, and, as they almost confess, unaccountable delay; but as the point is too important to be left unnoticed, it is the King's pleasure that your Lordship should present a note remarking upon the sense to which these words are liable, expressing your persuasion that such cannot be the intention with which they were used, but asking on the part of your court an explanation to that effect, which cannot be refused without a violation of every thing which truth and justice require on such an occasion.

(No. 31.)

Extract from the Message of the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Aug. 9, 1797.

IN short, this cause is in the same despondency in which all good citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country are, at seeing deferred, at the very moment when its conclusion was thought to be near at hand, and after having bought it with so much blood and so much suffering — a definitive peace, which the heads of the vanquished coalition at length solicited in good earnest, when its conclusion was expected, and which a government friendly to humanity were still more earnest to conclude: When, all on a sudden, buoyed up with new hopes, reckoning upon a general dissolution of the government by the failing of its finances, upon its destruction, upon the death or banishment of its bravest generals, and upon the dispersion and loss of its armies, these very same coalesced powers have thrown as much delay into the negotiations as they had shewn anxiety to bring them to an end.

(No. 32.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, August 22, 1797.

My Lord,

IN my conference of this morning I took an opportunity of remarking to the French Plenipotentiaries on the very unfair and extraordinary assertion which had appeared in the message of the 9th instant, from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred; viz. *que les puissances coalisées ont mis autant de*
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lenteur dans les negotiations, qu'elles avoient montré de l'ardeur pour les terminer. I observed to them, that I had orders from my court to ask a precise explanation, whether this accusation of delay was meant to apply to the manner in which his Majesty had conducted the negotiation at Lisle; and if it was so meant, to declare that no accusation was ever more destitute of foundation, nor a wider deviation from the real fact. I said I was perfectly ready to abide by their determination on this point, convinced that it was impossible for them not to acknowledge that the delay (if there had been any blameable delay) rested with the French government, and not with his Majesty. The French Plenipotentiaries admitted this to be most strictly true; that the phrase I had quoted was an ill-judged one and *mal redigée*; but that it could not in any point of view whatever be construed as applying to England; and they were ready to say, that when it was written, the Directory alluded solely to the court of Vienna; that they could assure me they had been very faithful in their reports, and that when they had said this, it was saying in other words that I had carried on the negotiation with as much expedition as possible; and that if it had proceeded slowly for this last month, the slowness arose on their side, and not on mine.

I said, I could not for an instant call in question their feelings on this point; it was the insinuation conveyed in the message, and which had gone over Europe, that was necessary for me to clear up, and to know whether the Directory thought and felt as they did. One of the French ministers, with very

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strong expressions assured me the Directory certainly did think and feel like them; that no unfair or insidious allusion was meant, and added, *que ce message étoit pour stimuler les conseils.* I went on, by observing it was very essential for me to have this fully explained, and that I should give them in a note to this effect; they requested I would not, as it would lead to disagreeable discussions, and would not answer the end I proposed. They would take upon themselves now to assure me, in the name of the Directory, that nothing at all similar to the construction I put on the phrase was intended; and that as soon as they could receive an answer to the report they should make of to-day's conversation, they would say the same from the Directory itself.

I hope, my Lord, I have, therefore, by obtaining this very precise and formal disavowal of an intention to fix any imputation of delay on his Majesty's government, fulfilled the object of my instruction; on this particular point. If when the French Plenipotentiaries speak from the Directory, the disavowal should not be equally satisfactory and complete, I then will not fail, according to your Lordship's order, to give in a note.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

Right Honourable Lord Grenville.

(No. 33.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Aug. 22, 1797.

THE four conferences I have held with the French Plenipotentiaries since I last wrote to your
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Lordship on the 14th instant, will not, I fear, furnish very interesting materials for a dispatch. Our conference of this morning was principally employed in what I have related in my other dispatch; but the French Plenipotentiaries assured me, that by Thursday, or, at the latest by Saturday, they expected to receive their long-expected messenger.

(No. 34.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Aug. 29, 1797.

I am extremely sorry to be forced to announce to your Lordship, that such delays occur in the progress of the negotiation.

The French Plenipotentiaries informed me at our conference yesterday, that the last answer from Holland was so unsatisfactory, that the Directory had ordered the Minister for Foreign Affairs to return it to the Dutch Ministers at Paris; that the Dutch Ministers could not take upon themselves to alter it in the way the Directory proposed, but had been obliged to refer to their government for new orders; and that therefore, supposing no time to be lost in deliberation on this subject at the Hague, it would be at least a week from to-day before any farther account could be received here. After lamenting this unexpected procrastination of our business, I expressed a wish to know what the Dutch answer had been, what objections the Directory had made to it, and the alteration they were desirous it should undergo. One of the French Plenipotentiaries said it had not been communicated to them, but that he un-

derstood it was *complexe, louche, et peu satisfaisante*.—That the Directory expected it should be clear and distinct, and such an one as would enable them to send such instructions here as would allow us to go on with the negotiation in a way to recover the time we had lost.

(No. 35.)

EXTRACT of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Sept. 5, announcing that the Directory had declared, that in their message of 19th August to the Councils, they meant no reflection upon the British government.

(No. 36.)

Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated at Lisle, 9th Sept. 1797.

I need not say that the two conferences which have been held since I dispatched the messenger Brooks, were not likely, under the present circumstances of this country, to afford any thing extremely important or interesting. In that of Thursday the 7th, one of the French Plenipotentiaries began, on my entering the room, by announcing a wish that the great event which had taken place at Paris, should not interrupt for a long time our negotiation, or destroy the pleasing prospect we had of its soon terminating successfully; and from his manner I clearly saw he meant to convey the idea that it was his opinion it would not. I endeavoured to discover whether he spoke in consequence of any private intelligence he had received from Paris, or simply from his own private judgment; and I found it was entirely from

from the latter. In our conference of this morning he said they were still without any letters from M. Talleyrand (which rather surprised him) but he could assure me, *with certainty*, that by Monday they should be empowered to go on with the negotiation, and that I might safely say so to my court.

(No. 37.)

Extract of a letter from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Sept. 11th, expressive of his conviction that a few days must shew what were the views of the predominant party at Paris respecting the question of peace.

(No. 38.)

This was a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated September 11th, informing him that the whole French legation had been recalled, and that Mess. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco had been appointed in their room.

(No. 39.)

A note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury, dated September 11th, announcing the foregoing circumstance, and assuring his Lordship, that the change of the negotiators did not carry with it any change in the disposition of the Directory with regard to the negotiation.

(No. 40.)

A note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, dated September 12, acknowledging the receipt of the above communication.

(No. 41.)

Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, September 17, stating the arrival of Treilhard and Bonnier, with their Secretary General Derche, and two private secretaries, their introduction to him by the former Commissioners, and the return of the visit by his Lordship.—Le Tourneur, on this occasion, expressed, in the name of his colleagues, their great satisfaction at the openness and candour which Lord Malmesbury had displayed during the whole of the negotiation, and their regret at being obliged to take their leave of his Lordship. Lord Malmesbury took an opportunity of returning the compliment.

(No. 42.)

Copy of a Dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 17th September 1797.

My Lord,

I shall endeavour in this dispatch to give your Lordship as circumstantial an account as my memory will allow me to do, of what has passed in the two conferences I have held with the new French Plenipotentiaries.

In that of Friday the 14th, after communicating to me the *arrête* of the Directory appointing them to succeed Messieurs Le Tourneur and Maret, and empowering them to continue the negotiation with me, one of them began by making the strongest assurances of the sincere desire entertained by the Directory for peace. He observed, that if this desire had manifested itself so

strongly at a moment when the two great authorities of the country were at variance, it must naturally become stronger and be exerted with more effect when all spirit of division was suppressed, and when the government was strengthened by the perfect concord which now reigns between all its branches: That the first and most material point to be ascertained in every negotiation was the extent of the full powers with which the negotiators are vested: that I should find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it was necessary to the success of our discussions that mine should be equally so, they had it in command to present a note, the object of which was to enquire, whether I was authorised to treat on the principle of a general restitution of every possession remaining in his Majesty's hands, not only belonging to them, but to their allies; that I was not unacquainted with their laws and with their treaties; that a great country could not on any occasion act in contradiction to them; and that, aware as I must be of this, I could not but expect the question contained in the note, neither could I consider the requisition of an explicit answer previous to entering upon the negotiation, as arising from any other motive than that of the most perfect wish, on the part of the Directory, to bring it to a successful, and, above all, to a speedy conclusion.—I replied, that if after what I heard I could allow myself to hope for such an event as he seemed to think probable, or give any credit to the pacific dispositions he announced on the part of the French government, such hope must arise solely from the confidence I might place in his assur-

ances; since the measure itself now adopted by the Directory was certainly calculated to make a directly contrary impression on my mind; that I could not conceal from him, that far from expecting such a question, its being now put surprised me beyond measure, and still more so, when from his comment upon it I was to infer that he wished me to consider it as tending to promote a speedy pacification; that the question expressed in the note he had delivered (for he had given it to me, and I had read it over as he ended his speech) was word for word the same as that put to me by his predecessors so long ago as the 14th July; that on the 15th I had, from my own authority, given an answer, and that this answer I confirmed fully and distinctly, by order of my court, on the 24th July; that these notes had to the present hour remained unnoticed, and a delay of two months had occurred; that the reasons assigned for this delay were, as I was repeatedly told, a decided resolution on the part of the French government to listen to the reasonable proposals made by his Majesty; but that being bound by their engagements with the court of Madrid and the Batavian Republic, and wishing to treat their allies with due consideration, they were desirous of consulting with them previous to any positive declaration, and obtaining from them a voluntary release from those engagements sufficient to enable the French Plenipotentiaries here to admit the basis his Majesty had established, and to ground on it all future discussions which might arise in the course of the negotiation; that if he had read over the papers left, undoubtedly, in his possession by his predecessors, he

he would find what I stated to be strictly true, and that, of course it could not be difficult to account for my surprize, when, after being told that he and his colleagues were to take up the negotiation precisely where they found it, it now became evident that it was to be flung back to the very point from which we started, and flung back in a way which seemed to threaten a conclusion very different from that he foretold.—I shall not attempt to follow the French minister through the very elaborate and certainly able speech he made in reply, with a view to convince me that the enquiry into the extent of my full powers was the strongest proof the Directory could furnish of their pacific intention, and the shortest road they could take to accomplish the desired end. It was in order to give activity to the negotiation, (*activer* was his word) and to prevent its stagnating, that this demand was made so specifically; and he intimated to me, that it was impossible for the Directory to proceed till a full and satisfactory answer had been given to it. I interrupted him here, by saying their manner of acting appeared to me calculated to decide the negotiation at once, not to give it activity, since it must be known I could not have powers of the description he alluded to; and even supposing I had, the admitting it would be, in fact, neither more nor less than a complete avowal of the principle itself, which, once agreed on, nothing would be left to negotiate about. The other French Plenipotentiary interposed here, by saying, that would not be the case; many articles would still remain to be proposed, and many points for import-

ant discussion. I said every word I heard seemed to present fresh difficulties. Without replying to me, the first-mentioned minister went on, by endeavouring to prove that the avowal of having powers to a certain extent, did not imply the necessity of exercising them; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take; that the note and the time prescribed in it, were in consequence of the most positive orders from the Directory; and that if I drew from it a conclusion different from the assurances they had made me in the name of the Directory, I did not make the true inference. I replied, that, although the prescribing the day on which the question was put to me as the term within which I was to give my answer to it, was both a very unusual and abrupt mode of proceeding, yet as a day was much more than sufficient for the purpose, I should forbear making any particular remark on this circumstance; that as to the inference to be drawn from the positive manner in which they appeared to maintain the question put to me, I really could not make it different from that I had already expressed: that the reverting, after an interval of two months, to a question already answered, and which question involved the fate of the negotiation, certainly could not be considered as wearing a very conciliatory appearance: that in regard to my answer, it could not be different from that I had given before: that my full powers, which were in their hands, were as extensive as any could be, and it did not depend on me to give them more or less latitude;

tude; but that in fact their question went not to the extent of my full powers, but to require of me to declare the nature of my instructions; and on this point they certainly would forgive me if I did not speak out till such time as the circumstances of the negotiation called upon me to do it.

The French Minister strove to prove to me, what he had before attempted, that the claiming a right of enquiry into the nature of the discretionary authority confided in a minister, by no means implied an intention of requiring of him to act up to its utmost limits. I observed if no such intention existed, why institute the enquiry? and if it did exist, why not say so at once?—He said, What we now ask is little more than a matter of form; when you have given us your answer, we shall follow it up by another step, which we are ordered to take. I said, my answer was given two months ago; that, although I was ready to give it them again, and in writing, as one to their note, yet, as it could not be different, I did not see why they should not proceed immediately to the other step, by which I was told the question was to be followed up. It would be premature, said the French Minister; but in drawing up your answer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have used, or, in your report to your court, the assurances we have given of the earnest wish of the Directory to terminate the war. I replied that I still must maintain that, from the manner in which they thought proper to define full powers, I could see no distinction between acknowledging the power and admitting the principle; and that the question itself could not be put with

any other intention—(Your Lordship will observe, from the subsequent notes which passed between us, that I was perfectly grounded in this assertion): that, in my reports, they might be fully assured I should act up to that conciliatory spirit, which, from the earliest period of the negotiation, had always decided my conduct; and that, inauspicious as appearances were, I certainly would be careful not to make them look hostile. At the word hostile, both the French Plenipotentiaries were most warm in their protestations that nothing could be less so; that the idea of the negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as from their wishes. I said, that although I heard this with pleasure, yet I could not avoid adverting to facts; and that, when instead of an answer, and the favourable answer which I had every reason to expect, I received only the repetition of a demand which had been already satisfied two months ago, I certainly could not think this a good omen. If it did not bode an immediate rupture of the treaty, it assuredly did not announce a near and successful termination of it. The above-mentioned minister persisted I was mistaken; that the business would end speedily; that speed was their wish, and speed with peace for its object. On breaking up our conference I said, that I took it for granted we should meet again at the usual hour on Sunday. He said, that it perhaps might not be necessary, but that they certainly would let me know in time; and this conveyed to me the first idea of what has since taken place. I inclose your Lordship the note A, I received in this conference from the French Plenipotentiaries.

tentiarics, and the answer B, which I made to it yesterday morning, at 10 A. M. At 6 P. M. the note C was transmitted to me; to which, at 8 P. M. I returned the answer D by Mr. Rofs, whom I sent, in order that he might bring me the passports I asked for; but at a quarter before 10 P. M. Derché, Secretary of the French legation, delivered me a paper marked E; and this morning at 9 A. M. I replied by the note F, which immediately produced that marked G. The notes sent me by the French Plenipotentiaries speak for themselves; and it is unnecessary to enter into any reflections on them. I am willing to hope that the answers I have made were such as became the situation in which I stand, the importance of the cause entrusted to me, and the steady but temperate conduct which the spirit of my instructions enjoin me to hold. It was my wish to give every opening to the French Plenipotentiaries to recall the violent step they had taken; and, if possible, to convince them of its extreme impropriety. And it is with this view, and with a most anxious desire not to exclude all hope of the restoration of peace, that I determined on suggesting the idea of our meeting once before I left Lisle.

This meeting took place to-day at noon: I opened it by observing that the several notes they had received from me since the preceding evening, had been too expressive of the surprise I felt at the measure the Directory had thought proper to adopt, to make it necessary for me to enlarge upon it in this conference; and indeed my sole motive for suggesting that it might be for our mutual satisfaction that it

should be held, was because this measure appeared to me to be in such direct contradiction to the very strong assurances I had so constantly and repeatedly heard from them, and to the pacific intentions with which they declared they were sent, that it was my earnest wish (before I considered their conduct as forcing me to a step which must so materially affect the success of the negotiation) to be perfectly certain that I understood clearly and distinctly the precise meaning of their official notes. On their admitting that nothing could be more reasonable than that I should, on so important a point, require explanation, or more satisfactory] to them than to give it me (as far as lay in their power) I proceeded by saying, that it appeared to me that I was called upon to produce immediately my full powers, or rather my instructions (for however different these were in themselves, in their demand they seemed constantly blended); and that if either I refused to consent to this, or if on consenting to it, it was found that I was not authorised to treat on the principle they laid down, I was then in the space of twenty-four hours to leave Lisle, and return to my court; and that I was required to obtain full authority to admit this principle, if it was wished the negotiation should proceed. This, I said, appeared to me to be the evident sense of the notes, and I begged to know whether I had mistaken it or not. One of the French Plenipotentiaries said, "You have understood it exactly; I hope you equally understand the intention of the French government, which is to accelerate peace by removing every obstacle which stands in its way."

way." I replied, that having now no doubt left on my mind as to their exact meaning, and being quite sure, notwithstanding the observation they had made, *que j'avois saisi la véritable intention de leur note*, it would, I feared, be very unprofitable employment of our time to argue either on the nature of the principle they announced as a *sine qua non*, to even a preliminary discussion, or on the extreme difficulty of reconciling the peremptory demand with which they opened their mission, to the pacific professions that accompanied it; that if they were determined to persist in this demand, it was much better to avoid all useless altercation; and nothing in that case remained for me to do, but to ask for my passports, and to signify to them my intention of leaving France at an early hour the next morning. They said, they had their hands tied by an *arrête* of the Directory, and were bound to observe the conduct they had followed by the most positive orders; and although we remained together some time longer, not a hint dropped from them expressive of a wish that, instead of going myself for new instructions, I should either write for them by a messenger, or obtain them by sending to England one of the gentlemen who were with me. I endeavoured by every indirect means to suggest to them the necessity of adopting some such modification, if they meant that their wishes for peace, in the expression of which they were this morning more eager than ever, should meet with the slightest degree of credit. I again brought to their recollection that I was authorised to receive any proposal, any *contre-projet* they tendered to me;

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but that they must be aware that it was not possible for me to alter the orders I had received, or to assume an authority with which I was not invested. I dwelt particularly and repeatedly on my being competent to take any thing they said for reference; but this availed nothing, except drawing from one of them a remark, that the full powers which authorized a minister to hear proposals, were widely different from those which would enable him to accede to them; and that it was such full powers that the Directory required me to solicit. An easy answer presented itself to this mode of reasoning; but I saw no advantage to be derived from prolonging a conversation which, after the positive declaration they had made, could lead to nothing: I therefore ended the conference, by declaring my resolution to begin my journey at a very early hour the next morning, and by saying, that immediately on my arrival in England I would make an exact report of every thing that had passed since their arrival.

I trust, my Lord, I shall not incur censure for having declined to offer in distinct terms to wait at Lille till I could know his Majesty's pleasure on the peremptory proposal made to me: but when I considered the nature of the proposal itself, the avowal that this would not be the last, nor perhaps the most humiliating condition required of us, and the imperious style with which I was enjoined to depart in twenty-four hours, it was utterly impossible for me to assume a language, or affect a manner, that could be interpreted into solicitation or entreaty: I felt myself called upon to treat the whole of this extraordinary

extraordinary proceeding with calmness and temper; and, notwithstanding the deep and poignant concern I must feel at an event which I fear will remove all probability of an immediate pacification, I trust that in the expression of this sentiment I have not used a language unbecoming the character with which I am invested, or the greatness of the Sovereign and country whole dignity and interests it is my primary duty to consult and maintain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

MALMESBURY.

No. 43. (A.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

THE undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to assure Lord Malmesbury, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, that the French government wishes as sincerely, as strongly as ever, a peace desired by the two nations: but, unable to conclude any other peace than such a one as is founded on the laws and on the treaties which bind the French Republic, persuaded that, to arrive at this end, it is necessary to explain itself with entire frankness, and desirous of giving to the negotiation the greatest rapidity, the Executive Directory has expressly charged the undersigned to demand of Lord Malmesbury whether he has sufficient powers for restoring, in the treaty which may be concluded, to the French Republic and to its allies, all the possessions which, since the beginning of the war, have passed into the hands

of the English. The undersigned are equally charged by the Executive Directory to demand from Lord Malmesbury an answer in the course of the day. They request him to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

Liste, 29th Fructidor, 5th year of the Republic (Sept. 15, 1797.)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic,
the Secretary General,
DERCHE.

No. 44. (B.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, receives with great satisfaction the expression of the sincere desire for peace, which the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic announced to him yesterday in the name of their government. He has the honour to assure them that the King his master is animated with the same desire, and has nothing more at heart than to put an end to the calamities of the war.

With regard to the question which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic addressed to Lord Malmesbury, concerning the extent of his full powers, he considers himself as having already given the most unequivocal answer upon this subject, in the two notes which he delivered to their predecessors on the 15th and 24th of July. However, to avoid all misunderstanding, he renews the declaration which he made yesterday; that is to say, that he neither can nor ought to

to treat upon any other principle than that of compensations: a principle which has been formally recognised as the basis of a treaty equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers. Lord Malmesbury requests the ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

*Lisle, Saturday, Sept 16th, 1797,
10 A. M.*

No. 45. (C.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

THE Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the answer of Lord Malmesbury to the note which was presented to him in the conference of yesterday.

It appears from this answer, and from the two notes of the 15th and 21st of July, to which it refers, that Lord Malmesbury has not powers for agreeing to the restitution of all the possessions which his Britannic Majesty occupies, whether from the French Republic or from its allies. In consequence, while they reiterate to Lord Malmesbury the most positive assurances of the sentiments of the French government, the undersigned apprise him of a decree of the Executive Directory, which signifies that, in case Lord Malmesbury shall declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French Republic make indispensable, he shall be required to return, in four-and-twenty hours, to his court, to ask for

sufficient powers. Lord Malmesbury can see in this determination of the Executive Directory nothing else than an intention to hasten the moment when the negotiation may be followed up with the certainty of a speedy conclusion.

The Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

*Lisle, 30 Fructidor, 5th year of the
Republic (Sept. 16, 1797.)*

By the Ministers Plenipotentiaries, the Secretary General of the Legation, DERCHE,

No. 46. (D.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this day, which has been sent by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic. Whatever regret he may experience at seeing the hope of a speedy conciliation thus destroyed, he can return no other answer to a refusal so absolute to continue the negotiation on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the necessary passports for himself and his suite, in order that they may set off within the four-and-twenty hours, and return immediately to England.

He requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
*Lisle, Saturday, Sept. 16, 1797,
8 P. M.*

No.

No. 47. (E.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

THE undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Malmesbury's answer to the note which they addressed to him this day. They think it right to observe to him that he does not appear to have seized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains a refusal to continue the negotiations, but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity, and for following them up with a success no less desirable to the two nations, than it would be flattering to the ministers charged with the conduct of them. The French government is so far from entertaining the intentions which the note of Lord Malmesbury appears to impute to them, that the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have received no order to quit Lisle, after the departure of the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary, the Secretary General of the Legation, DERCHE.

Lisle, 30 Fructidor, 5th year of the Republic (Sept. 16, 1797.)

No. 48. (F.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE undersigned Minister Ple-

nipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic transmitted to him yesterday, through the hands of the Secretary General of their legation. He thinks he cannot answer it better than by submitting to them, in his turn, the following observations.

That having already, by his note, dated July 24, and in obedience to the express orders of his court, given an answer to the question which is now so unexpectedly renewed; a question that, in appearance, relates solely to the limits of his full powers, which are in the most ample form, but which does in fact require a declaration of the whole extent of his instructions; and not being authorised to quit the place of his destination without the express order of the King his master, in any case except that of the rupture of the negotiation, he could not help considering a note enjoining him, in consequence of a decree of the Executive Directory, to return to his court in the space of four-and-twenty hours, as ill calculated to accelerate the conclusion of peace: nevertheless, to answer the assurances of the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, and to testify his desire to seize their real meaning, with respect to which he should be very sorry to deceive himself, he thinks it would be more satisfactory to meet once more; and if the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic should be of the same opinion, Lord Malmesbury would propose that this meeting should take place at an earlier hour than usual, in order that he may have time to take such steps as the result of their conferences

rences may render necessary. He desires the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.
Lisle, Sunday, Sept. 17, 1797.

No. 49. (G.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

THE undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has transmitted to them this morning. Referring to the notes addressed to Lord Malmesbury on the 29th and 30th Fructidor, and especially to the first of yesterday, they agree to the meeting which Lord Malmesbury appears to desire, and propose the hour of noon. They request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

*Lisle, 1st Complementary Day,
5th year of the French Republic.*

(Sept. 17th, 1797.)

By the Ministers Plenipotentiary,
the Sec. Gen. of Legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 50.)

A DISPATCH from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Sept. 22, assuring his Lordship that his Majesty approved entirely of his conduct during the whole of the negotiation, and enclosing the following note, to be transmitted by him (his Lordship being now in

London) to the French Plenipotentiaries at Lisle.

(No. 51.)

Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

THE undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has rendered to his court a faithful account of the circumstances that have interrupted the exercise of those important functions which his Majesty had been pleased to entrust to him. His Majesty has deigned to honour with his entire approbation the answers which the undersigned has already made to the extraordinary and unexpected demands which the new Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic addressed to him immediately upon their arrival at Lisle. But, in order to leave no doubt respecting the nature and object of this demand, the undersigned has been expressly ordered to declare, in the name of his court,

1st. That the full powers with which his Majesty has thought proper to furnish him for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace, are conceived and expressed in the most ample form; authorising the undersigned fully, and without reserve, to sign any treaty upon which he might agree with the French Plenipotentiaries, whatever its nature or conditions might be; conforming himself in all cases to the instructions which he might receive from his court.

2d. That these full powers have been received and recognised as sufficient, as well by the Plenipotentiaries with whom he has hitherto treated, as by the Directory themselves, and that there is consequent-

ly no room for any new discussion upon a subject which has already been closed by common agreement, and which, moreover, is not liable to any doubt or difficulty whatever; every thing which has been done hitherto upon this subject being entirely conformable to customs long established and recognised by all the nations of Europe.

3d. That the demand of the Directory therefore, in reality refers not to the full powers of the undersigned, but to the extent of his instructions, of which the Directory could not, under any circumstances, require any communication, further than as the undersigned himself might judge such a communication conducive to the success of the negotiation; and that, very far from being in a situation to be called upon for any new explanations whatever, the undersigned had every reason to expect, from the repeated communications which had been made to him by the French Plenipotentiaries, that he should immediately receive a counter-project, of a nature to facilitate the further progress of the negotiation, which had been suspended for more than two months.

4. That the court of London had good reason to be still more astonished at the substance of the new demand made to the undersigned; a demand relating to preliminary conditions which had already been rejected at the very commencement of the negotiation, and from which the French Plenipotentiaries had in effect departed, by a formal notification of the measures which the Directory were in consequence taking for the purpose of coming to some arrangement with their allies.

5th. That it is therefore only by consenting to treat upon the basis of the project detailed with so much openness, which was presented by the undersigned a few days after his arrival at Lisle, or by returning a *contre-projet* of a conciliatory nature, agreeably to the assurances which he received so long ago, that it appears possible to continue the negotiation, which the Plenipotentiaries have so strongly assured him that the Directory did not wish to break off, notwithstanding the measures lately adopted with respect to him: a measure which the undersigned forbears to characterize, but which could not fail to produce in this country the impression of a disposition by no means pacific on the part of the Directory.

The undersigned is directed to add, that his Majesty would see with real regret the certainty of the existence of such a disposition, so little compatible with the ardent desire with which he is animated to restore peace to the two nations; but that if, without having himself contributed to it on his part, he should again find himself under the necessity of continuing the war, he will conduct himself upon every occasion agreeably to the same principles, doing every thing which can depend upon him for the re-establishment of peace, but persisting to defend, with an unshaken firmness, the dignity of his crown and the interests of his people.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty requests the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

London, Sept. 22, 1797.

(No.

(No. 52.)

Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

THE Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have received the note, dated from London, which has been brought to them by an extraordinary messenger, from Lord Malmesbury. They have the honour to answer to him, that their note of the 29th Fructidor, to which they refer, offered the double assurance of the settled intention of the French government to continue the negotiations for peace, and of its constant determination not to agree to any other conditions than such as are compatible with the dignity of the French Republic.

A peace, of which the basis should be contrary to the laws, or to the engagements taken with its allies, would never satisfy the hopes of the nation. It is a point from which the Executive Directory has never departed, and upon which its sentiments have never varied.

Lord Malmesbury having formally declared in his notes of the 15th and 24th of July, and in the last instance in that of the 17th of September, that he had not the powers necessary for restoring the Dutch and Spanish possessions occupied by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, the Executive Directory has given a new proof of its openness, and of its desire to accelerate the conclusion of peace, in requiring Lord Malmesbury to return to his court, for the purpose of obtaining the authority, without which he cannot conclude: a measure rendered necessary by the declaration of the Minister Plenipo-

tentiary of his Britannic Majesty, and upon which it is impossible to give a wrong impression to any thinking and impartial mind.

The Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

DERCHE.

Lille, 4th Vendemiaire, 5th year of the Republic (Sept. 25, 1797.)

(No. 53.)

*Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.**Lille, Oct. 1, 1797.*

THE Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, charged to negotiate a peace with England, have the honour to communicate to Lord Malmesbury, that having addressed a copy of his last note, of the 23d of September, 1797, to their government, the Executive Directory has instructed them to declare, in its name, that it has not ceased to be desirous of peace: that it gave an unequivocal proof of the sentiment by which it is animated, when it ordered the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the Republic to demand a categorical explanation of the powers given by the English government to its Minister Plenipotentiary; and that this proceeding neither had nor could have any other object than that of bringing at length the negotiation to a speedy and successful issue.

That the order given to the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic to remain at Lille, after the departure of Lord Malmesbury, is a new proof that the Directory had wished for and anticipated

ated his return with powers which would not be illusory, and the limitation of which would be no longer a pretext to retard the conclusion of peace.

That such are invariably the intentions and hopes of the Directory, which enjoins the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the Republic not to quit Lisle until the moment when the prolonged absence of the negotiator shall no longer leave any doubt as to the intention of his Britannic Majesty to break off all negotiation.

That, consequently, the 25th of the present Vendemiaire (October 16, old stile) is the fixed term for the recall of the Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, provided at that epoch the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty shall not have repaired to Lisle.

The Executive Directory will feel a strong regret, if a reconciliatory step, already twice taken, should not terminate favourably; but its conscience, as well as all Europe, will testify that the English government alone have caused the scourge of war to afflict the two nations.

The Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic beseech the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) TREILHARD.
BONNIER.

The Secretary of Legation,
DERCHE.

(No. 54.)

From Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, in Reply to the foregoing.

Lon'on, Oct. 5.

THE undersigned having handed to the King's ministers the note

transmitted by the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, is commissioned to observe, in reply, that he quitted Lisle only in consequence of a formal and positive injunction from the Directory;—that his powers were neither limited nor delusive;—and that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation. It has been retarded solely by the delays of the Directory, and it is by their act that it is now suspended.

As to that part which relates to the resumption of the conferences, the undersigned can only refer to his last note, in which he has pointed out, with frankness and precision, the only mode which is left of continuing the negotiation;—observing at the same time, that the King can no longer treat in the country of an enemy, without having some certain assurance that he shall in future see respected, in the person of his Plenipotentiary, the usages established amongst all civilized nations with respect to public ministers, and particularly to those whose exertions are directed to the re-establishment of peace.

He prays the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed) MALMESBURY.

DECLARATION.

Published by his Majesty's Command.

HIS Majesty's benevolent endeavours to restore to his people the blessings of secure and honourable peace, again repeated without success, have again demonstrated, beyond the possibility of doubt, the determined and persevering

severing hostility of the government of France, in whose unprovoked aggression the war originated, and by whose boundless and destructive ambition it is still prolonged. And while by the course of these transactions, continued proofs have been afforded to all his Majesty's faithful subjects, of his anxious and unremitting solicitude for their welfare, they cannot, at the same time, have failed to recognize, in the uniform conduct of the enemy, the spirit by which the councils of France are still actuated, and the objects to which they are directed.

His Majesty could not but feel how much the means of peace had been obstructed by the many additional difficulties which his enemies had so repeatedly thrown in the way of every negotiation. Nevertheless, on the very first appearance of circumstances in some degree more favourable to the interests of humanity, the same ardent desire for the ease and happiness of his subjects induced his Majesty to renew his overtures for terminating the calamities of war: thus availing himself of every opening which could in any manner lead to secure an honourable peace, and consulting equally the wishes of his own heart and the principles by which his conduct has invariably been guided.

New obstacles were immediately interposed by those who still directed the councils of France, and who, amidst the general desire for peace which they could not at that time openly disclaim, still retained the power of frustrating the wishes of their own country, of counteracting his Majesty's benevolent intentions, and of obstruct-

ing that result which was so necessary for the happiness of both nations. Difficulties of form were studiously created; modes of negotiation were insisted upon, the most inconsistent with their own conduct in every other instance; the same spirit appeared in every step which was taken by them; and while the most unwarranted insinuations were thrown out, and the most unfounded reproaches brought forward, the established customs and usages, which have long prevailed in Europe, were purposely departed from, even in the simple acts which were to be done on their part for the renewal of the negotiations. All these things his Majesty determined to disregard; not as being insensible of their purport and tendency, nor unmindful of the importance of these points in the public intercourse of great and independent nations, but resolving to defeat the object of these artifices, and to suffer no subordinate or inferior consideration to impede, on his part, the discussion of the weighty and extensive interests on which the termination of the war must necessarily depend.

He directed his minister to repair to France, furnished with the most ample powers, and instructed to communicate at once an explicit and detailed proposal and plan of peace reduced into the shape of a regular treaty, just and moderate in its principles, embracing all the interests concerned, and extending to every subject connected with the restoration of public tranquillity. The communication of this paper, delivered in the very first conference, was accompanied by such explanations as fully stated and detailed the utmost extent of his Majesty's

jeſty's views, and at the ſame time gave ample room for the examination of every diſputed point, for mutual arrangement and conceſſion, and for reciprocal facilities ariſing out of the progreſs of fair diſcuſſion.

To this proceeding, open and liberal beyond example, the conduct of his Maſteſty's enemies oppoſes the moſt ſtriking contraſt. From them no counter-project has ever yet been obtained: no ſtatement of the extent or nature of the conditions on which they would conclude any peace with theſe kingdoms. Their pretenſions have always been brought forward either as detached or as preliminary points, diſtinct from the main object of negotiation, and accompanied, in every inſtance, with an expreſs reſerve of farther and unexplained demands.

The points which, in purſuance of this ſyſtem, the Plenipotentiaries of the enemy propoſed for ſeparate diſcuſſion in their firſt conferences with his Maſteſty's miniſter, were at once frivolous and offensive; none of them productive of any ſolid advantage to France, but all calculated to raiſe new obſtacles in the way of peace. And to theſe demands was ſoon after added another, in its form unprecedented, in its ſubſtance extravagant, and ſuch as could originate only in the moſt determined and inveterate hoſtility. The principle of mutual compensation, before expreſſly admitted by common conſent, as the juſt and equitable baſis of negotiation, was now diſclaimed; every idea of moderation or reaſon, every appearance of juſtice, was diſregarded; and a conceſſion was required from his Maſteſty's Plenipotentiary, as a preliminary and indiſpenſable condition

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of negotiation, which muſt at once have ſuperſeded all the objects, and precluded all the means of treating. France, after incorporating with her own dominions ſo large a portion of her conqueſts, and affecting to have deprived herſelf, by her own internal regulations, of the power of alienating theſe valuable additions of territory, did not ſcruple to demand from his Maſteſty the abſolute and unconditional ſurrender of all that the energy of his people, and the valour of his fleets and armies have conquered in the preſent war, either from France, or from her allies. She required that the power of Great Britain ſhould be confined within its former limits, at the very moment when her own dominion was extended to a degree almoſt unparalleled in hiſtory. She inſiſted, that in proportion to the increaſe of danger, the means of reſiſtance ſhould be diminished; and that his Maſteſty ſhould give up, without compensation, and into the hands of his enemies, the neceſſary defences of his poſſeſſions, and the future ſafeguards of his empire. Nor was even this demand brought forward as conſtituting the terms of peace, but the price of negotiation; as the condition on which alone his Maſteſty was to be allowed to learn what further unexplained demands were ſtill reſerved, and to what greater ſacrifices theſe unprecedented conceſſions of honour and ſafety were to lead.

Whatever were the preſſions which ſuch a proceeding created, they did not induce the King abruptly to preclude the means of negotiation. In rejecting without a moment's heſitation a demand, which could have been made for no other reaſon than becauſe it was in-

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admiſſible.

admissible, his Majesty, from the fixed resolution to avail himself of every chance of bringing the negotiation to a favourable issue, directed that an opening should still be left, for treating on reasonable and equal grounds, such as might become the dignity of his crown, and the rank and station in Europe in which it has pleased the Divine Providence to place the British nation.

This temperate and conciliatory conduct was strongly expressive of the benevolence of his Majesty's intentions; and it appeared for some time to have prepared the way for that result which has been the uniform object of all his measures. Two months elapsed after his Majesty had unequivocally and definitively refused to comply with the unreasonable and extravagant preliminary which had been demanded by his enemies. During all that time the negotiation was continued open, the conferences were regularly held, and the demand thus explicitly rejected by one party was never once renewed by the other. It was not only abandoned; it was openly disclaimed; assurances were given in direct contradiction to it. Promises were continually repeated, that his Majesty's explicit and detailed proposals should at length be answered by that which could alone evince a real disposition to negotiate with sincerity, by the delivery of a counter-project, of a nature tending to facilitate the conclusion of peace; and the long delays of the French government in executing these promises were excused and accounted for by an unequivocal declaration, that France was concerting with her allies for those sacrifices on their part, which might afford

the means of proceeding in the negotiation. Week after week passed over in the repetition of these solemn engagements on the part of his Majesty's enemies. His desire for peace induced him to wait for their completion with an anxiety proportioned to the importance of the object; nor was it much to expect that his minister should at length be informed what was the extent and nature of the conditions on which his enemies were disposed to terminate the war.

It was in this stage of the business that, on the 11th of September the appointment of new Plenipotentiaries was announced on the part of France, under a formal promise that their arrival should facilitate and expedite the work of peace.

To renew, in a shape still more offensive than before, the inadmissible demand so long before brought forward, and so long abandoned, was the first act of these new messengers of peace. And such was now the undisguised impatience of the King's enemies to terminate all treaty, and to exclude all prospect of accommodation, that even the continuance of the King's Plenipotentiary at the appointed place of negotiation was made by them to depend on his immediate compliance with a condition which his court had, two months before, explicitly refused, and concerning which no further discussion had since occurred. His reply was such as the occasion required; and he immediately received a positive and written order to depart from France.

The subsequent conduct of his Majesty's enemies has aggravated even this proceeding, and added fresh insult to this unexampled outrage.

rage. The insurmountable obstacles which they threw in the way of peace were accompanied with an ostentatious profession of the most pacific dispositions. In cutting off the means of negotiation they still pretended to retain the strongest desire to negotiate: in ordering the King's minister to quit their country, they professed the hope of his immediate return to it; and in renewing their former inadmissible and rejected demand, they declared their confident expectation of a speedy and favourable answer. Yet before any answer could arrive they published a declaration, announcing to their country the departure of the King's minister, and attempting, as in every former instance, to ascribe to the conduct of Great Britain the disappointment of the general wish for peace, and the renewal of all the calamities of war. The same attempt has been prolonged in subsequent communications, equally insidious and illusory, by which they have obviously intended to furnish the colour and empty pretence of a wish for peace, while they have still studiously and obstinately persisted in evading every step which could lead to the success of any negotiation; have continued to insist on the same inadmissible and extravagant preliminary, and have uniformly withheld all explanation either on the particulars of the proposals of peace, so long since delivered by his Majesty's minister, or on any other terms on which they were themselves ready to conclude: and this in the vain hope that it could be possible by any artifice to disguise the truth of these transactions, or that any exercise of power, however despotic, could prevent such facts from being known, felt,

and understood, even in France itself.

To France, to Europe, and to the world, it must be manifest that the French government (while they persist in their present sentiments) leave his Majesty without an alternative, unless he were prepared to surrender and sacrifice to the undisguised ambition of his enemies the honour of his crown and the safety of his dominions. It must be manifest, that, instead of shewing, on their part, any inclination to meet his Majesty's pacific overtures on any moderate terms, they have never brought themselves to state any terms (however exorbitant) on which they were ready to conclude peace. They have asked as a preliminary (and in the form the most arrogant and offensive) concessions which the comparative situation of the two countries would have rendered extravagant in any stage of negotiation; which were directly contrary to their own repeated professions; and which, nevertheless, they peremptorily required to be complied with in the very outset; reserving an unlimited power of afterwards accumulating, from time to time, fresh demands, increasing in proportion to every new concession.

On the other hand, the terms proposed by his Majesty have been stated in the most clear, open, and unequivocal manner. The discussion of all the points to which they relate, or of any others which the enemy might bring forward as the terms of peace, has been, on his Majesty's part, repeatedly called for, as often promised by the French Plenipotentiaries, but to this day has never yet been obtained. The rupture of the negotia-

tion is not, therefore, to be ascribed to any pretensions (however inadmissible) urged as the price of peace; not to any ultimate difference on terms, however exorbitant; but to the evident and fixed determination of the enemy to prolong the contest, and to pursue, at all hazards, their hostile designs against the prosperity and safety of these kingdoms.

While this determination continues to prevail, his Majesty's earnest wishes and endeavours to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless. But his sentiments remain unaltered. He looks with anxious expectation to the moment when the government of France may shew a disposition and spirit in any degree corresponding to his own. And he renews even now, and before all Europe, the solemn declaration, that, in spite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when his claims have been strengthened and confirmed by that fresh success which, by the blessing of Providence, has recently attended his arms, he is yet ready (if the calamities of war can now be closed) to conclude peace on the same moderate and equitable principles and terms which he has before proposed: the rejection of such terms must now, more than ever, demonstrate the implacable animosity and insatiable ambition of those with whom he has to contend, and to them alone must the future consequences of the prolongation of the war be ascribed.

If such unhappily is the spirit by which they are still actuated, his Majesty can neither hesitate as to the principles of his own conduct, nor doubt the sentiments and determination of his people. He will

not be wanting to them, and he is confident they will not be wanting to themselves. He has an anxious but a sacred and indispensable duty to fulfil: he will discharge it with resolution, constancy, and firmness. Deeply as he must regret the continuance of a war so destructive in its progress, and so burthensome even in its success, he knows the character of the brave people whose interests and honour are entrusted to him. These it is the first object of his life to maintain; and he is convinced, that neither the resources nor the spirit of his kingdoms will be found inadequate to this arduous contest, or unequal to the importance and value of the objects which are at stake. He trusts that the favour of Providence, by which they have always hitherto been supported against all their enemies, will be still extended to them; and that, under this protection, his faithful subjects, by a resolute and vigorous application of the means which they possess, will be enabled to vindicate the independence of their country, and to resist with just indignation the assumed superiority of an enemy against whom they have fought with the courage, the success, and glory of their ancestors; and who aims at nothing less than to destroy at once whatever has contributed to the prosperity and greatness of the British empire, all the channels of its industry, and all the sources of its power; its security from abroad, its tranquillity at home, and above all, that constitution, on which alone depends the undisturbed enjoyment of its religion, laws, and liberties.

Westminster,
October 25, 1797.

Hu

His Majesty's Speech on the Meeting of Parliament, Nov. 2d. 1797.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is matter of great concern to me, that the earnest endeavours which I have continued to employ since I met you last in parliament, to restore to my subjects the blessings of peace, on safe and honourable terms, have been rendered ineffectual. The declaration which I have caused to be published, and the other papers which I have directed to be laid before you, will abundantly prove to you and to the world, that every step has been taken on my part, which would tend to accelerate that desirable object; and that the long delay and final rupture of the negotiation are to be attributed solely to the evasive conduct, the unwarrantable pretensions, and inordinate ambition of the enemy, and, above all, to their inveterate animosity to these kingdoms. I have the fullest reliance, under Divine Providence, on your vigour and wisdom, and on the zeal of a great and free people, sensible that they are contending for their dearest interests, and determined to shew themselves worthy of the blessings which they are struggling to defend. Compelled as we are, by the most evident necessity, to persevere in the contest until a more pacific spirit shall be manifested on the part of the enemy, we have the satisfaction of knowing that we possess means and resources proportioned to the exertions which we may be called upon to make. During a period of hostility, our revenue has continued to be highly productive, our national industry has been extended, and our commerce has exceeded

its former limits. The public spirit of my people has been displayed; my troops, of every description, have acquired fresh claims to esteem and admiration; and the repeated successes of my navy have been recently crowned by the decisive victory with which Providence has rewarded the exertions of my fleet, under the command of Admiral Lord Duncan. No event could be followed by more important and beneficial consequences, or form a more brilliant addition to those numerous heroic exploits, which, in the course of the present war, have raised to a height, hitherto unexampled, the naval glory of the country.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I have directed the necessary estimates for the year to be laid before you. The state of the war, and the happy consequences of our recent success, will admit of some diminution in our expences, consistently with the vigorous efforts which we may have occasion to make. In considering what may be the best mode of defraying the heavy expences, still unavoidable, you will bear in mind the nature of the present crisis, and that the true value of any temporary sacrifices which it may be necessary to make, can only be estimated by the importance of maintaining public credit, and of convincing the enemy, that, while we retain an ardent desire for peace on safe and honourable terms, we possess the means, as well as the determination, to support with vigour the ardent contest, as long as it may be necessary for preserving the honour and independence of these kingdoms.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

After the experience which I have had of your loyalty and attachment to me, and of your zeal for the interests of my people, I have only to recommend to you a perseverance in the same principles which have hitherto actuated you. The events of every day must impress you more and more with a sense of the blessings which we derive from our civil and religious establishments, and which have so long distinguished us amongst the nations of Europe. These blessings can only be preserved by inculcating and enforcing a due reverence to the laws, by repressing with promptitude every attempt to interrupt our internal tranquillity, and by maintaining inviolate that happy constitution which we inherit from our ancestors, and on which the security and happiness of every class of my subjects essentially depend.

His Majesty's Answer to the Address of both Houses of Parliament, on the Subject of the Rupture of the late Negotiation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

NOTHING could be more satisfactory to me than this unanimous declaration of the sentiments of my two houses of parliament. They are such as the conduct and declared intention of the enemy could not fail to produce. We are engaged in a cause which is common to us all; and contending for every interest which a free and independent nation can have to maintain. Under the blessings of Providence I look with confidence to the issue of this great con-

test; but in every event my resolution is taken. It is such as I owe to God, to my country, and to myself; and it is confirmed by the sentiments which you have this day declared to me. I will not be wanting to my people, but will stand or fall with them, in the defence of our religion, and in the maintenance of the independence, laws, and liberties of these kingdoms.

Protest of Earl Fitzwilliam, on the Rejection of his Amendment to the Address of their Lordships, November 2d.

DISSENTIENT,

1st. **B**ECAUSE the amendment, which has been rejected, appeared to me necessary to save the honour of this House from being implicated in approving a negotiation, of which we knew little more than that it has drawn down new contumelies and indignities, new injuries and outrages, on his Majesty and his people. Of these indeed too much is already known. His Majesty has been advised to set forth a detailed account of them to France, to Europe, and to the world, as if the late abrupt conclusion of the negotiation by the Directory, and the insulting dismissal of our ambassador, were not the notorious and immediate consequence of the public voice of France having been over-ruled by force and terror; and as if all Europe, however in great part subdued also by force and terror, and America, the only part of the world out of Europe which is directly connected with the system of Europe, were not too well acquainted before with the disposition

disposition and principles of the common enemy. On his side, we are told that there was a studied accumulation of every thing that could offend and irritate a high-minded people, such as the people of England once was;—a wanton violation of all the mutually respectful forms which long usage has established in the intercourse of free nations;—and a final demand (to which, from the moment of our first pacific overtures, that arrogant power has constantly recurred) of a direct surrender of our independence, by taking his laws and treaties for the basis of negotiations, and indeed for a preliminary to all discussion. On our side, it is avowed that there was a departure from all the rules of common prudence, by disclosing all our objects before we could learn any one definitive pretension of the enemy, as the price of peace; and a patience that, it is too much to be feared, France, Europe, and the world, to which it is declared, may mistake for pusillanimity. The circumstances which could warrant such a conduct, so contrary to all common policy, ought indeed to be weighty and grave, if not imperious and irresistible, under our present circumstances, to take any step which may seem, however distantly, to approve that conduct, can only tend to deceive his Majesty's ministers as to the sentiments of this House, and induce still greater humiliation, which must terminate in ruin as well as in dishonour. No country can be safe which is not respected; no country can hope to be respected that does not first respect itself.

2dly. Because, having recorded my sentiments on the Journals of this House when this train of mea-

asures was new, and the result of the first experiment yet in suspense, I have now the affliction of finding, that whatever I had apprehended from it has been very much exceeded by its effects, in raising the insolence and audacity of the enemy, and in breaking down that spirit and energy of government which can alone work out our safety in this awful juncture, or give dignity and glory to our fall.

3dly. Because the sacrifices which his Majesty has lately been advised to offer, and still to declare himself ready to make, cannot now have the same object which the same, or similar offers, had on a former occasion. We were then anxious, by the cession of our own acquisitions, to redeem the most important part of the ancient established system of Europe, in which a breach had been made, and which was menaced with still greater danger. In different treaties of peace, sometimes England, sometimes France, sometimes other states, according to the circumstances of the juncture, have surrendered more or less of their actual conquests for the purpose of restoring the general balance of power, for the general safety. In such a peace we should have had some apparent security, though slender indeed, against the ambition and principles of Republican France. But our last proposed sacrifices were offered merely to obtain peace. For that, and for that alone, we were prepared to give up possessions which, under the laws of war, had become our own, whilst the enemy had invariably insisted on keeping almost every thing which his arms had conquered from the other great powers of Europe. Every thing that may be necessary to give rational security to an ene-

my shewing a true pacific disposition, would be well surrendered without any compensation; but a proposal to purchase peace, as a valuable consideration in itself, is a distinct admission of inferiority, or a proof of pusillanimity, never honourable, and therefore never safe to a great nation, especially in the face of an enemy who measures all right by power and audacity; and against whom, it was admitted in debate by his Majesty's ministers, "That no security could be found in peace, without uncommon caution, and an uncommon degree of warlike preparation." A treaty formed on such a principle may be complimented with the name of peace, but it will be in effect only a suspension of active hostility, without any of the advantages of peace, and subject to all the expences and dangers of war.

4thly. Because the whole conduct, as well as declarations of the enemy, since the opening of the last session, had been particularly pointed against this country, so as to leave no rational ground of expecting any event from negotiation but that which has followed, of unavailing humiliation. The original treaty of France with America was most unjustly infringed, and avowedly because the latter country would not insist on our granting nominally to her, but really to France, exceptions and immunities derogated from the general maritime law respecting neutral nations, while no one word of conciliation was ever used towards us. Our ally the Emperor was by turns menaced and caressed, to induce him to listen to a separate peace; And in the very outset of our late negotiation, his Majesty has declared that "Modes were insist-

ed upon, the most inconsistent with the enemy's own conduct in every other instance." What has never yet been demanded by that insolent government from any other great state of Europe, was exacted from us, that we should become accessaries in violating all the ancient usages, invented and received to guard the independency and dignity even of the weakest powers. No tolerably secure and honourable peace could have come, or ever can come, from a negotiation commenced and continued in that spirit.

5thly. Because, while his Majesty persisted in a disposition to treat, and when he again offered in his public declaration to ratify the terms before proposed by him, the whole ground had failed on which alone his Majesty had been induced, on the 8th of December, 1793, to declare, for the first time, a desire of meeting any disposition which the enemy might manifest to negotiate a general peace on just and suitable terms. That ground, as it was previously explained to us by his Majesty's speech on the opening of that session; and as all his Majesty's ministers constantly argued in debate, was the establishment in France "of an order of things compatible with the tranquillity of other countries, and affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded." Such an order of things was benevolently hoped by his Majesty to have been established in the third new constitution made in the fourth year of the French Republic. In the interim between our two negotiations at Paris and at Lisle, the first election, not immediately con-
trouled

trouled by an armed force, came on under that constitution. The true voice of the majority of France was for the first time heard, and heard against the actual government of that wretched country. The armies were called in to stifle that voice. The principal leaders of the two legislative councils were seized and transported without any form of trial:—a new and unheard-of thing even in the history of their injustice:—nearly two-thirds of France were disfranchised; the press silenced; the clergy again proscribed, and the most arbitrary and ferocious measures threatened, as well as some absolutely taken, against all that remains of the nobility, gentry, and magistracy of the ancient monarchy. The power now established is notoriously the very same in character, in maxims, and in conduct, as well as for the most part exercised or supported by the same men, with the government which existed at, and soon after, the commencement of the war; and which was truly described in his Majesty's declaration of the 29th of October, 1793, as a “state of things that could not exist in France without involving all the surrounding powers in one common danger, without giving them the right, without imposing it upon them as a duty, to stop the progress of an evil which existed only by the successive violation of all law and all property; and which attacked the fundamental principles by which mankind are united in the bonds of civil society.” It was against that government “that his Majesty then called upon the people of France to join the standard of an hereditary monarchy, in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality,

and religion.” The continuance of the same sort of government, changing never as to its fundamental principles, though fluctuating perpetually as to the persons of the usurpers who occasionally tyrannize over the enslaved people, has confirmed me more than ever in my full assent to the wisdom of his Majesty's declaration then made.

6thly. Because, though the most absolute and overruling necessity could hardly palliate, much less justify, the sacrifices which the late negotiation would have made of our dignity, honour, and independence, together with our acquisitions; yet we have the satisfaction of knowing how and when his Majesty's ministers advised him in his declaration to repeat his offers of peace. They also know that nothing in any degree approaching to such necessity exists. The relative situation of this kingdom with regard to France, is much improved since last year. We have lost nothing;—we have gained something. The extension of the enemy's dominion, under the name of protection, in the interior of Italy, gives him little additional means of immediately annoying us. The marine of those allies, through whom alone he hoped to act against us, has been crippled by our glorious victories. We are secure from him, and he is left open by the indisputed superiority of our navy, to our attack, if his Majesty shall be advised to call forth the spirit and energy of his people, and to carry succour and assistance to the majority of that nation groaning under the tyranny of the usurpation, and manifesting, on every occasion, sentiments of disaffection and hostility towards the establishment deceitfully and cruelly imposed on them

as a mild and beneficent constitution. This is a state of things not the result of my speculation, but derived from the admission of the usurpers themselves. It is by them brought forward in their late declarations as their justification, and as the imperious and irresistible motive for violently disfranchising so large a majority of the nation of those rights and privileges upon which, as upon an unalterable basis, the pretended liberties of their Republic were built and established. The pecuniary distress and embarrassments of the enemy have increased, so as to have been a pretence for some of the late violent proceedings in France; while, on the contrary, the enquiries of our committees have long since prepared the House to anticipate the pleasing assurances of his Majesty, "That we possess means and resources proportionate to the objects which were at stake; that our revenue has continued highly productive, our national industry has been extended, and our commerce has surpassed its former limits."

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

GEORGE R.

Additional Instructions to the Commanders of all our Ships of War and Privateers that have, or may have, Letters of Marque against France, Spain, or the Subjects of the United Provinces, inhabiting within any of their Countries, Territories, and Dominions. Given at our Court at St. James's, the 20th day of November, 1797, in the 38th Year of our Reign.

WHEREAS we have thought it expedient that permission should be given to vessels be-

longing to the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, having not more than one deck, to trade between the free ports established in the island of Jamaica, and also in the Bahama Islands, and the Spanish colonies in America, according to the regulations of the several acts for establishing free ports in our West India islands, notwithstanding the present hostilities. And whereas we have thought it expedient that, notwithstanding the said hostilities, permission should likewise be given to any British vessels navigated according to the laws now in force, to trade between the said free ports in the island of Jamaica and in the said Bahama Islands and the Spanish colonies in America, provided such British and Spanish vessels that shall trade between the said free ports in the island of Jamaica and the said Spanish colonies, shall have a licence from the Governor or Commander in Chief of our island of Jamaica; and that such British and Spanish vessels that shall trade between the free ports in the Bahama Islands and the said Spanish colonies, shall have a licence from the Governor or Commander in Chief of the Bahama Islands; and provided such British and Spanish vessels shall import into the free ports of Jamaica and the Bahama Islands such goods only as are hereafter enumerated, viz. wool, cotton-wool, indigo, cochineal, drugs of all sorts, cocoa, tobacco, logwood, fustic, and all sorts of wood for dyers use; hides, skins, and tallow; beaver, and all sorts of furs; tortoise-shells, hard wood, or mill-timber, mahogany, and all other woods for cabinet-ware; horses, asses, mules, and cattle, being the growth and production of any of the

the colonies or plantations in America, belonging to the crown of Spain; and all coin or bullion, diamonds or precious stones, coming from thence; and provided such British and Spanish vessels shall export from such free ports only the said goods and commodities; and also rum, the produce of any British island, and negroes, which shall have been legally imported; and also all goods, wares, merchandizes, and manufactures, which shall have been legally imported, except masts, yards, or bowsprits, pitch, tar, turpentine, and all other naval or military stores, and tobacco. The commanders of our ships of war, and of ships commissioned with letters of marque, are hereby required and enjoined not to detain or molest any such Spanish vessels, or any British vessels, trading between the free ports in the said islands and the Spanish colonies in America, provided they are *bona fide* employed in carrying on their trade conformably to the respective regulations hereinabove described, and have a licence for that purpose from the Governor or Commander in Chief of the said islands respectively; and in case such ship so licenced should be captured and brought into any port, through misapprehension or breach of our order, our courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty are hereby required to liberate the same, as being under the protection of our Special Commission.

By his Majesty's command,
(Signed) PORTLAND.

Letter from the King of Great Britain, as Elector of Hanover, to his Imperial Majesty.

THE letter of the 7th of September, 1796, with which

your Imperial Majesty has favoured me, respecting the possession of the territory of the imperial city of Nuremberg, of the dependencies of the bishopric of Eichstadt, and of the immediate command in Franconia, I hold as a precious monument of the sentiments of justice and paternal solicitude by which your Majesty evinces the cordial concern you feel for the preservation of the Germanic constitution, and for the punctual observance of the Electoral capitulation: a conduct which cannot fail considerably to contribute to the glory of your Imperial Majesty's reign.

I received that letter with sentiments of veneration equal to the gratitude that was excited in my breast by the kind confidence of which your Imperial Majesty has thereby given so striking a proof: and I accordingly could not but pay the most scrupulous attention to the object in question, and ponder on it with all the anxiety which the most vivid interest could inspire.

Your Majesty, doubtless, can be no stranger to the principles I profess respecting the maintenance of the system of the Empire, and the regard due to its laws, as also to the uniform disposition which will invariably induce me to do every thing in my power that can contribute to that end. I have by no means neglected to consider the importance and extensive consequences connected with the events in question; and I cannot but applaud the profound wisdom of the measures which your Majesty has adopted. Your Majesty has expressed a desire to be acquainted with my sentiments and opinion on this subject, and also that I would employ my interposition with the King of Prussia: and indeed I think
that

that the interposition suggested by your Majesty, of all the Electors of the Empire, with his Prussian Majesty, is, in the existing circumstances, highly expedient; as, from the entire confidence reposed in the sentiments and opinion of his Prussian Majesty, the Electors are induced to hope that he will not interrupt the course of justice, but that he will express his decided preference that the lawful possessors should be protected in the enjoyment of their rights. I am conscious, therefore, that I comply with the wishes of your Imperial Majesty, by sending to his Prussian Majesty the letter, a copy of which I do not scruple to annex to the present. Nothing shall ever be more agreeable to me than to seize every opportunity of proving to your Imperial Majesty, on every occasion, how unfeignedly I confide in him, and thus to convince him of the high esteem with which I always am

Your Imperial Majesty's, &c.
(Signed) GEORGE R.
St. James's, Feb. 17, 1797.

*Letter from the King of Great Britain,
&c. to the King of Prussia.*

THE perfect confidence I repose in the patriotic sentiments of your Majesty, as well as the friendship which, I flatter myself, your Majesty entertains for me, induce me without any hesitation to acquaint you, that his Imperial Majesty has written to me, as an Elector of the Empire, a private and circumstantial letter respecting the taking possession of the imperial city of Nuremberg, of the dependencies of Eichstadt, and of the

Equestrian order, which took place last year on the part of your Majesty, on account of your principalities of Brandenburg, in Franconia. His Imperial Majesty has expressed a desire that I would communicate to him my sentiments on this subject, and also that I would employ my interposition with your Majesty.

Whereas his Imperial Majesty, in the differences that have arisen on this occasion, is only desirous to fulfil the duty prescribed to him by the capitulation of the Empire, in a manner that must highly redound to his honour, and at the same time to manifest the high consideration which he entertains for your Majesty, I accordingly held it my duty, in my capacity of Elector, and in compliance with my obligations, not to refuse the request of his Imperial Majesty. I am, however, far from being disposed to erect myself into a judge of the justice of your Majesty's pretensions, or even to enter into a discussion of the principles on which they are grounded. I feel it sufficient to rely on your Majesty's wisdom and abilities, which so fully enable your Majesty to judge of every thing that belongs to the system and constitution of the Germanic Empire, in the preservation of which your Majesty has principally taken on you to be vigilant; and for this I depend on the noble and generous sentiments by which your Majesty, of your own accord, seemed to have regulated your conduct in the instructions published the 17th of March, 1792, with regard to the regencies of Anspach and Baircuth, especially respecting the pretensions and difference which might arise in those principalities. These sentiments and this conduct of your Majesty,

Majesty, leave me no doubt but that it is your Majesty's intention to support, on constitutional grounds only, your claims of your neighbours in Franconia; and consequently that you will leave those less powerful co-estates and proprietories of the Empire in the enjoyment of what the laws secure to them, and of what your Majesty grants to your own subjects against yourself, to wit, their maintenance and re-establishment in a just and incontestible possession.

While I most willingly, on the present occasion, manifest the most perfect confidence in your Majesty, I at the same time take the opportunity of renewing to your Majesty the assurances of the high esteem with which I am, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE R.
St. James's, Feb. 17, 1797.

PLAN SENT TO ALL THE PARISHES
OF GREAT BRITAIN, MAY, 1797.

*Plan of a General Association of the Inhabitants of the Parish of
to serve without Pay, for the Protection thereof, in case of any Emergency,
at the Requisition of the Civil Power,
to be submitted to the Consideration of a Vestry to be called for that Purpose.*

1st. **A** GENERAL association shall be formed, which association shall be composed of householders, and such other inmates as shall be recommended by two householders at the least, being themselves members of the association, and approved, if judged necessary, by a committee of the association to be chosen at a general meeting.

2d. That the members of the association shall put down their names

and places of abode in a book, to be provided and kept in the vestry for that purpose.

3d. The parish to be divided into districts; the inhabitants of each district who enroll themselves, to be divided into classes of fifty each, to be commanded by an inhabitant of that district, who shall be considered as captain of the class, and act as such, under a commission from his Majesty. This officer to be recommended by a committee of the association to the Lord Lieutenant. Each class shall carry a flag to distinguish it, and the person who is to carry it shall be nominated by the captain of each class.

4th. The majority of any class shall be empowered to reject from that class any individual, whether householder or inmate, who shall appear to them to be an unfit member thereof.

5th. In case of alarm, and at the requisition of the civil power, the class to be assembled at a rendezvous, which shall be previously appointed by the captain.

6th. Place of general rendezvous for all the classes shall be appointed by the committee of association.

7th. All persons enrolling themselves, to furnish their own arms; which arms shall be either firelocks and bayonets, pikes, or any other arms which shall be approved of by the committee.

8th. A list of the members in each class to be made, and a copy lodged with each member in that class, together with a copy of such instructions, signed by the captain of the class, as may be found necessary for their more speedily collecting together, in case of alarm, and for regulating the proper quantity of ammunition which each member
furnished

furnished with a firelock shall constantly be provided with.

9th. No member of the association to be required to meet to exercise; but each class may be mustered with their arms by its captain, at such convenient and stated times as shall be agreed upon; those who furnish themselves with firelocks will, at their request, be allowed a serjeant or corporal by government, to teach them the use of fire-arms, in order that they may more conveniently act together, either in separate classes, or jointly with others in the same class, as shall be agreed upon by the members of the association*.

10th. A hat and feather, or some other mark of distinction, to be adopted; or those provided with firelocks, if formed into classes by themselves, to have an uniform if they chuse it†.

11th. Not to go out of the parish, except of their own accord.

12th. No person who is engaged in any military corps, or other association, to be appointed as captain; but such persons may enroll themselves, and only engage to join this association when not called away by other duties.

N. B. The above plan is only suggested as a general outline, which may be varied and modified in such manner as may best suit the local situations and convenience of the inhabitants of such parishes as shall think proper to associate for the mutual security and protection of

themselves and their property, upon the principle here laid down.

As some small expences must necessarily be incurred for the purchase of flags for the different classes, paying for the stamps of the commissions (his Majesty being graciously pleased to grant them free of every other expence) and some other trifling incidental charges, a subscription to be opened, where every householder who approves of this plan, and will give it his support, may subscribe any small sum that he pleases, not exceeding the amount of shillings, to defray the same.

Such female householders as are willing to signify their approbation of this plan, and give their support to it, to be requested to authorise some householder in the parish, who is himself a member of the association, to sign their names, and to attest that it is by their authority; and in that case such female householder may, in concurrence with another householder, being a member of the association, recommend any householders or inmates, being proper persons, to join in the association; and the person so recommended shall be inrolled in like manner as the other members of the association.

Papers relating to the Mutiny.

PETITIONS OF THE SEAMEN.

To the Right Honourable and the Honourable

* This will be determined in each parish, upon a consideration of what may best suit the mutual convenience of the several members, according to their relative situations in point of neighbourhood, and to the arms which they mean to furnish themselves with.

† This will be governed by the agreement which the association shall come to upon the 9th article.

*able Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes
in Parliament aſſembled.*

*The humble Petition of the Seamen and
Marines on board his Maſteſty's Ships,
in behalf of themſelves,*

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your petitioners, relying on the candour and juſtice of your Honourable Houſe, make bold to lay their grievances before you, hoping that, when you reflect on them, you will pleaſe to give redreſs, as far as your wiſdom ſhall deem neceſſary.

We beg leave to remind your auguſt aſſembly, that the act of parliament paſſed in the reign of King Charles II. wherein the wages of all ſeamen ſerving on board his Maſteſty's fleet was ſettled, paſſed at a time when the neceſſaries of life, and ſlops of every denomination, were at leaſt thirty per cent. cheaper than at the preſent time; which enabled ſeamen and marines to provide better for their families than we can do now with one half advance.

We therefore requeſt your honourable houſe will be ſo kind as to reviſe the act before mentioned, and make ſuch amendments therein as will enable your Petitioners, and their families to live in the ſame comfortable manner as ſeamen and marines did at that time.

Your Petitioners, with all humility laid their grievances before the Honourable Earl Howe, and flattered ourſelves with the hopes that his Lordſhip would have been an advocate for us, as we have been repeatedly under his command, and made the Britiſh flag ride triumphantly over that of our enemies. But, to our great ſurpriſe, we find

ourſelves unprotected by him, who has ſeen ſo many inſtances of our intrepidity, in carrying the Britiſh Flag into every part of the ſeas with victory and ſucceſs.

We profeſs ourſelves as loyal to our Sovereign, and zealous in the defence of our country, as the army or militia can be, and eſteem ourſelves equally entitled to his Maſteſty's munificence; therefore with jealousy we behold their pay augmented, and their out-penſions of Chelſea college increaſed to thirteen pounds per annum, while we remain neglected, and the out-penſioners of Greenwich have only ſeven pounds per annum.

We, your petitioners, therefore, humbly implore that you will take theſe matters into conſideration, and, with your accuſtomed goodneſs and liberality, comply with the prayer of this Petition—and your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.

We, the Delegates of the Fleet, hereunto ſign our names for the ſhips companies:

Royal George—Valentine Joyce, John Morris.

Queen Charlotte — Patrick Glynn, John Udleſon.

Royal Sovereign—Joſeph Green, John Richardſon.

London—Alexander Harding, William Ruly.

Glory—Patrick Dugan, John Bethell.

Duke — Michael Adams, William Anderſon.

Mars—Thomas Allen, James Blithe.

Marlborough—John Vaſſia, William Senator.

Ramilies—Charles Berry, George Clear.

Robuſt—David Wilſon, John Scri-
vener.

E' Impetueux—

L'Impetueux—John Witna, William Porter.

Defence—George Galaway, James Barrenck.

Terrible—Mark Turner, George Salked.

La Pompee—William Potts, James Melvin.

Minotaur—Dennis Lawley, George Crossland.

Defiance—John Saunders, John Husband.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

My Lords,

WE, the seamen of his Majesty's navy, take the liberty of addressing your Lordships in an humble petition, shewing the many hardships and oppressions we have laboured under for many years, and which we hope your Lordships will redress as soon as possible. We flatter ourselves that your Lordships, together with the nation in general, will acknowledge our worth and good services, both in the American war as well as the present; for which good service your Lordships petitioners do unanimously agree in opinion, that their worth to the nation, and laborious industry in defence of their country, deserve some better encouragement than that we meet with at present, or from any we have experienced. We, your petitioners, do not boast of our good services for any other purpose than that of putting you and the nation in mind of the respect due to us, nor do we ever intend to deviate from our former character; so far from any thing of that kind, or that an Englishman or men should turn their coats, we likewise agree in opinion, that we

should suffer double the hardships we have hitherto experienced before we would suffer the crown of England to be in the least imposed upon by that of any other power in the world; we therefore beg leave to inform your Lordships of the grievances which we at present labour under.

We, your humble petitioners, relying that your Lordships will take into early consideration the grievances of which we complain, and do not in the least doubt but your Lordships will comply with our desires, which are every way reasonable.

The first grievance we have to complain of is, that our wages are too low, and ought to be raised, that we might be the better able to support our wives and families in a manner comfortable, and whom we are in duty bound to support as far as our wages will allow, which, we trust, will be looked into by your Lordships, and the Honourable House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

We, your petitioners, beg that your Lordships will take into consideration the grievances of which we complain, and now lay before you.

First, That our provisions be raised to the weight of sixteen ounces to the pound, and of a better quality; and that our measures may be the same as those used in the commercial trade of this country.

Secondly, That your petitioners request your Honours will be pleased to observe, there should be no flour served while we are in harbour, in any port whatever, under the command of the British flag; and also, that there might be granted

ed a sufficient quantity of vegetables of such kind as may be the most plentiful in the ports to which we go; which we grievously complain and lay under the want of.

Thirdly, That your Lordships will be pleased seriously to look into the state of the sick on board his Majesty's ships, that they may be better attended to, and that they may have the use of such necessaries as are allowed for them in time of sickness; and that these necessaries be not on any account embezzled.

Fourthly, That your Lordships will be so kind as to look into this affair, which is nowise unreasonable; and that we may be looked upon as a number of men standing in defence of our country; and that we may in some wise have grant and opportunity to taste the sweets of liberty on shore, when in any harbour, and when we have completed the duty of our ship, after our return from sea: and that no man may encroach upon his liberty, there shall be a boundary limited, and those trespassing any further, without a written order from the commanding officer, shall be punished according to the rules of the navy; which is a natural request, and congenial to the heart of man, and certainly to us, that you make the boast of being the guardians of the land.

Fifthly, That if any man is wounded in action, his pay be continued until he is cured and discharged; and if any ship has any real grievances to complain of, we hope your Lordships will readily redress them, as far as in your power, to prevent any disturbances.

It is also unanimously agreed by
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the fleet, that, from this day, no grievances shall be received, in order to convince the nation at large, that we know when to cease to ask, as well as to begin, and that we ask nothing but what is moderate, and may be granted without detriment to the nation, or injury to the service.

Given on board the Queen Charlotte, by the Delegates of the Fleet, the 18th day of April, 1797.

[The Signatures to this Petition are exactly the same as those affixed to the preceding one.]

Answer of the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. to the above Petitions.

HAVING taken into consideration the Petitions transmitted by your Lordship, from the crews of his Majesty's ships under your command; and having the strongest desire to attend to all the complaints of the seamen of his Majesty's navy, and to grant them every just and reasonable redress; and having considered the difference of the price of the necessaries of life at this and at that period when the pay of seamen was established, we do hereby require and direct your Lordship to take the speediest method of communicating to the fleet, That we have resolved to recommend it to his Majesty, to propose to Parliament to increase the wages of seamen in his Majesty's navy in the following proportions, viz.

To add Four Shillings per month to the wages of Petty Officers and Able Seamen: Three Shillings per month to the wages of Ordinary Seamen; and

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Two Shillings per month to the wages of Landmen.

That we have resolved, that seamen wounded in action shall be continued in pay until their wounds are healed, or until, being declared unserviceable, they shall receive a pension, or be received into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich; and that having a perfect confidence in the zeal, loyalty, and courage of all the seamen in the fleet, so generally expressed in their petition, and in their earnest desire of serving their country with that spirit which always so eminently distinguished British seamen, we have come to this resolution the more readily, that the seamen may have, as early as possible, an opportunity of shewing their good dispositions, by returning to their duty, as it may be necessary that the fleet should speedily put to sea, to meet the enemy of the country.

Given under our hands, at Portsmouth, 18th April, 1797.

SPENCER,
ARDEN,
W. YOUNG.

*To the Right Honourable
Lord Bridport.*

THE SEAMENS REPLY.

WE received your Lordships answer to our petition; and in order to convince your Lordships, and the nation in general, of our moderation, beg leave to offer the following remarks to your consideration, viz. — That there never has existed but two orders of men in the navy, able and ordinary, therefore the distinction between ordinary and landmen is totally new; we therefore humbly propose to your Lordships, that the old re-

gulations be adhered to: that the wages of able seamen be raised to one shilling per day, and that of petty officers, and the ordinary, in the usual proportion: And as a further proof of our moderation, and that we are actuated by a true spirit of benevolence towards our brethren, the marines, who are not noticed in your Lordships answer, we humbly propose that their pay be augmented, while serving on board, in the same proportion as ordinary seamen. This we hope and trust will be a convincing proof to your Lordships that we are not actuated by a spirit of contradiction, but that we earnestly wish to put a speedy end to the present affair. We beg leave to state to your Lordships, the pensions from Greenwich College, which we earnestly wish to be raised to ten pounds per annum; and, in order to maintain which, we humbly propose to your Lordships, that every seaman employed in the merchant service, instead of sixpence per month, which he now pays, shall hereafter pay one shilling per month, which, we trust, will raise a fund fully adequate to the purpose; and as this in time of peace must be paid by your petitioners, we trust it will give a convincing proof of our disinterestedness and moderation: — We would also recommend that this regulation be extended to the seamen in the service of the East India Company, as we know by experience that there are few sailors employed by them but who have been in the Royal Navy; and we have seen them with our own eyes, after sickness, or other accident has disabled them, without any hope of relief or support, but from their former services in the navy. — As to

provisions : That they be augmented to sixteen ounces to the pound of bread and meat; cheese, butter, and liquor in proportion, of a better quality, and a sufficient quantity of vegetables; and that no flour be served with fresh beef. And we further beg leave to inform your Lordships, that it is unanimously agreed, that until the grievances before stated are redressed, and an act of indemnity passed, we are determined not to lift an anchor: And the grievances of particular ships must be redressed.

Given under our hands, the Delegates of the Fleet, on board the Queen Charlotte, at Spithead, April 19, 1797.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

HAVING taken into consideration a paper containing several representations from the seamen of his Majesty's ships at Spithead, respecting an advance of their wages, and being desirous of granting them every request that can with any degree of reason be complied with, we have resolved to recommend it to his Majesty, that an addition of five shillings and sixpence per month be made to the wages of petty officers and seamen belonging to his Majesty's navy, which will make the wages of able seamen one shilling per day, clear of all deductions; an addition of four shillings and sixpence per month to the wages of every ordinary seaman; and an addition of three shillings and sixpence to the wages of the landmen; and that none of the allowance made to the marines when on shore shall be stopped, on their being embarked

on board any of his Majesty's ships. We have also resolved, that all seamen, marines, and others, serving in his Majesty's ships, shall have the full allowance of provisions, without any deduction for leakage or waste; and that until proper steps can be taken for carrying this into effect, short-allowance money shall be paid to the men, in lieu of the deduction heretofore made; and that all men wounded in action shall receive their full pay until their wounds shall be healed, or until, being declared incurable, they shall receive a pension from the Chest at Chatham, or shall be admitted into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich. And your Lordship is hereby required and directed to communicate this our determination to the Captain of each of his Majesty's ships under your orders, directing him to make it known to the ship's company under his command, and to inform them, that should they be insensible to the very liberal offers now made to them, and persist in their present disobedience, they must no longer expect to enjoy those benefits to which by their former good conduct they were entitled: that in such case, all the men now on board the fleet at Spithead shall be incapable of receiving any smart-money or pension from the Chest of Chatham, or of being admitted at any time into the Royal Hospital at Greenwich; and that they must be answerable for the dreadful consequences which will necessarily attend their continuing to transgress the rules of the service, in open violation of the laws of their country. On the other hand, he is to inform them, that we promise the most perfect forgiveness of all that has passed on this

occasion to every ship's company who, within one hour after the communication to them of the above mentioned resolutions, shall return to their duty in every particular, and shall cease to hold further intercourse with any men who continue in a state of disobedience and mutiny.

Given under our hands at Portsmouth, the 20th of April, 1797.

(Signed) SPENCER,
ARDEN,
W. YOUNG.

To the Right Hon. Lord Bridport.

ANSWER OF THE SEAMEN.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

WE the seamen and marines in and belonging to his Majesty's fleet now lying at Spithead, having received with the utmost satisfaction, and with hearts full of gratitude, the bountiful augmentation of pay and provisions which your Lordships have been pleased to signify shall take place in future in his Majesty's royal navy, by your order, which has been read to us this morning, by the command of Admiral Lord Bridport;

Your Lordships having thus generously taken the prayer of our several petitions into your serious consideration, you have given satisfaction to every loyal and well-disposed seaman and marine belonging to his Majesty's fleets: and, from the assurance which your Lordships have given us respecting such other grievances as we thought right to lay before you, we are thoroughly convinced, should any real grievance or other cause of complaint arise in future, and the same

be laid before your Lordships in a regular manner, we are perfectly satisfied that your Lordships will pay every attention to a number of brave men who ever have, and ever will be, true and faithful to their King and country.

But we beg leave to remind your Lordships, that it is a firm resolution that, until the flour in port be removed, the vegetables and pensions augmented, the grievances of private ships redressed, an act passed, and his Majesty's gracious pardon for the fleet now lying at Spithead be granted, that the fleet will not lift an anchor: and this is the total and final answer.

April 22d, 1797.

A Proclamation for pardoning such Seamen and Marines of the Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet stationed at Spithead, as have been guilty of an Act of Mutiny or Disobedience of Orders, or any Breach or Neglect of Duty; and who shall, upon Notification of such Proclamation on board their respective Ships, return to the regular and ordinary Discharge of their Duty.

GEORGE R.

UPON report of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty of the proceedings of the seamen and Marines of the Squadron of our fleet stationed at Spithead, and of the measures taken by the said Lords Commissioners in consequence thereof; and, in order to manifest our desire to give due encouragement to all those who shall return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, according to the rules and practice of the navy; we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our royal proclamation, and do hereby

hereby promise our most gracious pardon to all seamen and marines serving on board the said squadron, who shall, upon notification hereof on board their respective ships, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty: and we do hereby declare, that all such seamen and marines so returning to their duty, shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties incurred by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty previously committed by them, or any of them.

Given at our court at Windsor, the twenty-second day of April, one thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-seven, and in the thirty-seventh year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Correct Statement of the Demands of the Sailors.

Art. 1st. THAT every indulgence granted to the fleet at Portsmouth be granted to his Majesty's subjects serving in the fleet at the Nore, and places adjacent.

2d. That every man, upon a ship's coming into harbour, shall have liberty (a certain number at a time, so as not to injure the ship's duty) to go and see their friends and families, a convenient time to be allowed to each man.

3d. That all ships, before they go to sea, shall be paid all arrears of wages down to six months, according to the old rules.

4th. That no officer that has been turned out of any of his Majesty's ships shall be employed in the same ship again, without the consent of the ship's company.

5th. That when any of his Majesty's ships shall be paid, that may

have been some time in commission, if there are any pressed men on board that may not be in the regular course of payment, they shall receive two months advance to furnish them with necessaries.

6th. That an indemnification be made any men who run, and may now be in his Majesty's naval service, and that they shall not be liable to be taken up as deserters.

7th. That a more equal distribution be made of prize-money to the crews of his Majesty's ships and vessels of war.

8th. That the articles of war, as now enforced, require various alterations, several of which to be expunged therefrom; and if more moderate ones were held forth to seamen in general, it would be the means of taking off that terror and prejudice against his Majesty's service, on that account too frequently imbibed by seamen, from entering voluntarily into the service.

The committee of delegates of the whole fleet, assembled in council on board his Majesty's ship Sandwich, have unanimously agreed that they will not deliver up their charge until the appearance of some of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to ratify the same.

Given on board his Majesty's ship Sandwich, by the delegates of the fleet, May 20th, 1797.

RICHARD PARKER, President.

Answer from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

To the Seamen and Marines of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels at the Nore, and at Sheerness.

Sheerness, May 22, 1797.

In pursuance of orders communicated to me by the Lords Commissioners

tioners of the Admiralty, I am directed to acquaint the crews of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Nore and at Sheerness, that after the very liberal attention of his Majesty, in encreasing the wages and provisions of the seamen and marines in his Majesty's service, for which they have in general expressed themselves not only satisfied, but highly grateful, their Lordships are extremely surprised to find the seamen and marines of his Majesty's ships at the Nore and Sheerness should be still in a state of disobedience, and bringing forward further requests. Their Lordships therefore have commanded me to inform you, that since all that could reasonably be expected by the seamen and marines has been already granted them, their Lordships cannot accede to any such request.—With respect to the first article of the conditions, presented by the seamen and marines at this port, their Lordships direct me to inform you, as has already been explicitly declared, that all additional allowances of wages and provisions, and every other regulation announced at Portsmouth, have been established by his Majesty's order in council, and by act of parliament, and extended to all seamen and marines in his Majesty's service.—That with respect to the second article of the said conditions, the nature of the service in time of war does not admit of the men having leave to go to their families, except under very particular circumstances, of which the captains or other superior officers alone can judge.—That with respect to the third and fifth articles, the ship's company shall be paid in the manner pointed out in the several acts of parliament at

present in force for the encouragement of seamen and marines employed in his Majesty's service, as they always are, unless some very urgent necessity prevents it; but as it ever has been the practice of the service to shew attention to those who, with the true spirit of British seamen, voluntarily stand forth in defence of their country, their Lordships are desirous of giving every possible encouragement to volunteers; and it is not their intention to direct that advance should be paid to impressed men.—With respect to the fourth article, all arrangements concerning the officers to be employed in the ships of the squadron must be settled by the Admiral or Commanding Officer for the time being, conformably to the instructions of their Lordships, according to the circumstances of each particular place.—That with respect to the sixth article, if it should be his Majesty's pleasure to pardon all who may have deserted from his service in the navy, it must be the effect of his Majesty's royal clemency alone, and not of any requisition; that although their Lordships thought proper to go to Portsmouth for the purpose of obtaining more perfect information of the grievances which the seamen and marines in general might have to represent, and of adopting most expeditiously such measures as might be necessary, and granting such farther indulgences as might render their situation more comfortable, and enable them better to provide for the support of their families, no similar reason exists for their taking such a step on the present occasion.—That the representations made at Portsmouth have been fully considered, and the regulations made in consequence

consequence have already been extended to the whole fleet, and established by the highest authority. Their Lordships therefore direct me to acquaint you, that it is to me and to the officers under whom you serve, that ship's companies are to look up, to whom their petitions are always to be presented, and through whom their Lordships determinations are to be expected. It is their Lordships direction that I should also inform you that, notwithstanding all that you have done, his Majesty's most gracious pardon, and their Lordships order to all officers to bury in oblivion all that has passed, are now offered to you; which, should you refuse, you will have to answer for all the melancholy consequences which must attend your persisting in the present state of disobedience and mutiny. When the seamen and marines at the Nore and at Sheerness reflect that the rest of the fleets have returned to their duty, and have proceeded to sea in search of the enemies of their country, their Lordships have no doubt that they will no longer shew themselves ungrateful for all that has so liberally been granted to them, but will strive who shall be first to shew his loyalty to his King, and his love to his country, by returning to that state of obedience and discipline, without which they cannot expect any longer to enjoy the confidence and good opinion of their country.

(Signed) CHARLES BUCKNER,
Vice-Admiral of the White,
and Commander of his
Majesty's Ships and Vessels
in the River Medway,
and at the Buoy of the
Nore.

To the Seamen and Marines of his Majesty's Ships at the Nore, and at Sheerness.

Sheerness, May 24, 1797.

PURSUANT to directions from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, which I received this afternoon, I am again to call the attention of the seamen and marines on board his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Nore and Sheerness, to the gracious offer already made to them, and to declare that I am instructed and authorised by their Lordships to repeat the offer of a pardon, which will include all offences committed by the seamen and marines during the disorders that have and do prevail, on condition of their returning to their duty. And when the seamen and marines above mentioned shall reflect that they have pledged themselves to be perfectly satisfied with and abide by the determination of their friends at Portsmouth, who, sensible of the indulgence granted to them, have returned with alacrity to their duty, and are now in pursuit of the enemies of their King and country, it is hoped that the seamen and marines at this port will no longer shew themselves ungrateful for all that has been so liberally granted, and which have so completely satisfied the companies of his Majesty's ships composing the Channel fleet; but, on the contrary, that they will be forward in following so laudable an example, and cheerfully express their readiness to accept his Majesty's most gracious pardon, now offered to them a second time, and to return to their duty like British seamen: And have also their Lordships commands further to inform you, that

they do not see the propriety or expediency of their holding a Board of Admiralty at Sheerness; and that they do not mean to encourage a repetition of demands by any further concession; also, that it now rests with the seamen and marines of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Nore and Sheerness, to decide whether it may not be for their interest to return to their duty; and thereby avail themselves of his Majesty's most gracious pardon, rather than expose themselves to those consequences which must follow from their continuance in a state of disobedience.

(Signed) CHARLES BUCKNER,
Vice-Admiral of the White,
&c. &c.

*To the Lords Commissioners for executing
the Office of Lord High Admiral of
Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*

I AM commanded by the Delegates of the whole fleet, assembled in council on board his Majesty's ship Sandwich, to inform your Lordships that they have received your letter from Admiral Buckner, which informs them that it was not your intention of coming to Sheerness. The same has been communicated to his Majesty's ships and vessels lying here, and the determination of the whole is, that they will not come to any accommodation until you appear at the Nore, and redress our grievance.

(Signed) RICHARD PARKER,
President.

By order of the Committee of
Delegates of the whole fleet.

*His Majesty's ship Sandwich,
May 25th, 1797.*

PROCLAMATION.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS it has been represented unto us, that, notwithstanding the declarations made in our name and by our authority, by our Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty, of our gracious intentions to recommend to the consideration of parliament to augment the wages and allowances of the seamen and marines of our fleet, which our gracious intentions and declarations have since been carried into effect by an act of parliament; and notwithstanding the communication made by our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor Richard Earl Howe, Admiral of our fleet, of our gracious intentions towards the seamen and marines of our fleet, for the pardon of the offences by them committed, and our Royal Proclamation thereupon, bearing date the 11th day of May instant; and notwithstanding the sentiments of duty and gratitude with which the same were received by the seamen and marines of our other squadrons, yet the crews on board certain of our ships at the Nore, have not only since the full manifestation of all these our gracious intentions and declarations, been guilty of divers acts of mutiny and disobedience of orders, but have even proceeded to other acts of the most heinous and treasonable nature, by firing upon some of our ships, in order to compel them to submit to their direction; have threatened and taken measures for stopping the commerce of the kingdom passing to and from the port of London; and have, by terror of their force, compelled two frigates to

to desist from executing a particular service, which, by our order, they were directed to perform. We, thinking it right to warn all our seamen and marines on board the said ships, of the heinous nature of the offences by them committed, and of the dangerous consequences thereof to the spirit and discipline of the British navy, and to the welfare of their country, as well as to their own safety, do hereby earnestly require and enjoin all our said seamen and marines immediately, on the notification of this our royal declaration, to return to the regular discharge of their duty, as has already been done by the crews of our other squadrons and fleets, stationed at Portsmouth and Plymouth, and elsewhere.

And whereas we are well assured that a great part of the seamen and marines on board the said ships at the Nore, abhor and detest the criminal proceedings which are still persisted in on board the said ships, and are desirous to return to their duty;

Now we, being desirous to extend our gracious intentions of pardon to all such seamen and marines so serving on board our said ships at the Nore, who may have returned or shall return, upon the notification of this our royal declaration, to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, have authorized, and do hereby authorize and empower our said Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty, or any three of them, to signify to all such seamen and marines who may have been guilty of any of the treasonable acts aforesaid, or of any mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or who shall, upon notification hereof on board the respective ships, return to the

regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, our royal intentions to grant to all such seamen and marines our most gracious pardon, and to promise in our name to all such seamen and marines who have so returned, or shall so return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, our most gracious pardon accordingly. And we do hereby declare, that all such seamen and marines who shall have so returned, or shall so return to their duty, and to whom the said Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty, or any three of them, shall so promise our pardon, shall receive the same accordingly, and shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties incurred by reason of any of the acts aforesaid, or by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty, previously committed by them, or any of them; hereby declaring at the same time, that all such seamen and marines who shall not take the benefit of this our gracious pardon, shall, from henceforth, be considered as liable, according to the nature of their offences, to such punishment as the articles of war and the law have provided for the same.

Given at our Court at Saint James's, the Twenty-seventh Day of May, 1797, in the Thirty-seventh Year of our Reign.

By his Majesty's Command,
PORTLAND.

Order of the Lords of the Admiralty, to the Commanders of his Majesty's Fleet.

WHEREAS from the disposition lately shewn by the seamen belonging

ing to several of his Majesty's ships, it is become highly necessary that the strictest attention should be paid by all officers in his Majesty's naval service, not only to their own conduct, but to the conduct of those who may be under their orders; the more effectually to insure a proper subordination and discipline, and to prevent, as far as may be, all discontent among the seamen, your Lordship is hereby directed to be particularly careful to enforce, so far as the same may depend on you, and to give orders to the officers employed under your command to enforce all the regulations for the preservation of discipline and good order in his Majesty's navy, which are at present established for that purpose: — And you are more especially to give the following directions, viz.

That the Flag Officers of the Squadron under your command do frequently muster the crews of the ships belonging to their respective divisions; that the Captains and Commanders of the ships and vessels of your Squadron never be absent themselves, nor allow any officers under their orders to be absent from on board their respective ships for twenty-four hours at one time, without our permission, or leave obtained from yourself for that purpose.

That all Flag Officers, Captains, and other officers, do wear their respective uniforms, not only whilst they are on board the ships to which they belong, but also when they are on shore in, or near any sea-port town.

That the Captains and Commanders of his Majesty's ships and vessels do cause the Articles of War to be read on board their respective

ships to the companies thereof, at least once in every month, agreeably to their instructions; that they also see that the arms and ammunition belonging to the marines be constantly kept in good order and fit for immediate service, as well in harbour as at sea; and that they are in future to be very careful to rate their ships companies according to the merits of the men, in order that those who may not be deserving thereof, may not receive the pay of able or ordinary seamen.

That particular attention be paid to the regulations relating to the cutting up of fresh beef, that choice pieces be never purposely selected for the officers from that which is cut up for the ship's company; and that choice pieces of salt meat be never taken for the officers out of the tub or vessel from which it may be served to the ship's company.

That officers do not select casks of the best wine or spirits for their own use from those intended for the ship's company, nor exchange any wine or spirits of their own for that which has been sent on board for the use of the ship.

That the Captains and Commanders of his Majesty's ships do strictly enjoin the Surgeons belonging to their respective ships not to take out of the ship any part of the medicines or necessaries intended for the use of the sick, but strictly to apply them to the purposes for which they were sent on board.

That the Captains and Commanders of his Majesty's ships be particularly attentive to the conduct of the men under their command, and that they be ready on the first appearance of mutiny, to use the most vigorous means to suppress

press it, and to bring the ringleaders to punishment.

Given, &c. 1st of May, 1797.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

WHEREAS his Majesty has been most graciously pleased to issue his royal proclamation, dated the 11th instant, and thereby to declare that all such seamen and marines on board any ships of the fleet who may have been guilty of any act of mutiny, or disobedience of orders, or neglect of duty, and who have returned, or shall, upon notification of such his Majesty's proclamation, return to the regular and ordinary discharge of their duty, shall be discharged and released from all prosecutions, imprisonments, and penalties incurred by reason of any act of mutiny or disobedience of orders, or any breach or neglect of duty previously committed by them, or any of them.

And whereas it is our intention, that on no occasion hereafter the minds of the seamen and marines to whom the benefit of the said proclamation has been extended, shall be disquieted by any reproof or reproach in respect of all or any such acts of mutiny, disobedience of orders, or breach or neglect of duty as before-mentioned, but that a total oblivion of such offences should, as far as possible, obtain in consequence thereof; we have therefore thought fit, by these our orders, to signify such meaning and intention to the several Flag Officers, Captains, Commanders, and all their subordinate officers in the fleet; and they are hereby required and directed to conform to these our orders and intentions accordingly.

Given under our hands the 14th day of May, 1797.

SPENCER,
GAMBIER,
YOUNG.

To the several Flag Officers; Captains, and Commanders of his Majesty's Fleet.

By command of their Lordships.

MARSDEN.

BY THE KING—*A Proclamation for the Suppression of the Mutinous and Treasonable Proceedings of the Crews of certain of our Ships at the Nore.*

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS, upon the representation of our Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty, respecting the proceedings of the seamen and marines on board certain of our ships at the Nore, we were pleased to command our said Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty to signify to the said seamen and marines our gracious intentions, expressed in our Royal Declaration, under our sign manual, bearing date at St. James's, the twenty-seventh day of May instant:—[*Here the Proclamation recites verbatim that already published, signed PORTLAND.*] And whereas our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor George John, Earl Spencer, our trusty and well-beloved Charles George, Lord Arden, of our kingdom of Ireland, and W. Young, Esq. Rear-Admiral of the White, being three of the Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty, did cause our gracious intentions, expressed in such our declaration, to be signified to the crews of our ships at the Nore, and did require such crews to return to their due obedience accordingly: And whereas it has been represented to us, that some of the crews of our said ships have been desirous of returning to their obedience accordingly, but

have

have been prevented from so doing by violence: and other of our ships, in the actual discharge of their duty, have been fired upon, and attempts have been made to prevent some of our ships from proceeding, according to the orders of their Commanders: And, whereas, such continued perseverance in rebellious and treasonable attempts against our crown and dignity, after repeated admonitions and offers of our gracious pardon, render it necessary for us to call on all our loving subjects to be aiding and assisting in repressing the same; we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council, to issue this our Royal Proclamations; and we do hereby strictly enjoin and command all our admirals, generals, commanders, and officers, of our forces by sea and land, and all magistrates whatsoever, and all others our loving subjects, that they, in their several stations do use their utmost endeavours, according to law, to suppress all such mutinous and treasonable proceedings, and to use all lawful means to bring the persons concerned therein, their aiders and abettors, to justice: And we do hereby strictly enjoin and command all our loving subjects whatsoever, not to give any aid, comfort, assistance, or encouragement, whatsoever, to any person or persons concerned in any such mutinous or treasonable proceedings, as they will answer the same at their peril; and also, to the utmost of their power and according to law, to prevent all other persons from giving any such aid, assistance, comfort, or encouragement.

Proclamation, by Order of the Duke of York, announcing the increased Pay, and other Advantages conferred on the Army.

WHEREAS, over and above the provision made, for clothing, for

Chelsea-hospital, for lodgings, and for medical assistance; and, likewise, over and above the allowance of beer, and other articles, provided in barracks and quarters, and of bread provided at a reduced rate in camp, the private soldier of infantry of the line, serving at home, heretofore received the pay of sixpence per day, which, together with the sum of twopence farthing per day, granted to him by his majesty's warrant, for establishing and consolidating certain other allowances lately given him, amounts to the sum of eightpence farthing; his majesty, having been graciously pleased to take the same into consideration, is pleased to direct, that, under the following regulations, there shall, from the 25th of this present month of May, be paid to each private soldier of infantry, in addition to the said sum of eightpence farthing, the farther sum of threepence three-farthings, making, in the whole, the sum of one shilling daily. Out of this advance of pay, the soldier is to pay the extra price of bread and meat, now paid by the public, which at present amounts, upon an average, to the daily sum of one penny three farthings; so that the net increase in future, to each soldier, will be twopence per diem.

With respect to the disbursement of this shilling per day, his Majesty has been pleased to order that a sum, not exceeding four shillings per week, shall be applied toward the expence of the soldier's meals, (including vegetables, &c.) unless he himself shall choose to appropriate a farther part of his pay to that purpose:

That a sum, not exceeding one shilling and sixpence a week, shall be retained for necessaries, to be accounted for, as usual, monthly: That the remainder of his pay, amounting

to one shilling and sixpence per week, shall be paid to the soldier, subject to the accustomed deduction for washing, and articles for cleaning his clothes and appointments: And his Majesty, out of his royal bounty, is farther pleased to order and direct, for the benefit of the soldier,—That, in camp, he shall receive the sum of fivepence farthing per week, being the difference between the allowance and value of bread and beer, in quarters or barrack, and the ordinary (increased) supply of bread in camp;—That if meat, of the quality proper to be provided for him, should exceed the price of sixpence per pound, or bread, of the household quality, the price of one penny half-penny per pound, such extra price shall be allowed by the public, upon a quantity not exceeding three quarters of a pound of meat, and one pound of bread, per day, for each man;—That when any soldier shall, with the approbation of his commanding-officer, provide himself with lodgings, and the several articles of small beer, &c. to which his billet would entitle him, he shall receive the same allowance as the publican would have been entitled to, under such billet.

His Majesty is farther pleased to order,—That the pay and allowances to a drummer shall be, daily, thirteen-pence farthing;—That the pay and allowances to a corporal shall be, daily, fourteen-pence farthing;—That the pay and allowances to a serjeant shall be, daily, eighteen-pence three farthings:

His Majesty is farther pleased to order, that the pay and allowances of the invalids shall be, daily,—To a private, eleven-pence farthing;—to a drummer, thirteen-pence farthing;—to a corporal, thirteen-pence three farthings;—to a serjeant, eighteen-pence farthing:—and that

the serjeants, drummers, and private men, of the militia and fencible infantry, shall be placed on the same footing, respectively, as those of the line. His Majesty is farther pleased to order, that the like nett addition of twopence per diem shall be made to all his soldiers, serving out of Great Britain.

Field-marshal the Duke of York is happy to announce the king's gracious intentions towards the whole of his army.

His Royal Highness rests assured, that the new instances of the liberality of parliament, and of his Majesty's paternal care, will rivet that affection for their king and country, which has ever been the pride of British soldiers; and that a continuance in steady discipline and honourable conduct will merit those gracious favours that have been repeatedly shewn them.

On this occasion, his Royal Highness cannot but add, that, however incredible it may appear, that there should exist a wretch, so lost to honour and humanity, as to league with the enemy, and to aim at the utter ruin of his country, yet there are certainly many desperate persons, who have persevered in methodising treachery and sedition; and who, under specious and delusive pretences, taking the advantage of unguarded moments, have endeavoured to seduce soldiers from their duty, and render them accomplices in their treasons, the direct object of which is universal confusion and rapine, and the overthrow of that happy system of religion and government secured to us by the blood of our ancestors; and which, for so many ages, has rendered Britain the admiration and envy of the world!

His Royal Highness is convinced, that the love and attachment of the soldier, to his king and country, are
firm

firm and unshaken; and, that, holding in abhorrence all base and scandalous attempts to shake his loyalty and true affection, every good soldier will repel, with indignation, the instigators of such wickedness, and glory in the opportunity of exposing them to the exemplary justice of their insulted country.

By command of field-marshal his Royal Highness the duke of York,

WILLIAM FAWCETT,
Adjutant-general.

*London Gazette Extraordinary,
Wednesday, June 7.*

*At the Court at the Queen's House,
June 6, 1797, Present, The King's
Most Excellent Majesty in Council.*

WHEREAS, by an act passed in the present session of parliament, intitled, “ An act for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his Majesty’s ships, now in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual suppression of such mutiny and rebellion,” it is enacted, That it shall be lawful for the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any three or more of them, being thereto authorized by order of his Majesty in council, to declare the crew of any of his Majesty’s ships, who have been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, and who still persist therein, and also the crew of any other of his Majesty’s ships, who shall be guilty of any of the like offences, to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion; and, by such declaration, to warn all his Majesty’s faithful subjects to abstain from all communication or intercourse with the crews of the said ships: And it is farther enacted, that it shall be lawful for the said commissioners, or any three or more of them, in such manner as his Majesty shall authorize and require, to accept the submission of the crew of

any ship which shall have been so declared to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion, or of any person or persons, part of such crew, or of any person or persons on board of any of such ships, or to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the person or persons whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall be so declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the said act contained, in such manner, and under such terms and restrictions, as his Majesty shall think fit:—And whereas the said Lord Commissioners have represented to his Majesty, that it appears to them that the crews of the ships hereinafter-mentioned, that is to say, the Sandwich, Montagu, Director, Inflexible, Monmouth, Bellicieux, Standard, Lion, Nassau, Repulse, Grampus, Proserpine, Brilliant, Iris, Champion, Comet, Tyfiphone, Pylades, Swan, and Inspector, have been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, particularly by taking the command of the said ships from his Majesty’s officers, by combining to obstruct the trade and navigation of the port of London, and by other acts of the most heinous nature; and that some of such crews had actually fired on divers of his Majesty’s ships, and that all the said crews still persisted in such their mutiny and rebellion: His Majesty, in pursuance of the powers vested in him by the above-recited act, is hereby pleased, by and with the advice of the privy council, to authorize, and by this his order in council doth authorize the said Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any three or more of them, to declare the crews of the said ships to be in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and to warn all his Majesty’s faithful subjects to abstain from all communication or intercourse

course with the crews of the said ships, in the manner directed by the said act.

And his Majesty is hereby further pleased, with the advice aforesaid, to authorize and require the said Commissioners, or any three or more of them, to accept the submission of the crew of any of the said ships, or of any person or persons, part of such crew, or of any person or persons on board of any of the said ships, or to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty; and thereupon to declare the persons or person, whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall be declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the said act contained, in such manner and under such terms and restrictions as his Majesty shall think fit.

W. FAWKNER.

By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

BY virtue of an order of his Majesty in council, bearing date the 6th day of June instant, and in pursuance of the provisions of an act passed in the present session of parliament, entitled "An act for more effectually restraining intercourse with the crews of certain of his Majesty's ships now in a state of mutiny and rebellion, and for the more effectual suppression of such mutiny and rebellion," we do hereby declare, that the crews of his Majesty's ships hereinafter mentioned, that is to say, the Sandwich, Montagu, Director, Infexi-

ble, Monmouth, Bellicieux, Standard, Lion, Nassau, Repulse, Grampus, Proserpine, Brilliant, Iris, Champion, Comet, Tyfiphone, Py-lades, Swan, and Inspector, having been guilty of acts of mutiny and rebellion, and persisting therein, are, and are to be deemed and taken to be, in a state of mutiny and rebellion: And, in further pursuance of the provisions of the said act, we do hereby warn all his Majesty's faithful subjects to abstain from all communication and intercourse with the crews of the said ships: And we do hereby notify, that, by virtue of the said act, any person who shall wilfully and advisedly have any communication or intercourse, whether personally or by letter, message, or otherwise, with the crew of any of the said ships, or with any person or persons being part of such crew, or with any person who shall, after this day, remain on board any of the said ships, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death: And also, that any person who shall wilfully and advisedly in any manner supply and comfort or assist such crew, or any part thereof, or any person remaining on board any of the said ships, after this day, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of felony, and suffer death: And also, that from and after this day, all wages and other allowances payable to the crews of the said ships will cease and determine, and be no longer payable; and that they will, respectively, from thenceforth, forfeit and lose all wages, and other allowances, and all shares of prizes then due to them respectively, and all benefits and advantages to which they might otherwise be entitled from

from Greenwich Hospital, or the Chest at Chatham, and all other benefits and advantages whatsoever to which they might otherwise be entitled, in consequence of their having served as seamen or marines on board his Majesty's ships; and that all persons voluntarily remaining on board any of the said ships, after having had knowledge of this declaration, will, on conviction thereof, be adjudged guilty of piracy and felony, and will suffer death.

And whereas the penalties of the said act do not extend to such communication or intercourse with the said crews as may be carried on by our order or authority, or by the order and authority of such person or persons as may be authorized by us to grant permission, and give directions in that behalf, we do hereby notify, that we have authorized Charles Buckner, Esq. Vice-Admiral of the White, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the river Medway, and at the Buoy of the Nore, to hold communication or intercourse with the said crews, and to grant permission, and give directions in that behalf. And we do further notify and declare, that we are authorized by his Majesty, in pursuance of the said act, to accept the submission of the crew of any of the said ships, or of any person or persons on board of any such ships, and to declare any such person or persons to have returned to their duty, and thereupon to declare the person or persons whose submission shall be so accepted, or who shall be so declared to have returned to their duty, to be exempted and relieved from all or any of the penalties and forfeitures in the said act.

Given under our Hands and the Seal of the Office of Admiralty, this 7th day of June, 1797.

SPENCER, PH. STEPHENS,
ARDEN, J. GAMBIER,
CHA. S. PYBUS, W. YOUNG.
H. SEYMOUR,
By command of their Lordships,
EVAN NEPEAN.

Copy of the Rules and Orders observed by the Sailors during the Mutiny.

RULES AND ORDERS.

1. Every ship shall diligently keep a quarter watch; and every man found below in his watch shall be severely punished.
 2. Every ship shall give three cheers, morning and evening.
 3. No woman shall be permitted to go on shore from any ship; but as many may come in as please.
 4. Any person attempting to bring liquor into the ship, or any person found drunk, shall be severely punished.
 5. The greatest attention to be paid to the officers orders; any person failing in the respect due to them, or neglecting their duty, shall be severely punished.
 6. Every seaman and marine shall take an oath of fidelity, not only to themselves but to the fleet in general.
 7. No ship shall lift their anchors to proceed from this port, until the desires of the fleet be satisfied.
 8. That there be no liberty given from ship to ship till all are settled.
- No private letters to be sent on shore.

IRISH PARLIAMENT.

Message delivered the 16th of January from

from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to both Houses of Parliament.

CAMDEN.

I HAVE it in command from his Majesty to acquaint the House of Commons, that his Majesty feels the deepest regret that his endeavours to preserve peace with Spain, and to adjust all matters in discussion with that court by an amicable negotiation, have been rendered ineffectual by an abrupt and unprovoked declaration of war on the part of the Catholic King. His Majesty, at the same time that he sincerely laments this addition to the calamities of war, already extending over so great a part of Europe, has the satisfaction to reflect, that nothing has been omitted on his part which could contribute to the maintenance of peace, on grounds consistent with the honour of his crown and the interests of his dominions: and he trusts that, under the protection of Divine Providence, the firmness and wisdom of his parliament will enable him effectually to repel this unprovoked aggression, and to afford to all Europe an additional proof of the spirit and resources of his Majesty's kingdoms.

I am also commanded by his Majesty to acquaint the House of Commons, that his Majesty feels the utmost concern that his earnest endeavours to effect the restoration of peace have been unhappily frustrated, and that the negotiation in which he was engaged has been abruptly broken off, by the peremptory refusal of the French government to treat, except upon a basis evidently inadmissible; and by their having in consequence required his Majesty's Plenipotentiary to quit Paris within forty-eight hours.

I have directed the several me-

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morials and papers which have been exchanged in the course of the late discussion, and the account transmitted to his Majesty of its final result, to be laid before the House. From these papers his Majesty trusts it will be proved to the whole world, that his conduct has been guided by a sincere desire to effect the restoration of peace upon principles suited to the relative situation of the belligerent powers, and essential for the permanent interests of his kingdoms, and the general security of Europe, whilst his enemies have advanced pretensions, at once inconsistent with those objects, unsupportable even on the grounds on which they were professed to rest, and repugnant both to the system established by repeated treaties, and to the principles and practice which have hitherto regulated the intercourse of independent nations.

In this situation his Majesty has the consolation of reflecting, that the continuance of the calamities of war can be imputed only to the unjust and exorbitant views of his enemies; and his Majesty, looking forward with anxiety to the moment when they may be disposed to act on different principles, places, in the mean time, the fullest reliance, under the protection of Providence, on the wisdom and firmness of parliament, on the tried valour of his forces by sea and land, and the zeal, public spirit, and resources of his kingdoms, for vigorous and effectual support in the prosecution of a contest which it does not depend upon his Majesty to terminate, and which involves in it the security and permanent interests of this country, and of Europe.

I sincerely congratulate the House of

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of Commons upon the failure of the recent formidable attempt of the French to invade his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland. The providential dispersion of their squadrons until his Majesty's fleets were enabled to appear upon the coast, cannot fail to impress sensations of awful and serious gratitude for so signal an instance of Divine interposition; at the same time the Commons will cherish the satisfactory reflection, that the delusive hopes of success in creating division and insurrection in the country, by which the enemy were inspired, have been totally disappointed; and that the late alarm has afforded his Majesty's subjects an opportunity of testifying, at the hazard of their fortunes and their lives, their invincible attachment to the mild government of their beloved Sovereign, and the blessings of their happy constitution. I have beheld with pleasure the zeal and alacrity of his Majesty's regular and military forces, and the prompt and honourable exertions of the yeomanry corps, whose decided utility has been so abundantly displayed; while the distinguished services of the most respectable characters in forwarding the measures of government, the benevolent attention shown to the army by all ranks and descriptions of persons, and the spirited measures which were taken to support public credit, have made an indelible impression upon my mind. It was from this general spirit of animated and gallant loyalty that I was inspired with a just hope that, had the enemy succeeded in an attempt to land, their career would have been terminated in total discomfiture. I have not failed to represent to his Majesty this merito-

rious conduct of his faithful subjects of Ireland; and am expressly commanded to convey to them his cordial acknowledgments and thanks.

His Majesty's concern for the safety and happiness of his people has been anxious and unceasing; he was prepared to send every requisite military assistance from Great Britain. And his Majesty is not without hopes that the formidable fleet assembled under the command of Lord Bridport for the protection of this kingdom (the arrival of which was only obstructed by those adverse storms which have proved so destructive to the present expedition of the enemy) may still fall in with the hostile squadron, and effect their total defeat.

At the same time, however, his Majesty trusts that the House of Commons will advert to the situation and resources of the kingdom for establishing future security, by means proportionable to the daring efforts which may be expected from a desperate enemy; who having rejected every reasonable proposal for the restoration of peace, is endeavouring to excite disaffection among his Majesty's subjects, and to propagate the principles of anarchy by the spirit of plunder.

Message from the Lord Lieutenant to the House of Commons, on the 18th of March, 1797.

THE dangerous and daring outrages committed in many parts of the province of Ulster, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the law, and prevent the administration of justice, by an organized system of murder and robbery, have lately increased to so alarming a degree in some parts of that

that province, as to bid defiance to the exertions of the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his Majesty's subjects in that part of the kingdom.

These outrages are encouraged and supported by treasonable associations to overturn our happy constitution. Threats have been held out against the lives of all persons who shall venture to discover such their treasonable intentions. The frequent treasonable assemblage of persons, and their proceeding by threats and force to disarm the peaceable inhabitants; their endeavours to collect great quantities of arms in obscure hiding-places; their assembling by night to exercise in the practice of arms; their intimidations, accompanied by the most horrid murders, to prevent his Majesty's faithful subjects from joining the yeomanry corps established by law; their having fired on some of his Majesty's justices of the peace, and threatened with murder any who should have the spirit to stand forth in support of the laws, which threats have been recently exemplified; their attacks on the military, by firing on them in the execution of their duty, — have so totally bid defiance to the ordinary exertions of civil power, that I found myself obliged by every tie of duty to his Majesty, and of regard to the welfare of his faithful subjects, to provide for the public safety by the most effectual and immediate application of the military force entrusted to me.

I have accordingly ordered the General commanding in that province, to dispose of and employ those troops under his command, with the assistance and co-operation of the yeomanry, to suppress these out-

rages; and, by seizing upon all arms and ammunition, to recover such as had been traitorously taken from his Majesty's troops and others, and more effectually to defeat the evil designs of those who had endangered the public safety.

I have the satisfaction of informing you, that by the firm and temperate conduct of the General, and the troops under him, and the zealous co-operation of the yeomanry corps, a very considerable number of arms has been taken; and I am encouraged to hope that a continuation of the same vigorous measures will give confidence to the well-disposed, and restore to the civil power its constitutional authority, which it has ever been my wish, and shall be my strenuous endeavour to support with energy and effect.

*Message delivered on the 11th of April,
1797, from the same.*

CAMDEN.

Gentlemen,

IN pursuance of the resolution entered into by the House of Commons on the 1st of March, 1797, for raising towards the supply granted to his Majesty the sum of 3,395,697*l.* upon the terms therein mentioned, I have given such directions as appeared to me most proper to carry the same into execution; and I am sorry to inform you that it is found, after the most diligent endeavours exerted for the purpose, that the sum intended to be raised by the said resolution cannot be obtained according to the terms thereof. I therefore thought it incumbent on me that this House should be made acquainted therewith, not doubting that the Com-

mons of Ireland, attentive to the honour of his Majesty's government, and to the safety of the kingdom, will take such measures as shall be most prudent to carry the intention of that salutary resolution in effect. C.

Message delivered on the 21st of April, 1797, from the King.

CARDEN.

UPON information of the meetings of certain persons, styling themselves United Irishmen, for the purpose of concerting plans for the subversion of the constitution, and of the established government of this kingdom, two committees in the town of Belfast have been arrested, and their papers seized: they contain matter of so much importance to the public welfare, that I have directed them to be laid before the House of Commons; and I recommend it to them to take the same into their serious consideration. I shall, in the mean time, pursue those measures which have received your sanction and approbation with unremitting vigour, and employ the force entrusted to me in the most efficient manner for the protection of his Majesty's faithful subjects against all treasonable designs, and for bringing to condign punishment those who are endeavouring to overturn the constitution, and betray this country into the hands of her enemies.

Proclamation by General Lake.

Belfast March 13, 1797.

WHEREAS the daring and horrid outrages in many parts of this province, evidently perpetrated with a view to supersede the laws

and the administration of justice by an organized system of murder and robbery, have increased to such an alarming degree as, from their atrocity and extent, to bid defiance to the civil power, and to endanger the lives and properties of his Majesty's faithful subjects. And whereas, the better to effect their traitorous purposes, several persons have been enrolled under the authority of his Majesty's commissions, and others have been forcibly and traitorously deprived of their arms; it is therefore become indispensably necessary, for the safety and protection of the well-disposed, to interpose the King's troops under my command: and I do hereby give notice, that I have received authority and directions to act in such manner as the public safety may require. I do therefore hereby enjoin and require all persons in this district (peace-officers and those serving in a military capacity excepted) forthwith to bring in and surrender up all arms and ammunition which they may have in their possession, to the officer commanding the King's troops in their neighbourhood. I trust that an immediate compliance with this order may render any act of mine to enforce it unnecessary. Let the people seriously reflect, before it is too late, on the ruin into which they are rushing;—let them reflect upon their present prosperity, and the miseries in which they will inevitably be involved by persisting in acts of positive rebellion. Let them instantly, by surrendering up their arms, and by restoring those traitorously taken from the King's forces, rescue themselves from the severity of military authority. Let all the loyal and well intentioned

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act together with energy and spirit, in enforcing subordination to the laws, and restoring tranquillity in their respective neighbourhoods, and they may be assured of protection and support from me. And I do hereby invite all persons who are enabled to give information touching arms or ammunition which may be concealed, immediately to communicate the same to the several officers commanding his Majesty's forces in their respective districts; and, for their encouragement and reward, I do hereby promise and engage that strict and inviolate secrecy shall be observed with respect to all persons who shall make such communications; and that every person who shall make it, shall receive as a reward the full value of all such arms and ammunition as shall be seized in consequence thereof.

Signed by G. LAKE,
Lieutenant General,
Commanding the Northern
District.

Proclamation of Lord Cavan.

WHEREAS I have thought it expedient, during the present disturbed state of the country in the neighbourhood of this town, to give orders that the gates of this garrison shall be locked every night, from the hour of eleven till daylight of the following morning, during which time no person or persons will be permitted to have either ingress or egress but on special affairs, or on the public service. This regulation to commence on Thursday evening, the 23d instant; and in order that no person may plead ignorance of the consequences of

attempting to scale the walls, I have given particular orders that the sentries should immediately fire at any person so attempting.

(Signed) CAVAN,
Brigadier General,
Commanding at Londonderry.

*Lord Bellamont's Protest on the Subject
of General Lake's Proclamation.*

DISSENTIENT.

BECAUSE I consider it to be the pointed duty of the Peers, as hereditary counsellors of the King, and of his Majesty's representative in this kingdom, but most especially the duty of such as are members of his Majesty's Privy Council, to take good care that the just influence and high authority of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's name be not brought forward to the public in order to cover error in any man, whatever may be his rank, character, or department in the state. The nature, magnitude, and impression of the present subject upon the public mind, most eminently demands the sacred performance of this duty—inasmuch that I should consider myself unworthy of the high offices of trust and honour which the goodness of the best of Kings has from time to time most graciously conferred upon me, if I were not at all times regardless of the consequences as to myself, ready to stand forth between his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant and misrepresentation or misconception. With regard to the legality or illegality of the proclamation alluded to in the above amendment proposed by me, if any man at this day entertains a doubt upon the subject, I refer any such person or persons to the opi-

sions of some of the most authentic and respectable lawyers constituting the Council in the most deliberate manner, for the good and peace of the nation.

Witness, LONDON: 1797.

By the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland.—In pursuance.

CAMBRIDGE.

WHEREAS there exists within this Kingdom a furious and traitorous conspiracy, by a number of persons styling themselves United Irishmen, for the subversion of the authority of his Majesty and the parliament, and the destruction of the established constitution and government: And whereas, for the execution of such their wicked design, they have planned means of open violence, and formed secret arrangements for raising, arming, and raising a disciplined force: and, in furtherance of their purposes, have frequently assembled in great and unusual numbers, under the colourable pretence of planting or digging potatoes, attending funerals, and the like, and have frequently assembled in large armed bodies, and powdered or arms the houses of many of his Majesty's loyal subjects in different parts of the Kingdom, and cut down and carried away great numbers of trees, wherewith to make handles for pikes and other offensive weapons, to arm their traitorous associates; and have audaciously attempted to disarm the district of yeomanry corps, enrolled under his Majesty's commission for the defence of the realm, and even fired upon several bodies of his Majesty's forces when attempting to quell their insurrection; and it is therefore now become necessary to use the utmost

power with which government is by law empowered for the suppression of such traitorous attempts: And whereas the exertions of the civil power have proved ineffectual for the suppression of the aforesaid traitorous and wicked conspiracy, and for the protection of the lives and properties of his Majesty's faithful subjects.—

Now we, the Lord Lieutenant, by and with the advice of the Privy Council, having determined, as far as in us lies, to suppress such daring attempts, and at the same time desirous to prevent the well-disposed or misled from falling into the dangers to which ignorance or incitation may expose them, do by this our proclamation forewarn all such to abstain from entering into the said traitorous societies of United Irishmen, or any of them, and from resorting to their meetings, and acting under their directions or influence, or taking or adhering to any of their declarations or engagements, and from suffering them to assemble in their houses, or in any manner harbouring them.

And we do strictly charge and command, on their allegiance, all persons having knowledge or information of the meetings of the said societies, or any of them, to give immediate information thereof to some of his Majesty's justices of the peace, or to some officer of his Majesty's forces in the neighbourhood of the place where such meeting is intended. And we do forewarn all persons from tumultuous or unlawful assemblies, or from meeting in any unusual numbers, under the plausible or colourable pretence aforesaid, or any other whatsoever.

And we caution his Majesty's loyal

loyal and loving subjects, whenever such assemblies shall happen, or that they receive notice from any magistrates, or from the officers commanding any body of his Majesty's forces, to keep quietly within their dwellings, to the end that the well-disposed may avoid the mischiefs which the guilty may bring upon themselves.

And it has become necessary, from the circumstances before mentioned, to employ the military force with which we are by law entrusted, for the immediate suppression of such rebellious and traitorous attempts now making against the peace and dignity of the crown, and the safety of the lives and properties of his Majesty's loyal subjects. We have therefore issued the most direct and effectual orders to all officers commanding his Majesty's troops, by the exertions of their utmost force, to suppress the same, and to oppose with their full power all such as shall resist them in the execution of their duty.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all our officers, civil and military, and all other of his Majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to discover all pikes, pike-heads, concealed guns and swords, offensive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatsoever. And we do hereby charge and command all persons having in their custody pikes, pike-heads, or concealed guns, swords, offensive weapons, or ammunition of any kind whatever, to deliver up the same to some magistrate or officer of his Majesty's troops, as they shall answer to the contrary at their peril. And we do hereby strictly charge and command all officers, civil and military, and all other his

Majesty's faithful subjects, to be aiding and assisting in suppressing all traitorous, tumultuous, and unlawful assemblies, and in bringing to punishment all persons disturbing, or attempting to disturb, the public peace.

And whereas we have reason to hope that many of his Majesty's subjects who have joined the said traitorous societies, have done so without being apprized of the extent of their crimes, and others from intimidation, and that such may be willing to return to their allegiance: Now we being desirous to extend his Majesty's pardon to all such as are sensible of their errors, and willing to return to their allegiance, do hereby promise his Majesty's pardon to all such persons so seduced or intimidated, as have taken an engagement to the said societies, or any of them, who shall, on or before the twenty-fourth day of June next, surrender themselves to any of his Majesty's justices of the peace, being of the quorum, of the counties in which they shall respectively reside, and take the oath of allegiance, and enter into sufficient recognizance with two sufficient sureties, if sureties shall be required by the magistrate before whom such recognizance shall be acknowledged (which recognizance every such magistrate is hereby required to return to the next general session of the peace, or assizes, to be holden in and for the county in which such recognizance shall be taken respectively) to be of the peace and good behaviour for the space of seven years, save and except all such as have been guilty of murder, conspiracy of murder, burglary, burning of houses, corn or hay, stacks of straw or turf, maliciously digging
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up, or injuring or destroying any potatoes, flax or hemp, rape or corn of any kind, planted or sowed, or destroying meadows or hay, maiming or houghing of cattle, administering, or causing to be administered, any unlawful oath or engagement to any of his Majesty's forces of any description, or inciting or encouraging any person to commit any of the aforesaid offences respectively, and save and except all persons now in custody.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Dublin, the 17th day of May, 1797.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

The Lord Lieutenant's Speech on proroguing the Parliament, on the 3d of July, 1797.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HAVE the satisfaction of being at length enabled to relieve you from your laborious attendance in parliament, and am commanded by his Majesty to express the just sense he entertains of that firm temper and vigorous determination which you have uniformly manifested in supporting his Majesty's government, and protecting our happy constitution from the attempts of every foreign and domestic enemy. I have much pleasure in announcing to you, that the British parliament has passed acts for abolishing the bounty on sail-cloth exported to Ireland, and for prohibiting the importation of cambric from all countries except this kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I am to thank you, in his Majesty's name, for your unanimity in voting the extraordinary supplies

which the public exigencies demanded. However unprecedented those supplies have been in extent, and however difficult they may have been rendered, from the state of public credit, you have wisely attended to the superior consideration of national safety. Such an exertion is the surest proof that you are truly sensible of the invaluable blessings which we are contending to preserve, and that the best means of effecting an honourable peace, and of restoring all the comforts of tranquillity, are, by displaying at once your determination and your power, and convincing your enemies of the extent of your resources as well as of the steadiness of your courage. The ready assistance which has been received from the sister kingdom in facilitating the loan of the year, whilst it is a sure demonstration of her friendly cordiality, cannot fail to shew how inseparable are the mutual interests of the two kingdoms, and how necessary their connection is for their mutual prosperity. Your humanity in directing your attention to the present distress among the manufacturers, does not less command my approbation than your prudence in the mode of conveying relief, by increasing the means of their employment.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The powers with which you entrusted me by the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, have enabled me to bring to light and to disconcert the formidable and secret conspiracy which had been formed for the total overthrow of your establishments, the destruction of property, and the dissolution of government. This conspiracy has been so fully unfolded by your wisdom, that it can

can no longer spread itself under the insidious pretence which it had artfully assumed of improving the constitution. In the measures, whether of vigilance or of coercion, which you have recommended for its extinction, I shall not relax. It will be my temper to study the necessary acts of severity and rigour by conciliatory offers of clemency and pardon, to exhort the infatuated and deluded to abandon their deceivers, and to summon the guilty to repentance; but at the same time it is and will be my fixed purpose to proceed with vigour against those who, regardless of every warning and admonition, shall continue their desperate efforts to involve this flourishing country in all the horrors of insurrection and invasion, of bloodshed, and of anarchy. I have already the satisfaction to acquaint you, that great numbers, who had been unfortunately seduced, have returned to a sense of duty, and been admitted to his Majesty's clemency: and I trust that, by perseverance and energy, every vestige of disaffection will be effaced, and universally give way to the return of that spirit of loyalty which has so long been the distinguished characteristic of this kingdom. I cannot omit to congratulate you on the unimpaired lustre of that spirit which so conspicuously shone forth when the enemy's fleet appeared on our coasts; nor can I too often repeat my full sense of your wisdom in the establishment of district corps. I have the most satisfactory accounts of their improvement in discipline, as well as of their exertions in quelling and preventing insurrection; and I have myself witnessed the unexampled exertions, good conduct, and military appearance of the

corps of the metropolis, whose unceasing and unwearied vigilance, at a most important crisis, checked every attempt to produce confusion by riot and tumult, at the same time that it destroyed the hopes of our enemies, and restored confidence to the country in general. Your judicious augmentation of pay to his Majesty's regular and militia forces, which must render their situation so highly comfortable, is at once a seasonable and honourable acknowledgement of their steadiness and loyalty. The traitorous efforts which have been made to entice them from their allegiance, have had a fatal effect in a few lamentable examples. I trust, however, they have excited in the minds of others so timely a repentance, and in the rest such indignation and abhorrence, that no future danger can be apprehended. Your wise institution of a sinking fund, in the midst of financial difficulties, cannot be too much applauded, and will prevent any ruinous depreciation of fund-stock; and, being established before the national debt has accumulated to any oppressive magnitude, will tend to prevent its becoming dangerous:—a measure so truly calculated for preserving the resources of the state, and supporting public credit, must secure to you the gratitude of an enlightened people. His Majesty is exerting every proper effort to produce a speedy and secure peace. It will be our duty to assist those efforts, by convincing our enemies, from the state of our preparation, and the unanimity of our spirit, that they can hope for no advantage by prolonging the calamities of war. Wherever your abilities, your influence, and exertions, can be most advan-

advantageously employed on your return to your several counties, I am confident they will be most conspicuously displayed. A constant intercourse with your immediate neighbourhood must give you the opportunity of affording to the people both assistance and example, of reclaiming thereby the deluded and ill-disposed, and confirming the well-affected in their duty and allegiance. A forward spirit of loyalty, which in most parts of the kingdom has successfully checked the progress of treason, will be strengthened and diffused by your presence and exertions. It will be my ambition to second your activity and zeal, and to co-operate with your efforts for restoring the tranquillity and prosperity of the kingdom. We have a common and sacred cause to defend, — the independence and constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, from which both kingdoms have derived innumerable blessings under his Majesty's auspicious reign. They were purchased by the dearest blood of your ancestors in a crisis not less formidable than the present. I trust we shall not fail to imitate their great example; and that we shall be enabled, by similar courage and continued firmness, to transmit to our posterity inviolate, that invaluable inheritance which their valour rescued, and their perseverance preserved.

Extract from the Register of the Executive Directory.

Paris, 29th Fructidor.

THE Executive Directory, convinced that the mission of Mr. Wickham to the Helvetic Cantons

has no reference whatever to the respective interests of England and Switzerland; and that his sole object is to excite and encourage plots against the internal and external security of the French Republic, charge Citizen Mingaud to invite and require the government of the canton of Berne, and also the other Helvetic cantons, if necessary, to give directions for Mr. Wickham's immediate departure from the territories of Switzerland.

(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPAUX,
President,
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

Reply of the Canton of Berne.

THE Republic of Berne, always holding in the highest estimation the good intentions of the French Republic, has taken into mature consideration the note transmitted to them by Citizen Mingaud, in the name of the Executive Directory of the French Republic.

They have to remark that, for nearly a century past, British agents have uniformly resided in Switzerland; and that Mr. Wickham, whose departure from Switzerland is required by the Executive Directory, being accredited to all the states of the Helvetic confederacy as Minister Plenipotentiary, the Republic of Berne cannot decide separately on a subject which so essentially involves the rights of others, and the neutrality of the Helvetic Body, as declared and recognised by all the powers now at war.

The government of Berne, always employed in maintaining harmony and good understanding with France and the other belligerent powers, submits the above considerations

rations to the wisdom and good sense of the Executive Directory, assuring the Directory, at the same time, that the Government of Berne, in concert with the co-states, will lose no time in coming to a resolution suitable to the magnitude of the subject, should the Executive Directory deem it expedient to address itself to this effect to the laudable Helvetic Body.

(Signed) MORLOT, Chancellor.
Berne, Oct. 11th, 1797.

Note of Mr. Wickham, delivered to the Helvetic Body on his Recall.

Frankfort, Nov. 22, 1797.

Magnificent and powerful Lords,
ALTHOUGH your Lordships have not communicated to me the demand which the Executive Directory of France lately made to you concerning my mission, I could not, however, be ignorant of what was notorious to all Switzerland, and I in consequence deemed it my duty to communicate it to my court, not omitting, at the same time, to point out the insulting manner in which it was transmitted to your Lordships. In the whole of this transaction, which attacks alike the law of nations and your ancient dignity and independence, the King has not failed to observe the perfidious intention of dissolving the ties of friendship which have at all times attached his Majesty to your states, and the premeditated plan of undermining the very foundations of your confederacy. Persuaded of this truth, his Majesty (who, in sending his Minister into Switzerland, wished to give a proof of his good-will and friend-

ship towards you) will not allow his residence there to serve as a pretext to the hostile projects of a neighbour, whose ambition respects neither justice nor the laws of sovereignty, and who is actuated with no other desire than to introduce into your happy countries that destructive system, from which, by the help of Divine Providence, you have been hitherto enabled to protect them. The King has in consequence signified his commands, that his whole mission should withdraw from your territories without loss of time. — In communicating this resolution to your Lordships, I have the King's express commands to assure you, that it is dictated by no other motive than his anxious solicitude for the preservation of your tranquillity; and that your Lordships may fully rely on a continuance of that good-will and friendship which have ever formed the basis of his Majesty's conduct in all his transactions with your States.—I eagerly embrace this opportunity to express to you individually, my acknowledgements for the manner in which your Lordships have been pleased to receive me during my mission, and my regret at being no longer the organ of the benevolent sentiments of my Sovereign towards you.—In offering up my sincerest prayers for the prosperity and tranquillity of your States, I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,

Magnificent and powerful Lords,
(Signed) W. WICKHAM.

Answer of the Helvetic Body to the Note which Mr. Wickham, the English Minister, presented at his Departure.

Berne,

Berne, December 26, 1797.

Sir,

YOUR obliging letter of the 22d ultimo, has communicated to us his Britannic Majesty's resolution to recall the whole of his mission to the Helvetic Body. We are informed, at the same time, of the particular motives which have induced his Majesty to take this step. While we lament that the circumstances are such as not to allow his Majesty to continue his mission amongst us, and much as we feel the loss of a minister from whom we have received so many convincing proofs of the interest he has taken in the welfare of our Federal Republic during his residence in this country, it affords us the greatest satisfaction to find from your letter, that his Majesty's generous solicitude for the tranquillity and welfare of the Helvetic Body at large, and of our state in particular, has been the sole motive that has actuated his Majesty in forming this determination. We are gratefully sensible of the assurances which you have given us, in his Majesty's name, of his friendly sentiments and good-will towards us; and we avail ourselves of this opportunity to recommend our Republic to the further continuance of his Majesty's favour. We beg you, Sir, to be assured, that we shall profit of every opportunity, with pleasure, to convince you of the warm esteem to which your conduct, during your residence in this town, has given you the strongest claims, and with which we have the pleasure to remain, Sir, your most devoted

Advoyer and Council of the
Town and Republic
of Berne.

Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between his Britannic Majesty and the Emperor of Russia, signed at Saint Petersburg, February 10-21, 1797.

In the Name of the Most Holy
and undivided Trinity.

HIS Majesty the King of Great Britain and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, already united by the ties of the most intimate alliance; and having it equally at heart, to cement more and more the good correspondence which subsists between them and their respective kingdoms, and, as much as it is in their power, to make the reciprocal commerce between their subjects prosper, have judged it proper to collect under one point of view, and to fix the reciprocal rights and duties upon which they have agreed amongst themselves, in order to encourage and facilitate the mutual exchanges betwixt the two nations. In consequence of which, and in order without delay to proceed to the perfection of so salutary a work, their said Majesties have chosen and nominated, for their plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his Majesty the King of Great Britain, the Sieur Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the imperial court of Russia, Knight of the Order of the Bath; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Alexander Count of Besborodko, his actual privy counsellor of the first class, senator minister of the council of state, director general of the posts, and Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, of St. Anne of the first class, and grand cross of St. Vladimir

dimir of the first class; the Sieur Alexander Prince of Kourakin, his vice-chancellor, actual privy counsellor, minister of the council of state, actual chamberlain, and Knight of the Order of St. Andrew, of St. Alexander Newsky, and of St. Anne of the first class, as also of the orders of Denmark, of Danebrog, and of the Perfect Union; and the Sieur Peter of Simonow, his privy counsellor, senator president of the college of commerce, and Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Wladimir of the second class: who, in virtue of their full powers, have agreed and concluded upon the following articles:

Article I. The peace, friendship, and good intelligence which have happily hitherto subsisted between their Majesties the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of all the Russias, shall be confirmed and established by this treaty, in such manner, that, from the present and for the future, there shall be between the crown of Great Britain on one side, and the crown of all the Russias on the other, as also betwixt the states, countries, kingdoms, domains, and territories under their dominion, a true, sincere, firm, and perfect peace, friendship, and good intelligence, which shall last for ever, and shall be inviolably observed equally by sea and by land, and upon the fresh waters: and the subjects, people, and inhabitants on each side, of whatever state or condition they may be, shall mutually treat each other with every possible kind of benevolence and assistance, without doing each other any wrong or damage whatsoever.

II. The subjects of the two high

contracting powers shall have perfect freedom of navigation and of commerce in all their dominions situated in Europe, where navigation and commerce are permitted at present, or shall be so hereafter, by the high contracting parties, to any other nation.

III. It is agreed that the subjects of the two high contracting parties may enter, trade, and remain with their ships, vessels, and carriages, laden or empty, in all the ports, places, and cities, where the same is permitted to the subjects of any other nation whatsoever; and the sailors, passengers, and ships, whether British or Russian (although amongst their crews there should be found the subjects of some other foreign nation) shall be received and treated as the most favoured nation; and neither the sailors nor the passengers shall be forced to enter, against their will, into the service of either of the two contracting powers, with the exception of such of their subjects whom they may require for their own service: and if a servant or sailor shall desert from his service or ship, he shall be restored. It is in like manner agreed that the subjects of the high contracting parties may purchase all sorts of things which they may be in want of at the current price;—repair and refit their ships, vessels, and carriages; buy all the provisions necessary for their subsistence or voyage; stay or depart at their pleasure, without molestation or hindrance, provided that they conform themselves to the laws and ordinances of the respective dominions of the high contracting parties, where they may be. In like manner, the Russian ships which shall be at sea for the purpose

purpose of navigation, and shall be met by English ships, shall not be hindered in their navigation, provided that in the British sea they conform themselves to custom; but every sort of assistance shall be given to them both in the ports subject to Great Britain, and in the open sea.

IV. It is agreed that the subjects of Great Britain may carry, by water or by land, in their own ships and carriages, or in those which they shall have freighted or hired for that purpose, into any province whatever of Russia, all sorts of merchandise or effects, of which the trade or entry is not prohibited; that they shall be permitted to keep them in their houses or magazines, to sell or exchange them wholesale, freely and without molestation, without being obliged to become citizens of such city or place where they shall reside or trade. By selling wholesale, is understood one or more bales of goods, chests, casks, barrels, also several dozens of small articles of merchandise of the same kind, collected in the same place, and in considerable lots, or other sorts of package. It is further agreed, that the subjects of Russia may carry, in the same manner, into the ports of Great Britain and of Ireland, where they shall be established or reside, all sorts of merchandise or effects of which the trade or the entry is not prohibited, which is understood equally of the manufactures and productions of the Asiatic provinces, provided that it be not actually prohibited by some law now in force in Great Britain; that they shall be permitted to keep them in their houses or magazines, to sell or exchange them wholesale, freely;

become citizens of such city or place where they shall reside or trade; and that they may buy and transport out of the dominions of Great Britain all sorts of merchandise and effects which the subjects of any other nation may there buy and transport elsewhere, particularly gold and silver, wrought or unwrought, except the coined money of Great Britain. It is agreed that British subjects, trading in the dominions of Russia, shall have the liberty, in case of death, of an extraordinary event, or of an absolute necessity, when there remain no other means of procuring money, or in case of bankruptcy, of disposing of their effects, either in Russian or foreign merchandise, in the manner in which the persons interested shall think most advantageous. The same thing shall be observed with regard to Russian subjects in the dominions of Great Britain. All this is to be understood with the restriction, that every permission on either side, specified in this article, shall be in nowise contrary to the laws of the country; and that the Russian subjects, as well as the British subjects, and their clerks, conform themselves, on both sides, punctually to the rights, statutes, and ordinances of the country in which they shall trade, in order to obviate all sorts of frauds and pretexts. It is for this reason the decisions of the said cases happening to the British factories in Russia shall depend, at St. Petersburg, upon the college of commerce; and in the other cities, where there is no college of commerce, upon the tribunals which have cognizance of commercial affairs.

V. And in order to preserve a
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Just equality between Russian and British subjects, both the one and the other shall pay the same duties of exportation and of importation, whether it be in Russia, or in Great Britain and Ireland, whether it be in Russian or in British vessels; and no regulation shall be made by the high contracting parties in favour of their own subjects, which the subjects of the other high contracting party shall not enjoy, and that understood *bona fide*, under whatever name or form it may be, in such manner as that the subjects of one of the powers shall have no advantage over those of the other in the respective dominions.

VI. Every assistance and possible dispatch shall be given for the loading and unloading of vessels, as well as for the entry and departure of their merchandise, according to the regulations made for that purpose; and they shall not in any manner be detained, upon the penalties announced in the said regulations. In like manner, if the subjects of Great Britain make contracts with any chancery or college whatsoever, for delivering certain merchandise or effects, on the declaration that those merchandises are ready to be delivered; and after they shall have been actually delivered within the term fixed in those contracts, they shall be received, and the accounts shall be regulated and liquidated in consequence, between the said college or chancery and the British merchants, within the time which shall have been fixed in the said contracts. The same rule shall be observed in the dominions of Great Britain towards Russian merchants.

VII. It is agreed that the subjects of Great Britain may, in all the cities and places of Russia where it

is allowed to any other nation to trade, pay for merchandise bought in the same current money of Russia which they have taken for their merchandise sold, unless the contrary should be stipulated in their contracts. The same is to be understood equally respecting Russian merchandise in the dominions of Great Britain.

VIII. In the places where embarkations are usually made, it shall be permitted to the subjects of the high contracting parties to load their ships or carriages with, and to transport by water and by land all sorts of merchandise which they may have bought (with the exception of those of which the exportation is prohibited) on paying the custom-house duties, provided that those ships and carriages conform themselves to the laws.

IX. The subjects of the high contracting parties shall not pay more duties upon the entry or departure of their merchandise than are paid by the subjects of other nations. Nevertheless, in order to prevent, on both sides, the custom-house from being defrauded, in the case of the discovery of merchandise imported clandestinely, and without paying the custom-house duty, they shall be confiscated; and the merchants convicted of contrabanding shall be subjected to the fine established by the law in such cases.

X. It shall be permitted to the high contracting parties to go, come, and trade freely in the states with which the one or the other of those parties shall be, in present or in future, at war, provided that they do not carry ammunition to the enemy: with the exception, nevertheless, of places actually block-
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aded or besieged, whether by sea or land; but at all other times, and with the exception of warlike ammunition, the subjects aforesaid may transport into those places every other sort of merchandise, as well as passengers, without the smallest hindrance. With respect to the searching of merchant ships, ships of war and privateers shall conduct themselves as favourably as the course of the war then existing may possibly permit it towards the most friendly powers which shall remain neuter, observing, as much as possible, the acknowledged principles and rules of the law of nations.

XI. All cannons, mortars, firearms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, muskets, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, cutlasses, pikes, swords, belts, cartouch-boxes, saddles and bridles, beyond the quantity which may be necessary for the use of the ship, or beyond that which each man serving on board the vessel, or passenger, shall have, shall be esteemed warlike provisions or ammunition; and if any are found, they shall be confiscated, according to the laws, as contraband or prohibited effects; but neither the ships, passengers, nor the other merchandise found at the same time, shall be detained or prevented from continuing their voyage.

XII. If (which God forbid) peace should be broken between the two high contracting parties, neither persons, ships, nor merchandise, shall be detained or confiscated; but the term of a year at least shall be granted for the purpose of selling, disposing of, or carrying away their effects, and withdrawing themselves wherever they shall please,

which is to be understood equally respecting all those who shall be in the sea and land service; and they shall be permitted, previous to or at their departure, to consign the effects of which they shall not have disposed, as well as the debts to which they may have a claim, to such person as they shall judge proper, to be disposed of according to their will and profit; which debts the debtor shall equally be obliged to pay as if the rupture had not taken place.

XIII. In the event of a shipwreck happening in a place belonging to one or other of the high contracting parties, not only every assistance shall be given to the unfortunate persons, and no violence done to them, but also the effects which they shall have thrown out of the ship into the sea shall not be concealed, detained, nor damaged, under any pretext whatever: on the contrary, the abovementioned effects and merchandise shall be preserved and restored to them, upon a suitable recompense being given to those who shall have assisted in saving their persons, vessels, and effects.

XIV. It shall be permitted to British merchants to build, buy, sell, and hire houses in all states and cities of Russia, excepting only the permission of building, buying, selling, and hiring houses in those cities of the empire which have particular rights of citizenship, and privileges contrary thereto: and it is expressly stipulated, that at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Archangel, Riga, and Narva, as well as in all ports of the Black Sea, the houses which British merchants shall have purchased or built, shall, as long as they shall continue to belong to them,

them, and reside therein, be exempted from having soldiers quartered in them; but such houses as they shall let or hire shall be subjected to all city taxes, the tenant and proprietor agreeing with each other on that subject. As to every other city in Russia, the houses which they shall purchase or build, as well as those which they shall hire or let, shall not be exempt from having soldiers quartered in them. It is, in like manner, permitted to Russian merchants to build, buy, sell, and hire houses in Great Britain and Ireland, and to dispose of them as it is allowed to the subjects of the most favoured nations. They shall have the free exercise of the Greek religion in their own houses, or in the places allotted for that purpose. In like manner British merchants shall have the free exercise of the Protestant religion. The subjects of both the one and the other power, established in Russia or in Great Britain, shall have the disposal of their property, and the power of leaving it by will to whom they shall judge proper, according to the custom and the laws of their own country.

XV. Passports shall be granted to all British subjects who shall desire to quit Russia, after having published their names and places of abode in the Gazettes, according to the custom of the present day, without obliging them to give security; and if at the time there does not appear any just cause for detaining them, they shall be permitted to depart, after providing themselves, however, with passports from the tribunals established for that purpose. The same facility shall be granted, on the like occasion, according to the custom of

the country, to Russian subjects who shall desire to quit the dominions of Great Britain.

XVI. British merchants, who shall hire or keep servants, shall be obliged to conform themselves to the laws of the empire upon this subject; which Russian merchants shall be equally obliged to do in Great Britain.

XVII. In all law-suits and other affairs, British merchants shall not be under any other jurisdiction than that of the college of commerce, or that which shall be hereafter established for the administration of justice between merchants. If it should happen, however, that British merchants were to have law-suits in any cities at a distance from the above-mentioned college of commerce, both they and the other party shall carry their complaint before the magistrates of the said cities. Russian merchants in Great Britain shall have reciprocally the same protection and justice, according to the laws of that kingdom, which other foreign merchants have there, and shall be treated in the same manner as the subjects of the most favoured nation.

XVIII. Russian merchants residing in Great Britain, and British merchants residing in Russia, shall not be obliged to shew their books or papers to any person whatsoever, unless it be to afford evidence in courts of justice; neither shall the said books or papers be taken or detained. If it should happen, however, that a British merchant becomes a bankrupt, the affair shall be under the jurisdiction, at St. Petersburg, of the college of commerce, or of that which shall hereafter be established for the purpose

of administering justice in commercial affairs, and, in the other cities at a distance, under that of the magistrate of the city; and the business shall be carried on according to the laws which are, or shall hereafter be made upon that subject. If, however, British merchants, obstinately resolved not to become bankrupts, should refuse to pay their debts either into the banks of his Imperial Majesty or to individuals, it shall be permitted to arrest a part of their effects, equivalent to their debts; and in case those effects should prove inadequate to that purpose, they may arrest their persons, and detain them until the majority of their creditors, both as to the number and value of their respective demands, consent to liberate them: with respect to their effects which shall have been arrested, they shall remain in the custody of those who shall be appointed and duly authorized for that purpose by the majority of the creditors aforesaid; and the persons so appointed shall be obliged to appraise the effects as soon as possible, and to make a just and equitable distribution to all the creditors, according to their respective claims. The same course shall be pursued, in similar cases, with regard to Russian merchants in the dominions of Great Britain, and they shall be protected therein in the manner regulated in the preceding article.

XIX. In case of complaints and of law-suits, three persons of irreproachable character, from amongst the foreign merchants, shall be, according to the circumstances of the case, appointed by the college of commerce; and in such places where there is none, by the magistrate, to examine the books and papers of the complainants; and

the report which they shall make to the college of commerce, or to the magistrate, of what they shall have found in the said books and papers, shall be considered as good proof.

XX. The custom-houses shall take care to examine the servants or the clerks of Russian merchants at the time of their enregistering their purchases, if they are furnished for that purpose with the orders or full powers of their masters; and if they are not, they shall not be credited. The same measures shall be adapted with the servants of British merchants; and when the said servants, they having orders or full powers from their masters, shall have enregistered the merchandise on account of their masters, the latter shall be responsible therefore, in the same manner as if they had themselves enregistered them. With respect to the Russian servants employed in shops, they shall, in like manner, be enregistered by the tribunals established for that purpose, in the cities where those shops shall be; and their masters shall be responsible for them in matters of trade, and in the purchases which they shall have made in their name.

XXI. In the case of Russian merchants who are in debt to British merchants upon bills of exchange, or who have made contracts for the delivery of merchandise, not paying their bills of exchange, or not delivering their merchandise at the place or at the time agreed upon and mentioned in the said bills or contracts, the college of commerce, after complaints to that effect shall have been made, and proofs given, shall summon them three times, granting them a sufficient time to appear in person; and if they allow it

it to elapse without appearing, the said college shall condemn them, and send an express at the expence of the plaintiff, to the governors and to the tribunals of government, enjoining them to put the sentence into execution, and thereby compel the debtors to fulfil their engagements. And if the demands should be found frivolous or unjust, then the British merchants shall be obliged to pay the damage which they shall have occasioned, either loss of time, or by the expences of the voyage.

XXII. The brack shall be established with justice, and the brackers shall be answerable for the quality of the merchandise and for fraudulent packages, and obliged, upon sufficient proofs against them, to pay for the losses which they have occasioned.

XXIII. A regulation shall be made, in order to prevent the abuses which may be practised in the packing of leather, hemp, and lint; and if any disputes should happen between the purchaser and seller respecting the weight or the tare of any merchandise, the custom-house shall decide it according to equity.

XXIV. In every thing which relates to taxes and duties upon the importation and exportation of merchandise in general, the subjects of the two high contracting parties shall always be considered and treated as the most favoured nation.

XXV. The subjects of the two contracting powers shall be at liberty, in their respective dominions, to assemble together with their consul, in a body, as a factory, and make amongst themselves, for the common interest of the factory, such arrangements as they shall judge proper, provided they are in no respect contrary to the laws, sta-

tutes, and regulations of the country or place where they shall be established.

XXVI. Peace, friendship, and good intelligence shall continue for ever between the high contracting parties; and, as it is customary to fix a certain period to treaties of commerce, the above-mentioned high contracting parties have agreed that the present shall last eight years, reckoning from the expiration of the convention concluded between them on the 25th of March, 1793; and this treaty shall have effect immediately after its ratification: this term being elapsed, they may agree together to renew or prolong it.

XXVII. The present treaty of navigation and commerce shall be approved and ratified by his Britannic Majesty and his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias; and the ratification, in good and due form, shall be exchanged in the space of three months, or sooner if it can be done, reckoning from the day of the signature.

In faith of which, the respective Plenipotentiaries have caused two copies of it to be made, perfectly conformable to each other, signed with their hands, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburg the
10-21st of February, 1797.

(L. s.) ALEXANDER Count of
Besborodko.
(L. s.) Prince ALEXANDER of
Kourakin.
(L. s.) PETER of Soimonow.
(L. s.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.

DECLARATION.

We, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of his
Majesty

Majesty the King of Great Britain on one side, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other, having, in virtue of those full powers, concluded and signed, at St. Petersburg, on February 10-21, 1797, a treaty of navigation and commerce, of which the 9th article states, The subjects of the high contracting parties shall not pay higher duties on the importation and exportation of their merchandise, than are paid by the subjects of another nation, &c. declare by these presents, in virtue of those same full powers, that by the words *other nations*, European nations alone are to be understood.

The present declaration shall be considered as making part of the above-mentioned treaty of navigation and commerce, signed February 10-21, of the present year, and this day ratified.

In faith of which, we, the respective Plenipotentiaries, have caused two copies of it, perfectly conformable to each other, to be made, have signed them with our own hands, and have thereunto affixed the seal of our arms.

Done at Moscow the 30th of April (11th of May) 1797.

- (L. S.) ALEXANDER Count of
Belborodko.
(L. S.) Prince ALEXANDER of
Kourakin.
(L. S.) CHARLES WHITWORTH.

the American Minister at Paris, delivered to the House of Representatives the 19th of January.

AT the opening of the present Session of Congress, I mentioned that some circumstances of an unwelcome nature had lately occurred in relation to France; that our trade had suffered, and was suffering extensive injuries in the West Indies, from the cruizers and agents of the French Republic; and that communication had been received from its minister here, which indicated danger of a further disturbance of our commerce by its authority; and that we were, in other respects far from agreeable; but that I reserved for a special message a more particular communication on this interesting subject. This communication I now make.

The complaints of the French Minister embraced most of the transactions of our government, in relation to France, from an early period of the present war; which, therefore, it was necessary carefully to review. A collection has been formed of letters and papers relating to those transactions, which I now lay before you, with a letter to Mr. Pinckney, our Minister at Paris, containing an examination of the notes of the French Minister, and such information as I thought might be useful to Mr. Pinckney in any further representations he might find necessary to be made to the French government. The immediate object of his mission was to make to that government such explanations of the principles and conduct of our own, as, by manifesting our good faith, might remove all jealousy and discontent, and maintain that harmony and good understanding with the French Republic, which it has

Message from General Washington, accompanied by a very voluminous State-Paper, the Subject of the Differences which subsist between France and the United States, in the Form of a Letter from Mr. Pickering, the American Secretary of State, to Mr. Pinckney,

been my constant solicitude to preserve. A government which required only a knowledge of the truth to justify its measures, could not but be anxious to have this fully and frankly displayed.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Speech of the President of the United States of America to Congress, on opening the Session, May 16th, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of
Representatives,

THE personal inconveniences to the Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, in leaving their families and private affairs at this season of the year, are so obvious, that I the more regret the extraordinary occasion which had rendered the convention of Congress indispensable.

It would have afforded me the highest satisfaction to have been able to congratulate you on a restoration of peace to the nations of Europe, whose animosities have endangered our tranquillity; but we have still abundant cause of gratitude to the Supreme Dispenser of national blessings, for general health and promising seasons; for domestic and social happiness; for the rapid progress and ample acquisitions of industry, through extensive territories; for civil, political, and religious liberty. While other states are desolated with foreign war, or convulsed with intestine divisions, the United States present the pleasing prospect of a nation governed by mild and equal laws; generally satisfied with the possession of their rights; neither envying the advantages, nor fearing the power of other nations; solicitous only for the maintenance of order and jus-

tice, and the preservation of liberty; increasing daily in the attachment to a system of government, in proportion to their experience of its utility; yielding a ready and general obedience to laws flowing from reason, and resting on the only solid foundation, the affection of the people.

It is with extreme regret that I shall be obliged to turn your thoughts to other circumstances, which admonish us that some of these felicities may not be lasting; but if the tide of our prosperity is full, and a reflux commencing, a vigilant circumspection becomes us, that we may meet our reverses with fortitude, and extricate ourselves from their consequences, with all the skill we possess, and all the efforts in our power.

In giving to Congress information of the state of the union, and recommending to their consideration such measures as appear to me to be expedient or necessary, according to my constitutional duty, the causes and the objects of the present extraordinary session will be explained.

After the President of the United States received information that the French government had expressed serious discontents at some proceedings of the government of these States, said to affect the interests of France, he thought it expedient to send to that country a new minister, fully instructed to enter on such amicable discussions, and to give such candid explanations as might happily remove the discontents and suspicions of the French government, and vindicate the conduct of the United States. For this purpose he selected from among his fellow-citizens a character, whose integrity, talents, experience, and
services

services, had placed him in the rank of the most esteemed and respected in the nation. The direct object of his mission was expressed in his letter of credence to the French Republic, being "to maintain that good understanding which, from the commencement of the alliance, had subsisted between the two nations; and to efface unfavourable impressions, banish suspicions, and restore that cordiality which was at once the evidence and pledge of a friendly union." And his instructions were to the same effect, "faithfully to represent the disposition of the government and people of the United States, their disposition being one, to remove jealousies and obviate complaints, by showing that they were groundless; to restore that mutual confidence which had been so unfortunately and injuriously impaired; and to explain the relative interests of both countries, and the real sentiments of his own."

A minister thus specially commissioned, it was expected would have proved the instrument of restoring mutual confidence between the two republics: the first step of the French government corresponded with that expectation; a few days before his arrival at Paris, the French minister of foreign relations informed the American minister, then resident at Paris, of the formalities to be observed by himself in taking leave, and by his successor, preparatory to his reception. These formalities they observed; and on the ninth of December presented officially to the minister of foreign relations, the one a copy of his letter of recall; the other a copy of his letters of credence. These were laid before the Executive Directory. Two

days afterwards, the minister of foreign relations informed the recalled American minister, that the Executive Directory had determined not to receive another Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States, until after the redress of grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French Republic had a right to expect from it. The American minister immediately endeavoured to ascertain whether, by refusing to receive him, it was intended that he should retire from the territories of the French Republic; and verbal answers were given, that such was the intention of the Directory. For his own justification he desired a written answer; but obtained none until towards the last of January; when, receiving notice in writing to quit the territories of the Republic, he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he proposed to wait for instructions from this government. During his residence at Paris cards of hospitality were refused him; and he was threatened with being subjected to the jurisdiction of the minister of police: but with becoming firmness he insisted on the protection of the law of nations, due to him as the known minister of a foreign power. You will derive further information from his dispatches, which will be laid before you.

As it is often necessary that nations should treat for the mutual advantage of their affairs, and especially to accommodate and terminate differences, and as they can treat only by ministers, the right of embassy is well known, and established by the law and usage of nations. The refusal on the part of France to receive and hear our minister, is then

then the denial of a right; but the refusal to receive him until we have acceded to their demands without discussion, and without investigation, is to treat us neither as allies, nor as friends, nor as a sovereign state.

With this conduct of the French government, it will be proper to take into view the public audience given to the late minister of the United States, on his taking leave of the Executive Directory. The speech of the President discloses sentiments more alarming than the refusal of a minister, because more dangerous to our independence and union; and at the same time studiously marked with indignities towards the government of the United States. It evinces a disposition to separate the people of the United States from the government; to persuade them that they have different affections, principles, and interests, from those of their fellow-citizens, whom they themselves have chosen to manage their common concerns, and thus to produce divisions fatal to our peace. Such attempts ought to be repelled, with a decision which shall convince France and the world that we are not a degraded people, humiliated under a colonial spirit of fear, and sense of inferiority, fitted to be the miserable instruments of foreign influence, and regardless of national honour, character, and interest.

I should have been happy to have thrown a veil over these transactions, if it had been possible to conceal them; but they have passed on the great theatre of the world in the face of all Europe and America, and with such circumstances of publicity and solemnity, that they cannot be disguised, and will not soon

be forgotten: they have inflicted a wound in the American breast. It is my sincere desire, however, that it may be healed: it is my sincere desire, and in this I presume I concur with you, and with our constituents, to preserve peace and friendship with all nations: and believing that neither the honour nor the interest of the United States absolutely forbid the repetition of advances for securing these desirable objects with France, I shall institute a fresh attempt at negotiation; and shall not fail to promote and accelerate an accommodation, on terms compatible with the rights, duties, interests, and honour of the nation. If we have committed errors, and these can be demonstrated, we shall be willing to correct them; if we have done injuries, we shall be willing on conviction to redress them; and equal measures of justice we have a right to expect from France, and every other nation. The diplomatic intercourse between the United States and France being at present suspended, the government has no means of obtaining official information from that country; nevertheless there is reason to believe that the Executive Directory passed a decree on the 2d of March last, contravening in part the treaty of amity and commerce of 1778, injurious to our lawful commerce, and endangering the lives of our citizens. A copy of this decree will be laid before you.

While we are endeavouring to adjust all our differences with France by amicable negotiation, the progress of the war in Europe, the depredations on our commerce, the personal injuries to our citizens, and the general complexion of affairs, render it my indispensable duty

duty to recommend to your consideration effectual measures of defence.

The commerce of the United States has become an interesting object of attention, whether we consider it in relation to the wealth and finances, or the strength and resources of the nation. With a sea-coast of near two thousand miles in extent, opening a wide field for fisheries, navigation, and commerce, a great portion of our citizens naturally apply their industry and enterprise to these objects. Any serious and permanent injury to commerce would not fail to produce the most embarrassing disorders: to prevent it from being undermined and destroyed, it is essential that it receive an adequate protection.

The naval establishment must occur to every man who considers the injuries committed on our commerce, the insults offered to our citizens, and the description of the vessels by which these abuses have been practised. As the sufferings of our mercantile and sea-faring citizens cannot be ascribed to the omission of duties demandable, considering the neutral situation of our country, they are to be attributed to the hope of impunity, arising from a supposed inability on our part to afford protection. To resist the consequences of such impressions on the minds of foreign nations, and to guard against the degradation and servility which they must finally stamp on the American character, is an important duty of government.

A naval power, next to the militia, is the natural defence of the United States. The experience of the last war would be sufficient to show that a moderate naval force, such as would be easily within the

present abilities of the union, would have been sufficient to have baffled many formidable transportations of troops from one state to another, which were then practised. Our sea-coasts, from their great extent, are more easily annoyed, and more easily defended by a naval force than any other: with all the materials our country abounds; in skill our naval architects and navigators are equal to any; and commanders and seamen will not be wanting.

But although the establishment of a permanent system of naval defence appears to be requisite, I am sensible it cannot be formed so speedily and extensively as the present crisis demands. Hitherto I have thought proper to prevent the sailing of armed vessels, except on voyages to the East Indies, where general usage, and the danger from pirates, appeared to render the permission proper; yet the restriction has originated solely from a wish to prevent collusions with the powers at war, contravening the act of Congress of June, 1794, and not from any doubt entertained by me of the policy and propriety of permitting our vessels to employ means of defence while engaged in a lawful foreign commerce. It remains for Congress to prescribe such regulations as will enable our sea-faring citizens to defend themselves against violations of the law of nations, and at the same time restrain them from committing acts of hostility against the powers at war. In addition to these voluntary provisions for defence by individual citizens, it appears to me necessary to equip the frigates, and provide other vessels of inferior force, to take under convoy such merchant vessels as shall remain unarmed.

The greater part of the cruisers,
whose

whose depredations have been most injurious, have been built, and some of them partially equipped, in the United States. Although an effectual remedy may be attended with difficulty, yet I have thought it my duty to present the subject generally to your consideration. If a mode can be devised by the wisdom of Congress, to prevent the resources of the United States from being converted into the means of annoying our trade, a great evil will be prevented. With the same view I think it proper to mention that some of our citizens resident abroad, have fitted out privateers, and others have voluntarily taken the command, or entered on board of them, and committed spoliations on the commerce of the United States. Such unnatural and iniquitous practices can be restrained only by severe punishments.

But besides a protection of our commerce on the seas, I think it highly necessary to protect it at home, where it is collected in our most important ports. The distance of the United States from Europe, and the well-known promptitude, ardour, and courage of the people in defence of their country, happily diminish the probability of invasion: nevertheless, to guard against sudden and predatory incursions, the situation of some of our principal sea-ports demands your consideration; and as our country is vulnerable in other interests besides those of its commerce, you will seriously deliberate, whether the means of general defence ought not to be increased, by an addition to the regular artillery and cavalry, and by arrangements for forming a provisional army.

With the same view, and as a

measure which, even in time of universal peace, ought not to be neglected, I recommend to your consideration a revision of the laws for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, to render that natural and safe defence of the country efficacious. Although it is very true that we ought not to involve ourselves in the political system of Europe, but to keep ourselves always distinct and separate from it if we can; yet to effect this separation, early, punctual, and continual information of the current chain of events, and of the political projects in contemplation, is no less necessary than if we were directly concerned in them. It is necessary, in order to the discovery of the efforts made to draw us into the vortex, in season to make preparation against them. However we may consider ourselves, the maritime and commercial powers of the world will consider the United States of America as forming a weight in that balance of power in Europe, which never can be forgotten or neglected. It would not only be against our interest, but it would be doing wrong to one half of Europe at least, if we should voluntarily throw ourselves into either scale. It is a natural policy for a nation that studies to be neutral, to consult with other nations engaged in the same studies and pursuits: at the same time that measures might be pursued with this view, our treaties with Prussia and Sweden, one of which is expired, might be renewed.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

It is particularly your province to consider the state of our public finances.

nances, and to adopt such measures respecting them, as exigencies shall be found to require; the preservation of public credit, the regular extinguishment of the public debt, and a provision of funds to defray any extraordinary expences, will, of course, call for your serious attention. Although the imposition of new burdens cannot be in itself agreeable, yet there is no ground to doubt that the American people will expect from you such measures as their actual engagements, their present security, and future interest demand.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of
Representatives,

The present situation of our country imposes an obligation on all the departments of government, to adopt an explicit and decided conduct. In my situation an exposition of the principles by which my administration will be governed, ought not to be omitted.

It is impossible to conceal from ourselves, or the world, what has been before observed, that endeavours have been employed to foster and establish a division between the government and people of the United States. To investigate the causes which have encouraged this attempt is not necessary; but to repel by decided and united councils, insinuations so derogatory to honour, and aggressions so dangerous to the constitution, union, and even independence of the nation, is an indispensable duty.

It must not be permitted to be doubted whether the people of the United States will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their free choice; or whether, by

surrendering themselves to the direction of foreign and domestic factions, in opposition to their own government, they will forfeit the honourable station they have hitherto maintained.

For myself, having never been indifferent to what concerned the interests of my country, devoted the best part of my life to obtain and support its independence, and constantly witnessed the patriotism, fidelity, and perseverance of my fellow-citizens on the most trying occasions, it is not for me to hesitate, or abandon a cause in which my heart has been so long engaged.

Convinced that the conduct of the government has been just and impartial to foreign nations: that those internal regulations, which have been established by law for the preservation of peace, are in their nature proper, and that they have been fairly executed, nothing will ever be done by me to impair the national engagements, to innovate upon principles which have been so deliberately and uprightly established, or to surrender in any manner the rights of the government. To enable me to maintain this declaration, I rely, under God, with entire confidence on the firm and enlightened support of the national legislature, and upon the virtue and patriotism of my fellow-citizens.

JOHN ADAMS.

To the Address of this House to the President, in Answer to his Speech, which was little more than an Echo of it, the following Answer was returned.

I RECEIVE with great satisfaction your candid approbation of the convention of Congress, and thank you for your assurance that
the

the interesting subjects recommended to your consideration shall receive every attention which their importance demands; and that your co-operation may be expected in those measures which may appear necessary for our security or peace.

The declaration of the Representatives of this nation of their satisfaction at my promotion to the first office in the government, and of their confidence in my sincere endeavours to discharge the various duties of it with advantage to our common country, have excited my most grateful sensibility.

I pray you, Gentlemen, to believe, and to communicate such assurances to our constituents, that no event which we can foresee to be attainable by any exertions in the discharge of my duties, can afford me so much cordial satisfaction as to conduct a negotiation with the French Republic, to a removal of prejudice, a correction of errors, a dissipation of outrages, an accommodation of all differences, and a restoration of harmony and affection, to the mutual satisfaction of both nations. And whenever the legitimate organs of intercourse shall be restored, and the real sentiments of the two governments can be candidly communicated to each other, although strongly impressed with the necessity of collecting ourselves into a manly posture of defence, I nevertheless entertain an encouraging confidence that a mutual spirit of conciliation, a disposition to compensate injuries, and accommodate each other in all our relations and connections, will produce an agreement to a treaty consistent with the rights, duties, and honour of both nations.

(Signed) JOHN ADAMS.

United States, June 3, 1797.

Message received by the House of Representatives from the President, on the 12th of June, 1797.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of
Representatives,

I HAVE received information from the commissioners appointed on the part of the United States, pursuant to the third article of our treaty with Spain, that the running and marking of the boundary line between the colonies of East and West Florida, and the territory of the United States, have been delayed by the officers of his Catholic Majesty, and that they have declared their intention to maintain his jurisdiction, and to suspend the withdrawing of his troops from military posts they occupy within the territory of the United States, until the two governments shall by negotiation have settled the meaning of the second article respecting the withdrawing of the troops, garrisons, or settlements of either party, in the territory of the other; that is, whether when the Spanish garrisons withdraw, they are to leave the works standing, or to demolish them; and, until by an additional article to the treaty, the real property of the inhabitants shall be secured, and likewise until the Spanish officers are sure the Indians will be pacific. The two first questions, if to be determined by negotiation, might be made subjects of discussion for years; and as no limitation of time can be prescribed to the other (a certainty in the opinion of the Spanish officers that the Indians will be pacific) it will be impossible to suffer it to remain an obstacle to the fulfilment of the treaty on the part of Spain.

To remove the first difficulty, I have determined to leave it to the discretion of the officers of his Catholic Majesty, when they withdraw his troops from the forts within the territory of the United States, either to leave the works standing, or to demolish them; and to remove the second, I shall cause an assurance to be published, and to be particularly communicated to the minister of his Catholic Majesty, and to the Governor of Louisiana, that the settlers or occupants of the lands in question, shall not be disturbed in their possessions by the troops of the United States, but, on the contrary, that they shall be protected in all their lawful claims: and to prevent or remove every doubt on this point, it merits the consideration of Congress, whether it will not be expedient immediately to pass a law, giving positive assurance to those inhabitants, who by fair and regular grants, or by occupancy, have obtained legal titles, or equitable claims to lands in that country, prior to the final ratification of the treaty between the United States and Spain on the 25th of April, 1796.

This country is rendered peculiarly valuable by its inhabitants, who are represented to amount to nearly four thousand, generally well affected, and much attached to the United States, and zealous for the establishment of a government under their authority.

I therefore recommend to your consideration, the expediency of creating a government in the district of the Natches, similar to that established for the territory north-west of the river Ohio, but with certain modifications, relative to

titles in claims of land, whether of individuals or companies, or to claims of jurisdiction of any individual state.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, June 12, 1797.

Message from the President of the United States to Congress.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of
Representatives,

THE whole of the intelligence which has for some time been received from abroad, the correspondence between this government and the ministers of the belligerent powers residing here, and the advices from the officers of the United States, civil and military, upon the frontiers, all conspire to shew, in a very strong light, the critical situation of our country. That Congress might be enabled to form a more perfect judgment of it, and of the measures necessary to be taken, I have directed the proper officers to prepare such collections of extracts from the public correspondence, as might afford the clearest information. The reports made to me from the secretary of state, and the secretary at war, with a collection of documents from each of them, are now communicated to both houses of Congress. I have desired that the message, reports, and documents, may be considered as confidential, merely that the members of both houses of Congress may be apprised of their contents before they should be made public. As soon as the Houses shall have heard them, I shall submit to their discretion the publication of the whole, or any such parts
of

of them as they shall judge necessary or expedient for the public good.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, July 3, 1797.

*Report of the Committee of the Senate (to the Senate, on the 6th of July, 1797) to whom was referred a Letter * from W. Blount, Esq. one of the Senators from the State of Tennessee.*

THAT Mr. Blount having declined an acknowledgment or denial of the letter imputed to him, and having failed to appear to give any

satisfactory explanation respecting it, your committee sent for the original letter, which accompanies this report.

Two senators, now present in the senate, have declared to the committee, that they are well acquainted with the hand-writing of Mr. Blount, and have no doubt that this letter was written by him. Your committee have examined many letters from Mr. Blount to the secretary of war, a number of which are herewith submitted, as well as the letter addressed by Mr. Blount to Mr. Cocke, his colleague in the senate,

* *The following is a Copy of the Letter.*

Dear Carey,

Col. King's Iron-works, April 21.

I wished to have seen you before I returned to Philadelphia; but I am obliged to return to the session of Congress, which commences on the 15th of May.

Among other things that I wished to have seen you about, was the business of Captain Chisholm, mentioned to the British minister, last winter, at Philadelphia.

I believe, but I am not quite sure, that the plan then talked of will be attempted this fall; and if it is attempted, it will be in a much larger way than then talked of: and if the Indians act their part, I have no doubt but it will succeed. A man of consequence has gone to England about the business; and, if he makes arrangements as he expects, I shall myself have a hand in the business, and probably shall be at the head of the business on the part of the British.

You are, however, to understand, that it is not yet quite certain that the plan will be attempted; yet you will do well to keep things in a train for action in case it should be attempted; and to do so will require all your management. I say, will require all your management, because you must take care, in whatever you say to Rogers, or any body else, not to let the plan be discovered by Hawkins, Dinsmoor, Dyers, or any other person in the interest of the United States or Spain.

If I attempt this plan, I shall endeavour to have you and all my Indian country and Indian friends with me; but you are now in good business I hope, and you are not to risk the loss of it by saying any thing that will hurt you, until you again hear from me. Where Captain Chisholm is I do not know; I left him in Philadelphia in March, and he frequently visited the minister, and spoke upon the subject; but I believe he will go into the Creek nation, by way of South Carolina or Georgia. He gave out that he was going to England, but I did not believe him. Among other things that you may safely do, will be to keep up my consequence with Watts, and the Creeks and Cherokees generally; and you must by no means say any thing in favour of Hawkins; but, as often as you can with safety to yourself, you may teach the Creeks to believe that he is no better than he should be. Any power or consequence he gets will be against our plan.

Perhaps Rogers, who has no office to lose, is the best man to give out talks against Hawkins. Read the letter to Rogers, and, if you think it best to send it to him, put a wafer in it, and forward it to him by a safe hand; or, perhaps, you had better

senate, and to this committee, respecting the business now under consideration; and find them all to be of the same hand-writing with the letter in question. Mr. Blount has never denied this letter, but, on the other hand, when the copy transmitted to the senate was read in his presence on the 3d instant, he acknowledged, in his place, that he had written a letter to Carey, of which he had preserved a copy; but could not then decide whether the copy read was a true one. Your committee are, therefore, fully persuaded that the original letter, now produced, was written and sent to Carey by Mr. Blount. They also find that this man, Carey, to whom it was addressed, is, to the knowledge of Mr. Blount, in the pay and employment of the United States, as their interpreter to the

Cherokee nation of Indians, and an assistant in the public factory at Tellico Block-house: that Hawkins, who is so often mentioned in this letter as a person who must be brought into suspicion among the Creeks, and if possible driven from his station, is the superintendent of Indian affairs for the United States among the southern Indians; Dismore is agent for the United States in the Cherokee nation; and Byers, one of the agents in the public factory at Tellico Block-house.

The plan hinted at in this extraordinary letter, to be executed under the auspices of the British, is so capable of different constructions and conjectures, that your committee at present forbear giving any decided opinion respecting it; except that to Mr. Blount's own mind it appeared to be inconsistent with the

better send for him to come to you, and speak to him yourself respecting the state and prospect of things.

I have advised you, in whatever you do, to take care of yourself. I have now to tell you to take care of me; for a discovery of the plan would prevent the success, and much injure all the parties concerned. It may be that the commissioners may not run the line as the Indians expect or wish; and in that case, it is probable that the Indians may be taught to blame me for making the treaty.

To such complaints against me, if such there are, it may be said by my friends, at proper times and places, that Doublehead confirmed the treaty with the President at Philadelphia, and received as much as 5000 dollars a year, to be paid to the nation, over and above the first price. Indeed it may with truth be said, that though I made the treaty, I made it by the instructions of the President; and in fact it may with truth be said, that I was by the President instructed to purchase much more land than the Indians would agree to sell.

This sort of talk will be throwing all the blame off me upon the late President; and as he is now out of office, it will be of no consequence how much the Indians blame him. And among other things that may be said for me is, that I was not at the running of the line, and that if I had been, it would have been run more to their satisfaction. In short, you understand the subject, and must take care to give out the proper talks to keep up my consequence with the Creeks and Cherokees. Can't Rogers continue to get the Creeks to desire the President to take Hawkins out of the nation? For if he stays in the Creek nation, and gets the good-will of the nation, he can and will do great injury to our plan.

When you have read this letter over three times, then burn it. I shall be at Knoxville in July or August, when I will send for Watts, and give him the whiskey I promised.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

the interests of the United States and of Spain; and he was therefore anxious to conceal it from both. But when they considered his attempt to seduce Carey from his duty as a faithful interpreter, and to employ him as an engine to alienate the affection and confidence of the Indians from the public officers of the United States residing among them; the measures he has proposed to excite a temper which must produce the recall or expulsion of our superintendent from the Creek nation; his insidious advice tending to the advancement of his own popularity and consequence at the expence and hazard of the good opinion which the Indians entertain of this government, and of the treaties subsisting between us and them,—your committee have no doubt that Mr. Blount's conduct has been inconsistent with his public duty, renders him unworthy of a further continuance of his present public trust in this body, and amounts to a high misdemeanor.—They therefore unanimously recommend to the senate an adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That William Blount, Esq. one of the senators of the United States, hath been guilty of a high misdemeanor, entirely inconsistent with his public trust and duty as a senator of the United States.

On Friday July 7, the following Message was received by the Senate from the House of Representatives.

Mr. President,

I AM commanded by the House of Representatives, in their name, and in the name of the people of the United States, at the bar of

your house, to impeach William Blount, a member of the senate, and to inform you, that they will exhibit, in due time, articles of impeachment against him, and make good the same. I am also commanded to demand that the said William Blount be sequestered from his seat in the senate, and that orders be taken for his appearance to answer the charges which they shall bring against him.

On Saturday, July 8, a motion was put and carried for the expulsion of Mr. Blount.

Authentic Documents. laid before Congress by the President of the United States.

Note from the British Minister.

R. LISTON presents his respects to Colonel Pickering, secretary of state.

When you first mentioned to me the suspicions expressed by the Spanish minister respecting an expedition supposed to be preparing on the Lakes, with a view to attack the Spanish posts in Louisiana, I took the liberty of observing to you, that I had no knowledge of any such preparations, and did not believe they existed.

I have since requested information on the subject from the governor-general of Canada, and his Majesty's secretary of state; and I have authority to assure you, that no expedition of the nature of that alluded to, has been or is intended by the British government. Indeed, the impropriety of violating the neutral territory of the United States, is an objection of sufficient magnitude to induce the King's ministers to reject any such plan, were it suggested to them.

Philadelphia, June 19, 1797.

Note

Note from the Secretary of State to Mr. Liston.

*Department of State, Philadelphia,
July 1, 1797.*

Sir,

YOUR note of the 19th of the last month, alluding to the suspicions expressed by the Spanish minister, respecting an expedition suggested to be preparing at the Lakes against the Spanish posts in Louisiana, I laid before the President of the United States, who received great satisfaction from your assurance that no such expedition has been or is intended by the British government.

Will you permit me to inquire whether you can give any information concerning any other project of an expedition against any part of the dominions of Spain, adjacent to the territory of the United States, where or from whence any co-operation was contemplated? I am aware of the delicacy of this inquiry; but the frankness of our verbal answer, formerly relating to the alleged expedition from Canada, and the assurances in your note above mentioned, lead me to hope that you will not deem the present inquiry improper; and the proofs you have uniformly given of respect to the rights and interests of the United States, authorize the further hope, that you will feel yourself at liberty to communicate any information you possess, which on this occasion may concern their tranquillity and welfare; and I beg you to be assured that it is on this ground only that I would make the inquiry. I will add, however, that it is not the result of suspicion, but of information (in which your name is introduced) that some project of the kind has been contemplated, and

that the means proposed for carrying it into execution could not but be highly detrimental to the United States.

I have the honour to be,
with great respect, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Robert Liston, Esq. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty to the United States.

Reply of Mr. Liston.

R. LISTON presents his respects to Colonel Pickering, secretary of state.

I have had the honour of receiving your letter of yesterday.

In the course of last winter, some persons did actually propose to me a plan for an attack on the Floridas, and the other possessions of his Catholic Majesty adjoining to the territories of the United States.

The general outline of the project was, that the expedition should be undertaken by a British force sent by sea, and seconded by a number of men resident within the limits of the United States, who, I was assured, would be willing to join the King's standard, if it were erected on the Spanish territory.

I informed the projectors that I could not give any encouragement to a plan of this nature; and I particularly stated two objections to it; the impropriety of any measure that tended to a violation of the neutrality of the United States,—and the inhumanity of calling in the aid of the Indians: a circumstance hinted at in the conversation that had taken place on the subject.

I conceived it to be my duty, however, to mention the business in

in my correspondence with my superiors; and I lately received an answer, acquainting me that his Majesty's ministers did not think proper to give any countenance to the project. The two objections above alluded to (which I had of course insisted on in my report) are stated as sufficient reasons for its rejection.

You must allow me, Sir, to decline entering into any further particulars: on the one hand, because, although I have all along suspected that the persons who proposed the plan to me, might not improbably be employed by the enemies of Great Britain, to endeavour with sinister views to insinuate themselves into my confidence; yet as these my surmises may be false, I should not be justified in betraying the secrets of men who may have meant me well; and, on the other hand, because, however loose the principles of these speculators may have been on the subject of the law of nations (as it regards the duties of neutrality) none of them, in their intercourse with me, ever expressed sentiments that were in any degree hostile to the interests of the United States.

Philadelphia, July 2.

Address of the President of the United States of America to Congress, on opening the Session, November 23.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and
Gentlemen of the House of
Representatives,

I WAS for some time apprehensive that it would be necessary, on account of the contagious sickness which affected the city of Philadelphia, to convene the national

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legislature at some other place. This measure it was desirable to avoid, because it would occasion much public inconvenience, and a considerable public expence, and add to the calamities of the inhabitants of this city, whose sufferings must have excited the sympathy of all their fellow-citizens. Therefore, after taking measures to ascertain the state and decline of the sickness, I postponed my determination, having hopes, now happily realised, that, without hazard to the lives or health of the Members, Congress might assemble at this place, where it was next by law to meet. I submit, however, to your consideration, whether a power to postpone the meeting of Congress, without passing the time fixed by the constitution upon such occasions, would be a useful amendment to the law of One thousand seven hundred and ninety-four. Altho' I cannot yet congratulate you on the re-establishment of peace in Europe, and the restoration of security to the persons and properties of our citizens from injustice and violence at sea, we have, nevertheless, abundant cause of gratitude to the Source of benevolence and influence, for interior tranquillity and personal security, for propitious seasons, prosperous agriculture, productive fisheries, and general improvements: and, above all, for a national spirit of civil and religious liberty, and a calm but steady determination to support our sovereignty, as well as our moral and religious principles, against all open and secret attacks.

Our Envoys Extraordinary to the French Republic embarked, one in July, the other in August, to join their colleagues in Holland.

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I have received intelligence of the arrival of both of them in Holland, from whence they all proceeded on their journey to Paris, within a few days of the 19th of September. Whatever may be the result of this mission, I trust that nothing will have been omitted on my part to conduct the negotiation to a successful conclusion, on such equitable terms as may be compatible with the safety, honour, and interests of the United States. Nothing in the mean time will contribute so much to the preservation of peace, and the attainment of justice, as a manifestation of the energy and unanimity, of which, on many former occasions, the people of the United States have given such memorable proofs, and the exertions of those resources, for national defence, which a benevolent Providence has kindly placed within their power.

It may be confidently asserted, that nothing has occurred since the adjournment of Congress, which renders inexpedient those precautionary measures recommended by me to the consideration of the two Houses, at the opening of your late extraordinary session. If that system was then prudent, it is more so now, as increasing depredations strengthen the reasons for its adoption.

Indeed, whatever may be the issue of the negotiation with France, and whether the war in Europe is or is not to continue, I hold it most certain, that permanent tranquillity and order will not soon be obtained. The state of society has so long been disturbed, the sense of moral and religious obligations so much weakened, public faith and national honour have been so impaired, respect to treaties has been

so diminished, and the law of nations has lost so much of its force, while pride, ambition, avarice, and violence, have been so much unrestrained, there remains no reasonable ground on which to raise an expectation that a commerce, without protection or defence, will not be plundered.

The commerce of the United States is essential, if not to their existence, at least to their comfort, their growth, prosperity, and happiness; the genius, character, and habits of the people are highly commercial; their cities have been formed and exist upon commerce: our agriculture, fisheries, arts, and manufactures, are connected with and dependent upon it. In short, commerce has made this country what it is, and it cannot be destroyed or neglected, without involving the people in poverty and distress. Great numbers are directly and solely supported by navigation. The faith of society is pledged for the preservation of the rights of commercial and seafaring, no less than for those of the other citizens. Under this view of our affairs, I should hold myself guilty of a neglect of duty if I forbore to recommend that we should make every exertion to protect our commerce, and to place our country in a suitable posture of defence, as the only sure means of preserving both.

I have entertained an expectation that it would have been in my power, at the opening of this session, to have communicated to you the agreeable information of the due execution of our treaty with his Catholic Majesty, respecting the withdrawing of his troops from our territory, and the demarcation of the line of limits: but, by the latest
authen-

authentic intelligence, Spanish garrisons were still continued within our country, and the running of the boundary line had not been commenced. These circumstances are the more to be regretted, as they cannot fail to affect the Indians in a manner injurious to the United States. Still, however, indulging the hope that the answers which have been given will remove the objections offered by the Spanish officers to the immediate execution of the treaty, I have judged it proper that we should continue in readiness to receive the posts, and to run the line of limits.

Further information on this subject will be communicated in the course of the session.

In connection with the unpleasant state of things on our western frontier, it is proper for me to mention the attempts of foreign agents to alienate the affections of the Indian nations, and to excite them to actual hostilities against the United States. Great activity has been exerted by those persons who have insinuated themselves among the Indian tribes residing within the territories of the United States, to influence them to transfer their affections and force to a foreign nation; to form them into a confederacy, and to prepare them for war against the United States.

Although measures have been taken to counteract these infractions of our rights, to prevent Indian hostilities, and to preserve entire their attachment to the United States, it is my duty to observe, that to give a better effect to these measures, and to obviate the consequence of a repetition of such practices, a law, providing adequate punishment for such offences, may be necessary.

The Commissioners appointed under the fifth article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, between the United States and Great Britain, to ascertain the river which was truly intended under the name of the River St. Croix, mentioned in the treaty of peace, met at Palzamaquody Bay, in October 1796, and viewed the mouths of the rivers in question, and the adjacent shores and islands; and being of opinion that actual surveys of both rivers to their sources were necessary, gave to the agents of the two nations instructions for that purpose, and adjourned to meet at Boston in August. They met, but the surveys requiring more time than had been supposed, and not being then completed, the Commissioners again adjourned, to meet at Providence, in the state of Rhode Island, in June next, when we may expect a final examination and decision.

The Commissioners appointed in pursuance of the 6th article of the treaty, met at Philadelphia in May last, to examine the claims of British subjects for debts contracted before the peace, and still remaining due to them from citizens or inhabitants of the United States. Various causes have hitherto prevented any determination; but the business is now resumed, and doubtless will be prosecuted without interruption.

Several decisions on the claims of citizens of the United States, for losses and damages sustained by reason of irregular and illegal captures, or condemnations of their vessels or other property, have been made by the Commissioners in London, conformably to the seventh article of the treaty. The sums awarded by

the Commissioners have been paid by the British government. A considerable number of other claims, where costs and damages, and not captured property, were the only objects in question, have been decided by arbitration; and the sums awarded to the citizens of the United States have also been paid.

The Commissioners appointed agreeably to the 21st article of our treaty with Spain, met at Philadelphia in the summer past, to examine and decide on the claims of our citizens for losses they have sustained in consequence of their vessels and cargoes having been taken by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty, during the late war between Spain and France. Their sittings have been interrupted, but now are resumed.

The United States being obligated to make compensation for the losses and damages sustained by British subjects, upon the award of the Commissioners acting under the sixth article of the treaty with Great Britain, and for the losses and damages sustained by British subjects, by reason of the capture of their vessels and merchandize, taken within the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, and brought into their ports, or taken by vessels originally armed in ports of the United States; upon the awards of the Commissioners acting under the seventh article of the same treaty, it is necessary that provision be made for fulfilling these obligations.

The numerous captures of American vessels by the cruizers of the French Republic, and of some by those of Spain, have occasioned considerable expences in making and supporting the claim of our

citizens before their tribunals; and the sums required for the purpose have, in divers instances, been disbursed by the Consuls of the United States. By means of the same captures, great numbers of our seamen have been thrown ashore in foreign countries, destitute of all means of subsistence; and the sick, in particular, have been exposed to grievous sufferings. The Consuls have in these cases also advanced money for their relief.—For these advances they reasonably expect reimbursements from the United States.

The Consular Act, relative to seamen, requires revision and amendment: the provisions for their support in foreign countries, and for their return, are found to be inadequate and ineffectual. Another provision seems necessary to be added to the Consular Act: some foreign vessels have been discovered sailing under the flag of the United States, and with foreign papers. It seldom happens that the Consuls can detect this deception, because they have no authority to demand an inspection of the register and sea-letters.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

It is my duty to recommend to your serious consideration those objects which, by the constitution, are placed particularly within your sphere, the National Debt and Taxes.

Since the decay of the feudal system, by which the public defence was provided for, chiefly at the expence of individuals, the system of loans has been introduced: and as no nation can raise within the year, by taxes, sufficient sums

sums for its defence and military operation in time of war, the sum loaned, and debts contracted, have necessarily become the subject of what have been called the funding systems.

The consequences arising from the continual accumulation of public debts in other countries, ought to admonish us to be careful to prevent their growth in our own. The national defence must be provided for, as well as the support of government; but both should be accomplished as much as possible by immediate taxes, and as little as possible by loans.

The Estimates for the service of the ensuing year will, by my direction, be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the Senate and
Gentlemen of the House of
Representatives,

We are met together at a most interesting period. The situation of the principal powers of Europe are singular and portentous. Connected with some by treaties, and with all by commerce, no important event there can be indifferent to us. Such circumstances call, with a peculiar importunity, not less for a disposition to unite in all those measures on which the honour, safety, and prosperity of our country depend, than for all the exertions of wisdom and firmness.

In all such measures you may rely on my zealous and hearty concurrence. JOHN ADAMS.

To the Address, which is nearly the Echo of the above Speech, the President made the following Reply.

Gentlemen of the Senate,

I thank you for this address. When, after the most laborious in-

vestigation, and serious reflection, without partial considerations or personal motives, measures have been adopted or recommended, I can receive no higher testimony of their rectitude than the approbation of an Assembly so independent, patriotic, and enlightened, as the Senate of the United States.

Nothing has afforded me more entire satisfaction than the coincidence of your judgment with mine, in the opinion of the essential importance of our commerce, and the absolute necessity of a maritime defence. What is it that has drawn to Europe the superfluous riches of the three other quarters of the globe but a marine? What is it that has drained the wealth of Europe itself into the coffers of two or three of its principal commercial powers but a marine? The world has furnished no example of a flourishing commerce without a maritime protection; and a moderate knowledge of man and his history will convince any one, that no such prodigy ever can arise. A mercantile marine and a military marine must grow up together—one cannot long exist without the other.

JOHN ADAMS.

Message from the Directory of the French Republic, on the 24th of July, to the Council of Five Hundred.

Citizens Representatives,

THE lamentable state of the finances becomes worse every moment; all the branches of the public service suffer; they will all fail together in a few days, if a prompt remedy be not administered.

A view of their actual situation will demonstrate this sad truth. The accounts of credit, opened since the 1st Vendemiaire to this day.

day, amount to the sum of four hundred and five millions. The sums paid in the aforesaid period, such as annuities and pensions, and the salaries in myriogrammes, amount to twenty or twenty-five millions; the total sums of which the payment has been authorised by the legislative body to about four hundred and twenty-five millions.

Of this sum, the ministers have still seventy millions to dispose. The minister of finance has suspended the payment of thirty-eight millions, on orders of payment delivered to him. That sum may, to a certain degree, be considered as if it had not been appointed to be paid; and thence it results that the expences actually disbursed, whether by the authority of the two councils of the legislative body, by the ministers, or by other persons, amount only to three hundred and seventeen millions. The expences of the campaign of Italy are not included in this sum, except some sums particularly authorised; because as the army lives on the produce of the contributions which it causes to be levied, the account will be regulated definitively. But the army of Italy constitutes not the sole force which the republic supports; it has besides under its standards, the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, the Sambre and the Meuse, the garrisons of the interior, the extraordinaries of the marine, &c. and when the political situation of the republic is considered with impartiality, it should be matter of surprise to see ourselves arriving within two months of concluding the year with a simple authority for the expence of three hundred and seventeen millions,

whereas previous to the revolution, much greater sums were expended in ordinary periods.

Doubtless, the sum total of the expences is not yet exactly known, nor consequently settled; but what we already know and perceive, supports the force of this observation.

This state of things will appear still more astonishing, when you consider that of these three hundred and seventeen millions expended, more than eighty are still due to the parties who should receive them, and that their titles consist either in a pledge on the value of national property, or on the produce of contributions to be brought in; thence it results, that if, on the one hand, the authorised expences amount to three hundred and seventeen millions, the payments made amount only to two hundred and forty, or two hundred and fifty millions. All the chests however are empty. We exist only from day to day; and this position, well known to the national treasure, ought to prevail over all the hypothetical calculations which may be presented to attempt to destroy it. Its exactness is besides demonstrated by all the statements of monies already received, and of those to be received, which the commissaries of the national treasury have presented almost every month. You will thence see, Citizens Representatives, that whatever efforts we use, we cannot calculate, by the existing laws, on more than twenty-four or twenty-five millions; you must also foresee that the amount of the two or three following months will not arrive, by reason of the slowness experienced in the receipt of direct contributions during the harvest. If calculations apparently higher

are presented, they give only nominal estimates; but it is not with them that the public service can be maintained. What imports it, in reality, that the receipts amount to fifty millions (if you will) per month, if we must deduct therefrom ten millions remitted by orders of discharge, as many in *bons de requisition*, two millions *en cote nationale*, three millions in charges, which are reckoned neither in the accounts of receipt nor expediture; as then there remain only twenty-five at disposal.

It has been complained, that, in order to sustain the public service, *bons* have been given, payable out of the contributions to be levied; but with regard to sums failed, there resulted some inconveniences. What measure is exempted from inconvenience, when the receipt is below the expenditure? The Executive Directory has endeavoured to stop this proceeding, by deciding that, in future, no order of payment shall be delivered but on disposable funds. To commence putting this measure in practice, there was of public treasure only 759,970 livres; it was necessary, from the want of documents, to consider as already collected, all the presumed incomes of a whole decade. Making a due distribution of this sum, there remains disposable for the service of ten days, after deducting the pay of the subsistence of the army, the annuities, pensions, and indemnification of the legislative body, only 234,000 livres. That sum being evidently insufficient, the commissioners of the treasury have been required to endeavour to procure 500,000 livres by negotiation; they replied, that they were unable to procure it; and if they had not

been able to announce, at the same time, that we might calculate on 400,000 livres, arising from an anterior operation, we should have found ourselves under an impossibility of making supplies which could not be suspended without endangering the public safety.

The Executive Directory has often already submitted to you, Citizens Representatives, its observations on this subject; it dreads not making known the state of the public fortune, because it is convinced of the possibility of recruiting it, so as to re-animate the confidence of good citizens, to strike despair into our internal enemies, to astonish our external, and finally to demonstrate that the revolution has not been made in France to terminate in that state of distress which is now experienced in that country.

You will observe, Citizens Representatives, that we are reduced to re-assess the landed contribution which ought to have been leviable ten months ago; that the law which was to produce sixty millions by the personal contribution of the 5th year, is not yet made; that the great communes have not at their disposition the supplementary means which are necessary for their local expences, and that we are under the necessity of remitting to the commune of Paris, that it may provide for its local expences almost all the taxes of the department of the Seine; that the indirect contributions announced since the beginning of the year are not even yet put in a train of discussion; that the improvements which may be attained from enregistering stamps, mortgages, and posts, are yet but mere projects; that the resources which may be drawn from mortgaged lands

and rent-charges not feudal, are still entire.

The utility and the necessity also of these objects have been long acknowledged: since it has been proposed to submit them to your deliberations, the hopes conceived from them had sustained the service; that resource does no more exist; other means are become indispensable; without authorising them, the service of the next decade will be impossible.

It is the duty of the Executive Directory to declare to you that it has arrived to the point of that crisis which it announced a long time ago, and that it has retarded it, by all the means in its power to use. You will find in your wisdom the means of obviating the incalculable evils that must result, if the public treasury does not receive prompt and efficacious succours.

The Executive Directory invites you, Citizens Representatives, to take into consideration the request that it has made to you.

The following facts prove how urgent it is:—

We learn that the pay of the army is in arrear.

There are only 234 thousand francs for urgent purposes, which require ten millions.

There is more than five due to person in employment, the major part of whom have not yet received the whole of what was due to them in the month of Germinal.

The repairs of roads and public monuments are about to be suspended.

The providers of bread to the prisons must stop.

The service of the hospitals is exposed to the same danger.

There is no effective reserve.

There remains nothing disposable.

It is to you, Citizens Representatives alone that it belongs to find a remedy.

(Signed)

CARNOT, President.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, of the 1st Thermidor (Aug. 1.)

Citizens Representatives,

THE Executive Directory has just given the second decision on the urgent payments to be made in the second decade of Thermidor; the demands, originating from the most pressing wants, amounted to about twenty millions. In order to maintain the public service, it was necessary to consider the presumptive receipt of the departments during the last decade, and that of the national treasury during the present, as funds actually to be disposed of. The sum total of these funds it has not been possible to rate higher than at 6,620,000 livres, which have been distributed in such manner as appeared most conformable to the subsisting laws, and the support of the public service, under the difficult circumstances wherein we are placed. There remains a deficit of about fourteen millions for the next decade, to which is to be added the expence of the ten following days. Whatever calculations may be made, Citizens Representatives, it must be evident to you, that our present means are not sufficient. From the statement transmitted to you a few days since by the national treasury, it is clear that we cannot expect to receive twenty-three millions in specie during the month of Thermidor.

midor. With means so feeble, it will be impossible to maintain the public service; and the difficulties it labours under renders its situation worse every day. This state of things deserves your attention the more, as it might be altered by making use of the resources which the republic has yet left. The persuasion, Citizens Representatives, that these resources still exist, has hitherto supported our courage and animated our hope; but it is time to improve them. The minister of finances has pointed out some of them in the report annexed to this message. The Directory has met with frequent opportunities to invite you to examine into these resources, and the danger of the present moment obliges them to repeat this request. From a conviction that the adoption of proper measures for restoring public credit would produce the most fortunate change, the Directory sincerely wish that you may take them into speedy consideration.

(Signed)

CARNOT, President.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, 9th of August.

Citizens Representatives,

THE Executive Directory transmits you the decision which it has just made respecting the urgency of the payments which are to take place during the 3d decade, the state of the demands formed by the proper officers, and the report of the minister of the finances. It desires you would inspect these documents, and compare the present state of things with the situation in which

we have been at a similar period, during the two preceding decades.

It requests, above all, that you would compare the urgency of the public wants, the evils resulting from them, the anxiety which they diffuse, and the apprehension which they inspire on the subject of the common safety, with the advantages that could be ensured, were the resources which are still in the possession of the republic made disposable.

Take away, Citizens Representatives, every thing that prevents you from ensuring the necessary returns for the maintenance of the military service, the pay and subsistence of the troops, the payment of the public creditors, the salaries of the public functionaries, already several months in arrear, and the discharge of the expences which the government cannot postpone, without compromising the conduct which it ought to observe for the performance of its duty,—the internal and external safety of the republic.

The resources which can be brought into action are of two kinds. The one requires some previous measure before they can be made disposable; the other may serve as securities for contracts, the execution of which would furnish a sufficient delay for the attainment of the first.

But they both call for an immediate determination; and if no use be made of them, they are of as little moment as if they never existed. A proper use of them may, and can, extricate the finances from the dangerous crisis to which they are at present reduced. The peril is imminent; but if you enact the laws which have been demanded of you, which the public opinion calls for,

for, and the commissions charged with the examination of them have pronounced to be necessary, the dangers with which we are threatened will disappear. Our enemies know that France, with her present constitution, has only to express a wish to ameliorate her finances, that the means of course will follow, and that, if these means be well employed, they must produce the desired effect. It is time, Citizens Representatives, to justify that opinion, by deliberations that will give validity to it. The safety of the country is intimately connected with them. Let the situation of our finances be once ameliorated, and peace will naturally find its way back to our territories. Under its auspices all the French will reap the fruits of their glorious efforts in the cause which they have made triumph.

The Executive Directory, Citizens Representatives, renews its most pressing invitations that you may take into your discussion the laws relative to the finances and the receipts, which may place the revenue on a par with the indispensable disbursements of the state.

(Signed)

CARNOT, President.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred on the 10th of August, in Answer to the Resolution of the Council respecting the March of the Troops within the Constitutional Limits.

Citizens Representatives,

The Executive Directory delayed replying to your message of the 17th of this month, relative to the marching orders given to four regiments of chasseurs, which were to pass by

Ferte-Alais, in the expectation that the report of the committee of inspectors, upon which that message had been adopted, would be printed. It is not yet printed; but the Directory, who in the mean time have been collecting the documents they were desirous of procuring respecting the route of these troops, consider it their duty to transmit to you such information as has reached them.

Citizen Lefage, Commissary of War, has made the following declaration upon this subject:

“ Citizen Lefage, Commissary of War for the army of the Sambre and Meuse, charged with the police of the division of chasseurs commanded by General Richepaulse, certifies, that after the said General had given to him, at Durenne, the itinerary of the route which this division was to observe in going to Chartres (an itinerary which was entirely written by General Richepaulse, but not signed by him) he received at Aix la Chapelle the order of proceeding in that destination, and preparing, beforehand, at the places pointed out, the necessary provisions and quarters for four regiments which composed that division, but which were only to arrive in succession at three resting places; that, without examining the itinerary which had been given to him, or knowing that Ferte-Alais was within the constitutional limits of Paris, he expedited the order for the route, in consequence of which the troops were to march—that he followed the route to Rheims—that, being there assured that the letters he had written to Charleville, with directions to the municipalities of the places through which the troops were

were to pass, had been duly received, and having no further precautions to take, as the municipal administrations were charged with quartering and providing for the troops, he yielded to the desire of seeing his family, who reside at Chartres, and left the route of the division to take the shorter one by Soissons.

“He further certifies, that neither the General Richepauze, nor any other staff officer, gave him any other marching order than the above, the itinerary of which was transmitted to him at Durenne:—that, during the course of the march, he did not hear any of the troops speak of their destination; that he only heard, at Bonn and Durenne, persons, who did not belong to the army, say that the division was to embark at Brest.”

General Richepauze states, on his part, that he received an order from General Hoche, dated Cologne, the 15th Messidor, in the following terms:

“General Richepauze, commanding the division of horse chasseurs, is hereby ordered to proceed, with the four regiments under his command, to Brest, by the way of Chartres and Alençon.

(Signed) “HOCHÉ.”

General Richepauze has besides made the following declaration, which he subscribed before the Directory on the 22d of Thermidor:

“I certify, that it was in consequence of the order of the General in Chief, Hoche, dated the 15th Messidor, directing me to proceed with the four regiments under my command to Brest, by the way of Chartres and Alençon, that I traced the route by which the division I

commanded was to proceed to Chartres; that I was totally ignorant of the existence of any law which required that the troops should not come within twelve leagues of Paris;—that I even was inclined to have made them pass through Paris; and that the difficulty of maintaining order among troops quartered in a large city, was the only reason which determined me not to adopt that route; that my intention was evidently pure; for, if it had not, I would not have ordered a commissary of war to have preceded me, who was six days before the van of the troops, which was the head of the column commanded by me.

(Signed) “RICHEPAUZE.”

Such is the information which the Directory has procured respecting the marching order given to the four regiments of chasseurs drawn from the army of the Sambre and Meuse, and which were to pass by Ferte-Alais to Brest.

While the Directory confine their answer to this point, they consider it necessary to direct your attention to a statement which appears to have been contained in the report upon which your message was founded.

All the journals agree in stating, that you were informed that arms and ammunition had recently been distributed at Chartres to five hundred ruffians, for the purpose of suppressing or of threatening the freedom of the legislative body. This statement is completely disproved by the municipality of the place: the *proces-verbal* of the municipality has been addressed to you; so that you must already be convinced that the enemies of the country have

have led the members of your committee into an error upon this subject.

We now come, Citizens Representatives, to the second part of your message.

The Executive Directory did not, till the day before yesterday, receive the originals of the addresses of the defenders of the country from the different divisions that compose the army of Italy. They were all destined for the Executive Directory, with the exception of two only; and these were addressed to the defenders of the country composing the other armies.

Though the meaning and sense of the word *deliberer* (to deliberate) has not been so accurately defined as to be clearly applied to the act by which, after having expressed their fears and their hopes to the Executive Directory and to their brethren in arms, the defenders of the country have only stated the wishes they had formed, and the sentiments that animated them, the Executive Directory have nevertheless resolved to prevent its circulation. They have also written to the general in chief, deploring the circumstances which had induced the brave republican soldiers to commit those acts which might be considered irregular, and inviting them carefully to avoid every thing which may in the least degree tend to the infraction or violation of the constitution. The Directory has not stopped there: they have thought it their duty to go back to the causes, and to point them out, persuaded that you will, in your wisdom, adopt such measures as shall make them cease to exist.

The cause of these proceedings, on the part of the defenders of the

country, is to be attributed to the general alarm and inquietude which, for some months past, having taken possession of all persons, has succeeded the profound tranquillity that reigned, and the general confidence which everywhere prevailed. It is to be attributed to the defalcation in the revenue, which leaves all parts of the administration in the most deplorable situation, and deprives often, of their pay and their subsistence, the men who, for years past, have shed their blood and sacrificed their health to serve the republic:—It is to be attributed to the persecution and assassination of the purchasers of national property, of the public functionaries, of the defenders of the country—in short, of all those who have dared to shew themselves the friends of the republic:—It is to be attributed to the want of firmness and vigour in the punishment of criminals, and to the partiality of the public tribunals:—It is to be attributed to the insolence of the emigrants and the refractory priests, who, recalled, and openly favoured, appear everywhere, keep alive the flame of discord, and inspire a contempt for the laws:—It is to be ascribed to the multitude of journals with which the armies, like the interior, are inundated—journals which threaten death to the supporters of liberty, which vilify all the republican institutions, which openly and shamelessly desire the return of royalty, and all the oppressive and vexatious institutions which equally torment and humiliate the merchant, the artisan, and the labourer, and even the rich proprietor who is untitled:—It is to be found in the interest (always ill-dissembled, and frequently openly manifested) which the enemies

enemies of their country take in the glory and the prosperity of the English government and the Austrian court; while they endeavour, on the contrary, to diminish the true renown of our warriors, and speak with an ill-disguised contempt of the high destiny held out to France, and of the eminent degree of glory and of happiness which she was about to reach: — It is owing to the blame which has been thrown upon the most glorious and useful consequences of the victories of our defenders—to the plan, openly declared, of calumniating and ruining the reputation of our republican generals, and particularly those who, to the glory of the most brilliant triumphs and the most skilful campaigns, have added (one in the west of France, the other in Italy) the immortal honour of a political conduct, which will procure to their philosophy and their humanity as much praise as has already been bestowed on their military genius.

Finally, the cause is to be found in the despair to which all true citizens, and particularly the defenders of the country, are reduced, in seeing at the moment of its conclusion, and after they had purchased it with so much blood and so many sufferings, the definitive peace, solicited by the chiefs of the vanquished coalition, placed at a distance—that peace which a government, the friend of humanity, seeks still with the greatest earnestness to conclude. But, all at once re-animating their hopes, and reckoning upon the dissolution of the republican government, in consequence of the exhausted state of our finances, upon the death or the exile of our bravest generals, and on the dispersion and destruction of our

armies, these same coalesced powers have exhibited as much tardiness in the progress of their negotiations as they at first testified ardour to terminate them.

Such, Citizens Representatives, are the causes which have agitated the minds of the soldiers of the republic, and induced them to express their fears and their resolutions. The Executive Directory repeats, that they shall do what they ought to do, in recommending to the troops to avoid all irregular proceedings which are contrary to that discipline which is the soul of armies, and opposite to the laws which are the support of the state: but they owe to you, in the mean time, a frank and faithful declaration of their sentiments.

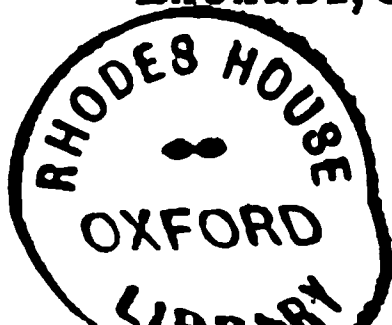
The government still confidently hopes to save France from the dissolution to which it is precipitately hurried; to extinguish the torches of civil war which are lighted up with fury; and to protect persons and property from the danger of a new revolution. This resolution the Directory will pursue with perseverance and with courage, and will not be turned aside by any fears, or by any influence. They will not, however, consent to inspire a false security, either in their fellow-citizens of the interior, or in those who defend the country without. They should consider themselves guilty of treason towards their country, if they concealed the atrocious attempts that are unremittingly made to lead us into all the horrors of a second revolution, by overthrowing the present government, either by treason or by force.

(Signed)

CARNOT, President.

LAGARDE, Secretary General.

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The council ordered the message to be printed, sent to the council of Ancients, and referred to a committee.

Report of the Council of Five Hundred on the 4th Fructidor (August 21) by Thibeauudeau, relative to the March of the Troops.

YOU have ordered your Committee to present to you legislative plans upon the different topics contained in the message which was transmitted to you on the 22d Thermidor last. The Committee, in the first place, consider it their duty to direct your attention to our present situation. The republic lately advanced towards peace, public confidence was revived, the constitution began to be consolidated, every thing presaged to us happy and peaceful destinies. What evil genius has reanimated our passions, rekindled our animosities, created divisions between the different branches of government, and planted terror in the breasts of all good citizens? It is time to recall security, to give confidence to good citizens, to repress the bad, to restore public credit, and to support the legislative body in the rank in which the constitution has placed it. To attain this object you must re-establish your communications with the people. Never let your voice be unknown to them. From this tribune reason and justice ought always to be heard with that spirit of peace and impartiality in which true dignity consists. Your Committee has proceeded to the examination of the message of the Directory.

An unexpected change in the ministry, and the march of the troops, had fixed the attention of the legislative body, and merited its solicitude. In expressing our regret on account of the dismissal of the ministers, and our alarms respecting the march of the troops, we did not contest with the Directory the right of changing their ministers, and disposing of the armed force; but the legislative body had undoubtedly the right of demanding information respecting the violation of the constitutional limits. The Directory replied, that it was to be attributed to an error in the marching orders. You referred this message to a Committee, which occupied itself, as it was wisely said by the reporter (Pichegru), less in proving the crime than in endeavouring to prevent it from being committed hereafter. This Committee presented to you the plan of a resolution for ascertaining the constitutional limits.

We shall not at present inquire into the cause of the marching of the troops. Perhaps we shall one day be made acquainted with it: we have as yet learned only that the constitutional limits have been violated. General Richepaume declares, that having been four years on the frontiers, he knew not of the dispositions of the constitution relative to this object. An excuse of this nature would not be admitted in the courts of justice; but the testimonials we have had of the moral character of the general, induce us to think there has been no evil intention on his part.

I proceed to a more important object, the addresses* of the army

* Alluding to various addresses from several divisions of the French armies offering to support the Directory against the councils.

of Italy. What would become of the republic if those who have received arms only for her defence were to interpose in civil discussions? You are acquainted with the volume of addresses which have been drawn up by this army. They are marked by an ardent expression of love for liberty; but they hold forth absurd claims, extravagant opinions, and criminal projects. The first sentiments belong to our generous defenders, the others to some factious men who wish to see the bosom of their country torn even by those who are charged with its defence. No, it is not our warriors, but some ferocious monsters, who have conceived the project of delivering to the enemy the conquests acquired by the valour and blood of our troops, and to lead them back to their families under the standard of rebellion. Have you been able to read without indignation one of those addresses, which asserts that the system of royalism is unceasingly pursued in the legislature? Does the audacious rebel who penned this impious phrase yet exist? Does he exist, and are you free? Does the government slumber, that it has not proceeded with vigour against him? These addresses are at present directed against the legislature — Directors of the republic, they will soon be directed against you! Wretched! wretched is the authority which is supported by bayonets! They always conclude by annihilating the power which they have established. The addresses have been certified by the chief of the *etat-majors* of the army. They have been officially transmitted to several administrations: they were destined to other corps of troops; and yet this, it

is said, was not a deliberation. Doubtless it was not; for had these addresses been deliberated upon, they would have been published in a camp of citizen soldiers, who would have caused the voice of the constitution to be heard. If the soldiers have not read them, they do not speak the sentiments of the army. The constitution prohibits addresses in the collective name of an armed body, and will a General be permitted to violate it? The more services your generals and soldiers have rendered to the country, the more you ought to guard against all attempts upon the constitution. In a rising republic do not permit the troops to act as if they had conquered only for themselves, unless you would see, as once was the case in the Roman empire, your soldiers only obey their generals, and never their country. It has been attempted to persuade the conquerors of Italy that a system of proscription exists against them. Proscribe them! Who would dare to attempt it? Who would desire it? What Frenchman's heart does not glow at the recital of their heroic actions, which command the gratitude of their country, and cover with a veil of glory the dreadful events which have tarnished the revolution? They were citizens before they were soldiers—they must cease to be soldiers to become again citizens.

The Directory inform you, that they have put a stop to the circulation of these addresses, and that they have written to the commanders in chief, deploring the circumstances which had led to this violation of the constitutional act. Your Committee consider it their duty

duty to declare openly to you, that the answer of the Directory has appeared to them unworthy of its power, and the rank in which the constitution has placed that body.

Consider what progress has been made in consequence of these dangerous examples. The spirit of faction has already introduced the language of anarchy into the camps. It has insinuated itself even into the honourable retreat of our wounded warriors for the fabrication of addresses: it heats the minds of men: it proclaims everywhere dissolution and death — Yet the government sleeps! Awaken, legislators, watch for yourselves and for the people. The constitutional limits are traced. Directors, generals, and soldiers, bow yourselves before the will of the people. The legislative body will never balance with its duty. It is inaccessible to fear, and will never submit to menace.

Your committee will not humble itself in replying to the calumnies propagated by your enemies. A legislative body which is not accusable, ought not to justify itself. By its acts it must be judged. We shall speak the truth to the Directory — we shall speak the truth to the people.

The insolence of priests and emigrants is denounced to you. As to the priests, is their proscription in a mass to be regretted? Liberty of conscience, liberty of worship, and submission to the laws — such are the principles maintained by all philosophers — such are the principles consecrated by the constitution and the laws, in opposition to the claims of a religion which wished to be exclusively established. As to the emigrants, who favours them? Do not the laws respecting the emi-

grants exist? Do they not place in the hands of the Directory the most active, the most powerful, and the most arbitrary means? The return of noted emigrants is announced. The house in which they assemble is even mentioned: but what then is the duty of the police? Why those erasements, the traffic of which is publicly reported? It belongs to us to require from the Directory an account of these monstrous abuses.

The Directory tell you that assassinations are committed, and that partiality is displayed by the tribunals. It is necessary to inform them that they have overstepped their duty, and we do them service in recalling them to it. It is true that blood flows in several departments; but there are laws against assassination, and the Directory ought to execute them. If there be partiality in the tribunals, there is a law to punish them, and the Directory ought to denounce the guilty. In all cases crimes cannot make us despair of justice; and we ought to demand of the Directory an account of the measures they have taken to repress the crimes of which they complain. We do not understand the protection they claim for the purchasers of national property. Their persons and their property are under the safeguard of the constitution, and you have given a proof of your respect for them by your resolution respecting the *presbyteres*.

The Directory inform you that there are journals which breathe only murder and the return of royalty. It is certain that the excesses of a multitude of pamphlets and journals leave no citizen the power of reposing his mind amidst an ocean
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of extravagant and factious opinions; but you have manifested your desire for repressing this abuse; and there is only required a law which shall prevent it, without injuring the rights of citizens: all the elements of this law are ready, and the Committee you named for preparing it, will soon make their report.

The deficiency in the public revenue, it is added, deprives our armies of their pay. We will not deny that negligence on the part of the receivers, and the want of order and œconomy, have thrown our finances into disorder; but have the armies any reason to reproach the legislative body? At what period have you refused them funds? Your resolutions on this subject have always been voted with *urgence*. The payment of the troops has always been attended to, in preference to every other expence. Is it then in vain that the unfortunate *rentier* divides with them his bread? Have then the forced loan, the assignats, the mandates, the contributions in the conquered countries, the national estates been found insufficient? Let us rather say, that our resources being distributed through such a variety of channels have been exhausted; but that if they had been more prudently employed, the most important part of the public service would not be in such a deplorable state.

Let the finances, then, alone occupy all your solicitude. I know that every day your attention is taken up with this subject. But the time is arrived when you must disregard the prejudices against direct contributions. Peace! Peace! This is the mean of extricating us from our embarrassment. How

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very criminal would those be who would wish to place it still at a distance! Doubtless there are men who still preserve the criminal hope of overturning the republic. Traitors exist, we are told — why are they not detected? There are conspirators — why are they not punished? We have laws — why are they not executed? No! the defenders of the country will never be made to believe that the legislative body opposes a peace. Who has appeared more desirous than ourselves to obtain it. History will examine whether the events which have lately taken place in Italy have not contributed to retard the conclusion of it; but can France blame its Generals for giving liberty to millions of men? And, when they have gained their liberty, can France refuse to them its friendship and its alliance? Your Committee, however, does not wish to propose that you should approve, or even be silent upon these events.

The Directory has gone beyond its powers. If war had been declared against the Italian states, who had the right to declare it without your consent? If treaties of commerce or subsidies have been made, who could make them without your approbation? The states of Italy cannot be the allies of France without a decree from you. Their government will be equivocal, their liberty without support, as long as the treaties shall not have been approved by us.

Fears have been entertained that the Directory would be accused, and that the legislative body would be attacked. The legislative body has a right to accuse the Directory; and if there existed any reasons for accusation, it would, without fear,

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without hesitation accuse them. But an attack on the legislative body! who would make it? A few brigands? The recollection of their past defeats will serve them as a lesson. The soldiers? Never will they be seen marching under the colours of assassins. The Directory? Such an idea cannot occupy our attention for a moment; its own interest is in opposition to it.

To conclude—you will find in your own courage and your own prudence extraordinary resources.

[Here Thibaudeau implored all the members of the government to act in union and concord. He invited the representatives and directors to be upon their guard against the exaggerations of parties, who sought only to heighten their animosities, that they might be hurried to a catastrophe which would destroy them all.]

In examining, he added, this message of the Directory, its exaggerations, and the bitterness of its style, we have avoided giving new aliment to the factious. Legislators ought not to be guided by passion. In vain our common enemies meditate the ruin of the republic. The republic is deeply rooted; it has ripened in the midst of storms, and it belongs not alone to the present generation. The new dangers which threaten it serve only to display once more its strength. Each power shall return to its proper limits; and if some men have wished to overstep them, they shall be recalled, and confined to their proper station.

Citizen soldiers, you whom we must censure to-day, but whom we must always admire, believe that liberty is here defended by your friends. The legislature is the ci-

tadel of the constitution; it is your duty to die for it, and you are about to besiege it. Let its voice be always heard among you; and when you return to your fire-sides, you will find it cemented by your blood, and covered with your triumphs.

Thibaudeau concluded by presenting the plan of two resolutions.

The first declared, that all conspiracies or crimes against the constitution, the legislative body, and the Directory, came under the jurisdiction of the criminal tribunal of the place where the legislature sits; that all persons accused should be denounced at the office of the public accuser; but that they should have the power of appealing from that tribunal, and in this case they should be carried before a court pointed out by the tribunal of cassation.

The second declared every assembly of soldiers, for the purpose of deliberating in other circumstances than those determined by the law, a crime; that any communication under the title of addresses from one armed body to another, or to the civil authority, should be punished as a seditious act; and determined the punishments to be inflicted upon the promoters of such assemblies, and the subscribers of addresses, according to the nature of the case.

Message of the Executive Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, August 20th, 1797.

Citizen Representatives,

THE Executive Directory has proceeded to the distribution of the funds assigned for the service of the
first

first decade of Fructidor. The singular and uncommon circumstances in which they are placed, oblige them to lay before you the results of this distribution, which will convince you of the indispensable necessity of rendering the means disposable, which are requisite to prevent the impending disasters. Deducting 63,888,967 livres, and 75 centimes, which remain to be paid on warrants already issued for urgent services, and payments become due, the most pressing demands amount to 21,002,790 livres 54 centimes. This sum consists of the following articles:

	L.	C.
To pay the troops	7,128,309	3
To sustenance	3,944,916	95
To pensions and dividends	930,000	0
To constitutional salaries	986,943	83
To salaries and pensions	5,040,990	0
To sundries	7,001,629	29

The ways and means, as stated by the National Treasury, present, at first sight, instead of disposable funds, a deficit of 3,793,681 livres which it would be necessary to cover previous to assigning any sums of money for the service of the different departments. It has been calculated that the above deficit may in a great measure be covered by the presumptive funds calculated as existing in the public chests of the departments; and that by adding to the funds actually existing in the public treasury those which appear most disposable, the supposition might be admitted, that a balance of about 800,000 livres might remain for the service of the decade, independently of such sums as must unavoidably be paid at Paris

on the arrears of the preceding decade. A calculation has afterwards been formed of those articles of expence which it is indispensably necessary to meet for the execution of the laws, as well as for the maintenance of the public service. Under these heads have been classed the pay and sustenance of the land and naval forces, dividends and pensions, the constitutional indemnifications of the legislative body; 63,703 livres 14 sols for the payment of bills of exchange accepted by the national treasury, and 50,000 livres for the most urgent expence to be made at Paris for the home department. These objects amount to a sum total of 8,850,729 livres 87 centimes. To find this sum, it has been supposed that the national treasury can furnish 850,929 livres 87 centimes, actually in its possession; that it is to receive in the course of the decade one million, and that the effective receipts in the departments during the last decade, must be supposed to amount to seven millions. This calculation is most surely exaggerated: it violates all proportion, and exceeds all probability, and the subsisting circumstances would alone authorize its admission; and yet, citizens representatives, you cannot but perceive that this is the chief resource for meeting the most urgent and most indispensable expence. To this message are annexed the copy of a letter from the national treasury, dated the 1st Fructidor (August 17) proving the necessity of the repartition for this decade being made according to a presumptive estimate of the revenue, the statement of ways and means for the first decade of Fructidor, transmitted by the national treasury, and another of the

divisions and distributions containing a detailed account of the demands, founded on the registers of the different commissaries. The Directory refer to those authentic papers all those who shall presume to question the truth of the results they offer. Who contradicts the following facts is either grossly mistaken, citizens representatives, or endeavour to deceive you:—1. The national treasury does not possess one million of disposable funds for the present decade. 2. In order to find the above-stated sum, it is indispensably necessary to suppose the receipts in the departments amount to 7,000,000; and that, moreover, the national treasury is to receive one million at Paris. 3. This supposition is exaggerated, but must be admitted. 4. The law of the Vendemiaire and 9th Thermidor, enact that the pay and sustenance of the troops shall be paid in preference to every other demand. The aggregate sum of these two articles of expence amounts to 7,073,226 livres 73 centimes. 5. The law of the 15th Vendemiaire assigns to the stockholders a sixth of the taxes; the national treasury demands under this head 900,000 livres. 6. The law which fixes the expence of the legislative body ordains that the constitutional indemnification of its members shall be paid every month. 7. The engagements contracted by the national treasury, with respect to accepted bills of exchange, demand the sum of 63,709 livres 24 centimes. 8. The safety of Paris, the imperious force of the supreme law, demands that the minister of the interior be able to dispose of 50,000 livres. 9. These articles absorb all the funds which may be considered as disposable.

10. Except the salaries of the legislative body, there remains no money to discharge all other constitutional and other salaries and pensions; nor are any funds left for the hospitals, the repair of dykes, roads, canals, &c. 11. The Directory cannot extend its distribution to any sum exceeding the above amount: and it is to the want of disposable funds that ought to be imputed the failure of all the other branches of the public service, and the danger with which they are threatened. 12. If the national treasury is desired, by means of negotiations, to augment the resources, it is obliged to return in answer, That it does not possess any thing which may serve for that purpose. 13. The pay of the army is considerably in arrear. This is a certain and acknowledged fact. 14. The future sustenance of the troops is compromised. 15. No funds remain to be disposed of for the relief of hospitals. The Executive Directory can perceive no possible resource that may be applied to assist them. The decision which it is enabled to make with respect to the urgency of the payments, make no alteration in the deplorable situation in which they are placed. The Directory considered itself bound to lay before you these statements. It has fulfilled that duty; but it does not apprehend that this exposition can shake the courage and perseverance of the friends of the Republic. It, on the contrary, finds a powerful motive, in the true picture which it has drawn, to hope that your deliberations on the finances will render those resources effective which can be brought into action. These resources possess the great advantage of being adequate

quate to the re-establishment of public credit, and of proving that France is fully capable of maintaining order in the interior, and of combating her foreign enemies. But these resources, citizens representatives, are as if they never existed, since the laws which are necessary to render them productive are not enacted. Had those which regulate the direct contributions of the 5th year been sooner passed, ten millions would most probably have been received, which remain still due, and the power of disposing of them, for the purpose of getting the principal articles of expence, would procure the means of obtaining what may be necessary for the indispensable payment of pensions and salaries.

The Directory, after pressing the necessity of the council's immediately taking into their consideration proper measures for the restoration of public confidence and credit, concludes in the following manner:

Our situation is such, citizens representatives, that the smallest delay increases the danger to which the nation is exposed. The Executive Directory invites you to obtain an exact account of the state of the finances; of the necessary wants of the public treasury; of the real, and by no means exaggerated, product of the means which yet can be made use of, and of the resources which can be employed. You will find in the result of your examination, proofs of the truths to which the Directory has called your attention in all its messages. The existing means are insufficient; those which new laws have it in their power to produce will be adequate to meet all our expences; and the

moment of bringing them into action is arrived.

(Signed) CARNOT, President.

LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

Message to the Council of Five Hundred, and Elders, dated Sept. 4, 1797.

Citizens Representatives,

THE Executive Directory hastens to communicate to you the measures it has been forced to take for the safety of the country, and the maintenance of the constitution. With this view it transmits to you all the papers it has collected, as well as those it published before you were assembled. If it had withheld itself from action one day more, the Republic would have been delivered up to its enemies. The halls themselves in which you meet, were the points of union of the conspirators; it was from thence that they yesterday emitted their cards and certificates for the delivery of arms; it was from thence that they corresponded with their accomplices last night; and, finally, it is there, or in the environs, that they still endeavour to make feditions and clandestine assemblages, which the police is now employed in dispersing. It would have been to commit the public security and that of the faithful representatives, to have allowed them to be confounded with the other enemies of the country. You see, citizens representatives, that the conduct of the Directory was marked out by the instant necessity of being beforehand with these conspirators, who were destroying the government, who wished to deprive the French of the fruit of their triumphs, and to make this magnanimous nation

tion bow at the feet of the king it has subdued. In affairs of state, extreme measures can be estimated by circumstances alone: you will form a judgment of those which have determined the Executive Directory, and which have produced the happiest consequences. The 18th Fructidor (September 4) will be a celebrated day in the annals of France; it is the more memorable because it enables you to fix forever the destinies of the Republic. Lay hold of this occasion, Citizens Representatives; convert it into a great epoch, reanimate patriotism, revive public spirit, and hasten to close up the abyss in which the friends of kings had flattered themselves they would bury even the remembrance of our liberty.

P. S. The Executive Directory will transmit to you without delay other papers, from which it results that Imbert Colomes, one of the new third of the Council of Five Hundred, was the principal agent of the *sci-disant* Louis XVIII, at Lyons.

Another Message, dated Sept. 5, 1797.

Citizens Representatives,

THE 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4) is destined to be the salvation both of the Republic and of yourselves. The people expect this. You witnessed yesterday their tranquillity and their joy. This day is the 19th Fructidor (Sept. 5) and the people ask of you where the Republic is, and what you have done for its consolidation? The eye of the country, Citizen Representatives, looks towards you. The moment is decisive; if you allow it to pass by, if you hesitate on the

measures which are to be taken, if you put off your decision for a moment, all will be lost, both you and the Republic. The conspirators have been upon the watch. Your silence has given them courage and audacity; they are intriguing afresh, and are misleading public opinion by infamous libels. The journalists of Blackenbourg and London continue to disseminate their poison. The conspirators do not attempt to conceal the fact, that their plot extends to the legislative body itself. They already speak of punishing the republicans for the commencement of the triumph they think they have obtained. Is it possible to hesitate still as to the measure of purging the soil of the very few known and avowed chiefs of these royalist conspirators, who wait for the convenient opportunity to destroy the Republic, and to devour you yourselves! You are at the brink of the volcano; it is about to swallow you up; you may close it; and can you hesitate? Tomorrow it will be too late. The least hesitation is the death of the Republic. You will be told of principles; formalities will be resorted to; excuses will be invented; delays will be called for; time will be gained; and the constitution will be assassinated, under pretext of keeping within its limits. This commiseration, implored in favour of certain men, to what will it lead you? to see these very men take out of your hands the thread of their criminal conspiracies, and collect in your bosom the horrible firebrands of civil war, to set fire to the country. What a misconceived pity! what a fatal sentiment! what limited views would, in that case, draw the attention of the councils,

councils towards a few men, between whose fate and that of the Republic they would hesitate! The Executive Directory has applied itself to point out to you the means of saving France, but it has to expect that you will avail yourselves of them. The Directory has felt a persuasion that you are sincerely attached to liberty and the Republic, and that the consequences of this first liberty ought not to terrify you. It lays them before you, and is obliged to tell you that you are placed in an unprecedented predicament; and that ordinary rules cannot apply to an extraordinary case, unless you are desirous to surrender yourselves to your enemies. If the friends of kings find friends among you; if slaves can meet with protectors in you; if you wait an instant, the safety of France must be despaired of; the constitution will cease to be in force; and the patriots may be told, that the hour of royalty is proclaimed throughout the Republic. But if, as the Executive Directory is fully persuaded, this terrible idea afflicts and strikes you, appreciate the value of the moment, and embrace it; be the deliverers of your country, and lay the eternal foundations of its happiness and glory.

L. M. REVELLIERE LEPAUX,
President.

LAGARDE, Secretary.

Message from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Sept. 5th, 1797.

Citizens Legislators,

THE embarrassment of the finances was the most inveterate wound of the state: the enemies of the Republic and the friends of kings, sought to render it incurable.

By this they have injured the public service, irritated the defenders of their country, and drove the public annuitants to despair. To-day your shackles are broken, which will inspire those with confidence whom circumstances have alarmed. Will you restore peace at home, and dictate it abroad? announce your intentions upon the finances. That is the object of the Directory's solicitude. They hope that, convinced of the urgency of the occasion, you will give them all the necessary power, in order that the public service may not be impeded.

France can only be saved by the legislative body's occupying itself about the finances. It is necessary for you immediately to make some regulations in the direct taxes of the fifth year. One of the most certain means for hastening the receipt of the money arising from them, would be to receive from the receivers general an account of the payments they have to make.

It will also be necessary to make regulations in the carriage of articles by land and water; to suppress franking and free-letters; to re-establish the national lottery, and the right of enregistering; and to establish a duty of one per cent. upon pasteboard and paper; and to set the public debt afloat by creating *bons*, by the aid of which the payment of national debts may be made.

Proclamation of the Executive Directory to the French People, 18th Fructidor, (September 4) 1797.

Citizens,

THE Executive Directory submits to your view a few of the papers

pers relative to the royalist conspiracy. These papers, the authenticity of which is incontestable, detail the plots, name the conspirators, and develop the thread of the treasons. These texts are too positive and clear to need any comments. It is sufficient that the Directory should retrace to you, in a few words, the events to which these papers refer. There are facts so palpable, that no imposture can disguise them in the eyes of nations: such was the conspiracy of Vendémiaire. It was in vain that tribunals, which in the first instance did not deny its existence, declared afterwards that there was neither revolt nor sedition: royalism itself blushed at this lie. All the circumstances of that event too clearly proclaimed its aim, nature, and characteristics; and the opinion of Europe would have been invariably fixed on this head, provided even no discovery had been made by the correspondence of Lemaitre, by the papers of the emigrant Gelin, and by the palpable and convincing proofs of the intercourse which the principal agitators, the plotters and the libellers of Vendémiaire, kept up with the exterior royalists. An important circumstance, however, of that epoch was long concealed from us; and in laying it before you we fulfil a painful duty, since we have to denounce to you a traitor in the person of a man, who sometimes led your defenders to victory. While the dissolution of the national convention was plotting in Paris, and the faction endeavouring to seize on the supreme authority, Pichegru, stationed on the bank of the Rhine, received the propositions of Condé, and replied to them by plans of invasion and royalism. If the white flag was not

displayed in the French camp; if the Rhine was not crossed by the hostile army; if your strong holds were not delivered up and taken possession of, in the king's name, by imperial troops; if Pichegru did not march to Paris; if he did not come hither in the space of a fortnight,—citizens, it is dreadful to have to state to you, that it was Condé who refused to put in execution Pichegru's plan. This plan would not, however, have succeeded: the brave soldiers whom the General dared to insult would not have permitted it to have been carried into effect. They were calculated to obey the voice of patriotism alone; and would have repulsed and overcome the treason.

“I shall leave nothing unfinished,” said Pichegru; “I do not wish to be the new third volume of La Fayette and Dumourier.” He was desirous to resemble them in perfidy: but he wished also to surpass them in success, and in the completion of his guilt. Behold then the secret of that favour which royalism constantly afterwards granted to Pichegru. This is the reason why he was the first to be chosen president of the Council of Five Hundred, after the entry of the third. And this explains the calumnies which were heaped on the Executive Directory, when it merely, however, accepted of the resignation of that General, whose infidelity it scarcely began to see through and suspect. Subdued on the 13th Vendémiaire, royalism for a moment yielded to the storm: for several months after, it displayed itself under the hideous features of terrorism alone, perfectly certain of profiting almost equally either by the success or defeat of this new kind of manœuvre. Such, citizens,

is the danger of anarchy, that if it triumphs, it leads to royalty through calamities and crimes, and can only be subdued by causing the public authorities to assume a carriage invariably more or less favourable to the partisans of despotism. This last maxim has been but too much verified during fifteen months past; and royalism, strengthened by the defeat of a few brigands, whose rage it had itself organized, and whose attempts it had directed, would, since the commencement of that period have made a progress if not more extensive, at least more rapid, provided one of its orators had not been in too much haste to point out the aim in view. This orator, named Lemerer, has been, as well as Mersan, acknowledged by Duverne de Presle to be known and established intermediary agent between a part of the legislative body and the agents of the pretender. When, in the month of Fructidor, of the 4th year, Lemerer undertook, in one of the national tribunes, to point out the constitution of 1791 as the object of the regret of his party; when he rashly insulted the triumph which liberty obtained on the 10th of August, 1792, the eyes of all the faithful deputies were instantly opened, and from that time to the 1st of Prairial last, they constantly opposed to every counter-revolutionary proposition, their zeal, their energies, and their votes. Obligated to adjourn on the 1st Prairial, the epoch of its legislative sway, royalism gave a new direction to its efforts. It encircled the seat of government more closely than ever; and by establishing agents, guards, and emissaries on all sides; by organizing their connections, their subordination, and their correspon-

dence; by, in some measure, setting up a counter-revolution in each department and in each commune, it sought at once to pave the way for the elections, and to secure a military force which it might bring into action at its pleasure. Such, citizens, from the month of Pluviose, was the power of royalism, that the discovery of the conspiracy of Brottier, Dunan, and Villernois, merely augmented its audacity, and fortified its means even by their manifestation. Never did conspirators, so fully convicted by their writings and confessions, find more apologists, supporters, and protectors, who did not hesitate to manifest the lively interest they took in their cause. In serving them, it was found to be more useful than dangerous to display the full extent of the different resources of the party under which they acted. It cannot be doubted, citizens, but that in the majority of the departments the elections were the work of this party. In proof of this you have only to refer to the debates of the military tribunal; to the two declarations which Duverne de Presle has placed in our hands, and which we publish this day; and, finally, to the sentiments and conduct of the new deputies, whom corruption and intrigue gave to the Republic. Emigrants inundating Paris and the departments more and more; republicans either butchered or forced to fly from their homes: superstition and fanaticism recalled by those even who, under the monarchy, contributed the most effectually to proscribe them; the patriotic institutions abandoned and insulted; the symbols of royalism displayed audaciously; the licentiousness of the press carried to an unexampled

pled excess; the purchasers of national domains menaced, and even stripped of their property; public credit almost annihilated; commerce paralyzed; industry precarious; private transactions without either rule or pledge; the national treasury left without resources in the midst of numberless and urgent wants; discontents of every description at their greatest height; discords rekindled; the defenders of the country rewarded for their triumphs, sacrifices, and wounds, by insults and proscriptions; and, finally, external peace retarded by a declaration of new innovations. Such, citizens, is the picture which the Republic presents; and it is thus that the hope of the establishment of the constitutional act, which had been increasing for some months, has been daily dissipated. No, it is not to return to so much wretchedness and disgrace that you have encountered the perils of a revolution. Your children, your brothers, your friends, shall not in vain have dispersed the armies of kings, and acquired the admiration of nations. The factious will not be allowed to overthrow the work of the national will. The constitution of the third year shall not be wrested from us. Some of the representatives of Blankenbourg, usurping the title of the chosen representatives of the people, emigrants, chiefs of Chouans, heads of conspirators, men who have constantly betrayed their duty in the most eminent functions, shall deprive you of the fruits of your labours. The legislative body will doubtless make a wise distinction. It is upon its patriotism and its talents that you ought to rely for the accomplishment of this great act of justice and necessity. — Confide in

the legislative body, and give the law its course; without which your generous impulse, assuming an irregular and improper direction, and proceeding in the midst of tumult towards an object but faintly recognized, you will lose the whole fruit of your exertion, if you do not experience the fatal effect of such conduct as you already have so often experienced them. Never forget, citizens, that we are placed between two dangers equally great, that of leaving behind the germs of an evil which infallibly would produce new shocks, and that of perishing by the too violent effect of the remedy.

LAREVEILLIERE LEPAUX
President.

LAGARDE, Secretary.

*The Executive Directory to the Citizens
of Paris, Sept. 4th, 1797.*

Citizens,

ROYALTY has just threatened the constitution by a new attack. After having for a whole year shaken, by their dark manœuvres, all the foundations of the Republic, they thought that they were sufficiently powerful to consummate its destruction. They thought themselves sufficiently protected to venture to aim its first attacks against the supreme depositaries of the executive authority. Arms were daily distributed to the conspirators; and all Paris knows, that one of the distributors was arrested with a great number of bonds, upon which he had already delivered a great number of firelocks. Cards stamped *Legislative Body*, and marked with an R, were circulated, in order to serve as rallying signs to the conspirators charged

charged with the office of massacring the Directory, and the deputies faithful to the cause of the people. A great number of emigrants, cut-throats of Lyons, and brigands of La Vendee, attracted hither by the intrigues of royalism, and the tender interest publicly lavished upon them without fear, attacked the posts which surrounded the Executive Directory; but the vigilance of the government, and the chiefs of the armed force, frustrated their criminal efforts. The Executive Directory is about to lay before the nation the authentic documents which it has collected concerning the manœuvres of the royalists. You will shudder with horror, citizens, at the plots entered into against the safety of every one of you, against your property, against your dearest rights, against your most sacred possessions; and you may calculate the extent of the calamities from which in future you can alone be preserved by the maintenance of the constitution. So many triumphs had already crowned the establishment of this constitution; your Generals and your intrepid defenders, had surrounded it with their immortal trophies. At the same of their victories, agriculture and commerce resumed their activity, public credit by degrees recovered, confidence and security began to spring up in every heart, and this is the moment which has been pitched upon to rekindle your animosities, to propagate superstition, to reorganize the power of fanaticism, to sow doubts and alarms in every breast, by opening new avenues for the return of the emigrants, to shake the guarantee of public contracts, to give the signal of civil war, and to retard, by the

hopes with which foreign nations were inspired, the so much wished conclusion of peace with our external foes, honourable and solid, worthy of the triumph of the French people, and of their generosity. No, you will not lose the fruits of your long sacrifices, you will rise indignantly against those base emigrants, the authors of our calamities, of all our agitations, of all our sufferings. You will arm yourselves to stop their designs, and to defend against their attacks your persons, your property, and your rights. But beware of agitations:—do not disgrace the most glorious of causes by the excesses of an anarchy justly abhorred. Respect property. Let not an ill-directed patriotic impulse throw you into a fatal confusion. Obey no voice but that of the avowed chiefs appointed by the government. Rely upon the vigilance of your magistrates, and upon the exertions of your legislators, who have remained faithful to the cause of the people. Patriotism will resume all its energy, the constitution all its force, the nation all its glory, and every citizen will enjoy, in their fullest extent, liberty, happiness, and tranquillity.

*Arrêt of the Executive Directory of the
12th Ventose.*

THE Executive Directory having consulted the law of the 9th March, 1793, considering that the flags of neutral powers being no longer respected by the enemies of the French Republic, and all the rights of men being violated to their prejudice, it is no longer permitted to the French people to fulfil towards those powers in general that wish which they have so often manifested,

manifested, and which they will constantly entertain for the full and entire freedom of commerce and navigation, directs, among other dispositions,

1st. That ships of war and privateers may stop, and bring into the ports of the Republic neutral ships which shall be charged, in whole or in part, with merchandise belonging to the enemy.

2d. That merchandise belonging to the enemy shall be declared good and lawful prize, and be confiscated to the profit of the captors.

3d. That in all cases neutral ships shall be released the moment that the merchandise seized is discharged; that the freight of it shall be paid at the rate which shall have been stipulated by the consigners; and that a just indemnity shall be granted on account of their detention by the tribunals competent to decide upon the validity of prizes.

4th. That these tribunals shall be directed besides to send, three days after the decision, a double inventory of the merchandise to the minister of marine, and another to the minister for foreign affairs.

5th. That the present law, applicable to all the captures that have been made since the declaration of war, shall cease to have effect as soon as the enemy shall have declared non-seizable, although destined for the ports of the Republic, the merchandise laden on board neutral ships, which shall belong to the government, or to French citizens.

Having seen the law of the 27th of July, 1793, which directs the foregoing law to be fully executed; having also seen the 7th article of the law of the 13th Nivose, third year, which enjoins all the agents

of the Republic to respect and observe in all their dispositions the treaties which unite France to the neutral powers of the continent, and to the United States of America; considering that this last law is derogatory to the law of the 9th of May, 1793, resolves as follows:

Art. 1. The commissaries of the Executive Directory with the civil tribunals of the department, shall take care that, in the contests upon the validity of marine prizes, no decision shall be founded upon the 7th article of the law of the 13th Nivose, without the minister of justice having been previously consulted, conformably to the third article of the law of the 8th Floreal, fourth year, relative to the treaties, in virtue of which neutral persons pretend to withdraw themselves, by means of the first of these laws, from the execution of that of the 9th of March, 1793.

2d. The minister of justice shall examine whether the treaties still subsist, or whether they have been modified since the conclusion of them. There shall be furnished to them by the minister for foreign affairs, all the documents of which they shall stand in need; and reference shall be made to the Executive Directory, as it is prescribed by the law of the 8th Floreal, fourth year.

3d. The Directory remind all French citizens, that the treaty concluded on the 6th of February, 1778, between France and the United States, has been, on the terms of the second article, modified of full right by that which has been concluded at London on the 19th November, 1794, between the United States of America and England: in consequence,

1st. After

1st. After the article 17th of the treaty of London, of the 19th November, 1794, all merchandise of the enemy's, or merchandise not sufficiently ascertained to be neutral, conveyed under American flags, shall be confiscated: but the ship on board of which such merchandise shall be found, shall be released and given to the proprietor. The commissaries of the Directory are enjoined to accelerate, by all the means in their power, the decision of the contests which shall arise either upon the validity of the captures of the cargoes, or upon freights and insurances.

2d. According to the 18th article of the treaty of London, dated the 19th of November, 1794, relative to articles declared contraband by the 24th article of the treaty, dated February 6th, 1778, are added the following:

Ship-timber;
Oakum, pitch, and rosin;
Copper for sheathing vessels;
Sails, hemp, and cordage;

and every thing which serves directly or indirectly to the arming and equipping of vessels, excepting bar iron, and fir in planks. These articles shall be confiscated as often as they shall be destined, or attempted to be carried to the enemy.

3d. According to the 21st article of the treaty of London of the above date, every American who shall hold a commission from the enemies of France, as well as every seaman of that nation composing the crew of the ships and vessels, shall, by this act alone be declared piratical, and treated as such, without suffering the party to establish that the act was the consequence of threats or violence.

4th. In pursuance of the law of

the 14th February, 1793, the regulations of the 21st October, 1794, and of the 26th July, shall be complied with, according to their form and tenor.

Every American ship shall therefore be deemed a lawful prize which shall not have on board a bill of lading in due form, according to the plan annexed to the treaty of the 6th of February, 1778, the execution of which is enjoined by the 25th and 27th articles of that treaty.

5th. The commissioners of the Executive Directory are required to carry into effect the penalties that attach on all clandestine attempts that may be made by American, or vessels belonging to any other nation, to pass as neutral, on board the vessel where the fraud is attempted to be practised, in the manner that these penalties have been repeatedly carried into effect during the present war. The penalty shall attach where the blanks in the consignments and envoices are not filled up, though signed and sealed, where the papers are in the form of letters, containing fictitious signatures; where are double passports or policies, specifying different destinations; where consignment is made to two or more factors, and where there are different receipts or papers of any kind which consign the whole or part of the same goods to different owners or different destinations.

6th. By this article, provisions of the treaty of the 9th Frimaire last, relative to freight and insurance, are repealed, as far as they apply to insurance.

7th. The present treaty shall be published in the bulletin of the laws. The ministers of the marine and of the colonies, of justice, and for foreign

reign affairs, are charged with the execution of it in their respective departments.

(Signed) REWBELL, President.

LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.

*Proclamation of the Executive Directory
to the French People.*

Citizens, 5th Brumaire.

THE proclamation of the 4th Complementary Day in the 5th year, had for its object to put the French armies in a condition to march on the 15th Vendemiaire, (October 6th).

The defenders of their country have listened to the voice of the Executive Directory. From every part they have rejoined their respective armies, and the minister at war has returned on this head the most satisfactory accounts. In this generous ardour, in this eager zeal for the maintenance of liberty, the spirit of Frenchmen was recognised.

Their warlike attitude has already overthrown the obstacles which the cabinet of St. James has so long opposed to the conclusion of a peace with the Emperor. On viewing your position, Austria returned to her true interests, and on the 26th Vendemiaire, the treaty which was suspended for more than six months, was concluded at San Formio, near Udina, between the Commander in Chief, Buonaparte, Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, and four Plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, King of Bohemia and Hungary. You will learn with pleasure that several millions of men have been restored to liberty, and that the French nation is the benefactress of these people.

But this is not all. A congress is about to be assembled, in order

to conclude a peace with the empire. Citizens, every thing presages that in a short time you shall gather the fruit of so many sacrifices. The peace of the continent will soon be fixed on an immovable base.

It only remains to you to punish the perfidy of the cabinet of London, which is still so blinded as to think of making other nations the slaves of their maritime tyranny, and who deceive the English themselves by extorting from them the means of prolonging on the ocean the calamities of war, the effusion of human blood, the destruction of commerce, and all the horror in which it traffics, and for which it pays. These, however, will shortly be retorted on themselves. It is at London that all the miseries of Europe have been fabricated, and it is there that they must be terminated. Citizens, under these circumstances the end very nearly approaches of those military efforts which the government is still to expect from French valour. But until this object be attained, be on your guard: do not lay down those arms which make you so terrible to the enemies of your independence; do not listen to the perfidious suggestions of those who would wish to destroy the effect of your triumph; they are about to repeat to you that, peace being concluded, you should now return to your homes: yes, the Directory has undoubtedly signed for you a glorious peace; but, in order to enjoy its happiness, it is necessary that you should finish your work; that you should enforce the execution of those articles which have been agreed upon between the Emperor and France;—you should aid the prompt decision of those
which

which are still pending with the empire; and, in fine, you must crown your exploits by the invasion of that island where your ancestors carried slavery under William the Conqueror, and carry thither again the genius of liberty, which will disembark at the same time with the French.

Citizens, be assured that government is desirous of accelerating that happy moment when, in concert with the legislature, they can reduce their armies to the footing of a peace establishment, recompense those heroes who compose them, and, after having consecrated their valour by feasts and monuments worthy of their triumphs, spread through every canton that republican spirit with which the armies have been animated, by sending to their homes those of their defenders who have a right to return.

But of this you shall judge yourselves. The hour has not yet struck: a few instants more, and the French Republic, triumphantly established, and everywhere acknowledged, will enjoy that repose which it is to procure to the world.

The Executive Directory decrees that the above proclamation shall be printed, and sent into all the departments and to the armies; and that the arret annexed to the decree of the 4th Complementary Day shall continue to be executed according to its form and tenor.

Proclamation of the French Directory to Frenchmen.

Frimaire, Nov. 21.

Citizens,

THE interest of the republic calls on you for a new triumph. After

innumerable battles, where victory always rested on your side, you are called on to subdue the first, the most intractable, and the most cunning of your enemies.

The Executive Directory is desirous of a general peace. It wishes such a peace for you and for Europe. It is now one year or more since a faithless enemy, restless and buzzing, has disturbed all the cabinets, loudly proposing peace, and secretly blowing up the embers of war. They affect to extinguish with one hand the torch which they are rekindling with the other. They send out with pomp their pacificator, yet they stifle every overture which has any tendency towards a pacification. This enemy your indignation can at once point out and name; it is the cabinet of St. James, the most corrupting and corrupted of the governments of Europe; it is the English government.

It is not only against French liberty that this government had directed its conspiracy: it is against the whole world. This perfidious government wishes to trouble, subjugate, or desolate every part of the globe. Say, Americans, who were directly or indirectly your real rulers? — Unfortunate Indians, speak — by what detestable arts this government has founded its tyranny amongst ye? — And you, ye Europeans, still more unfortunate; innocent inhabitants of Franconia and of the Northern Alps; ye numerous victims of the scourge of war, say who have been the most ardent instigators of the scourge of war, where immense treasures have been engulfed — where more than a million of men have been slain — and where the eye of

of peace now can view nothing but general mourning, universal misery, and vast despair. It is under these circumstances that the cabinet of St. James has revealed to afflicted Europe, that she alone has felt nothing of these vast disasters. Hear the discourse held "from the height of the throne." "Our revenues," says the King of England, "have been meliorated; our national industry has even had a new increase; our commerce has passed its former limits."

If the King of England has told the truth, what a terrible lesson is this for you, ye other powers of Europe! Of what description is that power which is interested in your discords, who derives an interest from your calamities, who prospers by your distress, and who fattens on the tears, the blood, and the spoils of other nations?

This cabinet may desire war, because they are enriched by the war. It is this government, however, who has lately accused France of an "insatiable avarice." It does not say that the English, the first devastators of our Island of St. Domingo, have also taken without a blow the colonies of Holland, at that time their ally, and that they pretend to retain these robberies under the name of conquests. — The King of England, however, still speaks to the powers of Europe of the ambition of France!

The dispositions of the French towards other nations are now understood. They are not to be obscured by vague allegations. If the French Republic can, by attaining her natural limits, repair the faults of her monarchy, she disdains the acquisition of foreign conquests for this purpose. She wishes not

to oppress the secondary states or the feebler powers. She punishes without hatred, and, naturally generous, she does not even hate the English nation. In France, no minister shall ever be deified for his hatred to the English nation. But the people of France are agreed on one point:—When they remember Toulon, Dunkirk, Quiberon, and La Vendee, they must detest the cruelty and perfidy, the bloody Machiavelism of the British ministry. They must deplore, at the same time, the inconceivable blindness by which the people of England suffered themselves to become the horror of the world.

The great nation will avenge the universe, and for this end, Frenchmen, it offers you several means. The first and the most rapid is a descent upon England. By your unheard-of exploits you are seduced from reckoning upon obstacles. In such enterprizes the name of the army is the promise of triumph, and the justice of its cause the guarantee of success. There is no longer a time to discuss the means, or to dwell on the probability of effecting a descent. Where Frenchmen are at the point, their will is the victory. The army of England is about to dictate peace in London, and there, republicans, you shall find your auxiliaries. You will find there a number of men whom reason has not so far abandoned, not to feel the odium which their governors have cast upon the English name. You will there find thousands of men who have long struggled to promote parliamentary reform. You will there find artisans without number who sigh for peace, and whom the war reduces to wretchedness, and who weigh as
light,

light, in the balance of their distresses, the magnificent trumpery of royal harangues, the illusion of manifestos, and the chimæras of conquest!—You will also find the Irish nation, oppressed for so many years, and which has borne with so much pain the chain of a court which has been nourished by its sweat, fed by its blood, and which now insults its despair!

Proceed under these auspices, brave republicans! Second the unanimous wishes of the nation. Conducted by the hero who has so long led you in the path of victory, you will be followed by the applause of every just and virtuous mind. Go and re-establish the dominion of the seas. Confine within its just limits the disordered ambition of a government, which has not only disturbed its own state, but that of the universe. — The repose of the French republic is identified with that of Europe. At this time the British government smiles with cold disdain, or with a fierce regard, on all the operations on the continent. It is for you to make them pay their share of the expences of the war, of which she has eternized the duration, and to which they can put an end, whenever they speak to the French republic a language which she may understand, and which she may deem sincere.

Citizens, you will recognize your own sentiments in those of the Directory. The same spirit animates your faithful representatives. It is in vain that the cabinet of London exhausts its efforts to sow amongst you discord and mistrust, or to persuade you that their efforts have succeeded. The 18th Fructidor has annihilated English influence, and from that day the members of the

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councils and of the Directory offer only the interesting spectacle of complete union. No patriot can have a separate interest, nor is there in the republic but one wish and one opinion. A war against the cabinet of St. James is the unanimous cry of France. What glory is promised to the army of England; it is only necessary to inspire them with enthusiasm; it is only necessary to remind them of what they had done. The walls of fortified towns fell before them; the first generals of the age could not resist them. Bender was taken prisoner at Luxemburg, and Wurmler at Mantua. The tri-coloured standard now floated over the banks of the Rhine and of the Ægean Sea. After so many victories, what can add to the ardour of French soldiers? They hear the voice of their country, and they remember their own exploits.

The Executive Directory decrees that this proclamation shall be published, printed, and sent to all the communes of the republic, and to all the divisions of their armies by land and sea. The ministers of the army of the interior, of the marine, and of the colonies, are to render an account of its due publication.

(Signed)

REVELLIERE LEPAUX, President.

Address of the two Councils to the Departments, and to the Armies, 21 Fructidor.

THE Council of Five Hundred, considering that in the extraordinary and critical circumstances in which the republic is placed, it is the duty of the legislative body to make known to the French people the trammels that were prepared to bind

bind them down to slavery, and to overthrow the republican constitution of the third year; to manifest to them the sentiments and the hopes of the legislature, and at the same time to guard against the manœuvres which the accomplices of the conspirators may attempt, in order to deceive them,—

Declare that there is urgency, and adopt the following resolution:—

Article I. The legislative body makes to the departments and to the armies the following address:

“Frenchmen, we owe to you the truth: we are about to tell you the truth.

“A conspiracy, which has for its object to establish in France a throne, and with privileges and vexations, a thousand times more odious than those which were abolished by your will; a conspiracy constantly unmasked, and yet never destroyed, had again brought the republic to the brink of an abyss. The government, by its wisdom and its firmness, disconcerted the action at the moment when it was on the point of breaking out. One night more, and an eternal mourning would have covered our country! One night more, and an arbitrary despotism would have raised her hideous head, and sealed her usurpation on the bodies of all those who had more or less served the cause of liberty! Men, who had no other ambition of popular power than to exercise it against the people, laboured for a long time in the execution of this execrable project; for the most part chiefs of the insurgents of Vendemiaire, hardened by impunity, resumed the thread of their intrigues; they still corresponded more audaciously than ever

with the agents of the pretender, Louis XVIII. The confessions of one of these royal agents (Duverne Dupresle) bear testimony to the fact. Their letters taken at Venice, their correspondence with the emigrants and the principal rebels, prove it. All the documents are made public. Their means were,—1st. The extinction of all public national spirit. 2d. The assassination of every man whom they branded with the title *Suspected of Patriotism*, and the impunity granted to the assassins by the tribunals sold to royalism. 3d. The extinction of the financial resources of the state. 4th. The vilifying of the government and the republican institutions. 5th. Civil war to be kindled in different points of the republic. 6th. Internal safety to be destroyed, and all the roads intercepted. 7th. By the starving of the national creditor, the artisan, and the soldier. And finally,—8th. By the active fabrication of all sorts of laws subversive of the constitution.

“This end, and all these means, will not astonish you, as you will learn by the authentic documents found, that their nominations, ordered beforehand, and regulated by particular offices of counter-revolution in all the departments, were founded on a general plan, formed and organized under the name of the *Society of Legitimate Sons*; a society, one of whose rules was the most absolute, the most blind devotion of its members to the orders that should be given them by their unknown chiefs. It was by these means, French citizens, that you have seen spring out all at once, from the bosom of your primary and electoral assemblies, this crowd of delegates, hitherto unknown

known in the revolution, or known only by their incivism the most revolting. It was by these means that there was formed, in almost every place, a majority of men, seduced, bribed, or deluded, whose speaking constantly under special mandate, and employing themselves only in the overthrow of the republic, made us doubt whether their constituents resided in France or at Blankenburgh. It was thus that the votes of the true citizens were of no avail in the elections; and that, with the exception of a small number of assemblies where their voices were attended to, almost everywhere the votes of crime and of royal intrigue were triumphant. We may conceive how, establishing themselves the judges of their own elections, they hastened to declare them good or bad as it suited their purpose: sometimes making an argument of the majority of voters, to cover their violences, the denial of justice, and the unconstitutional nature of these assemblies; and sometimes opposing protests, obscure, and without character, to the formal wills of a republican majority. Certainly it is wonderful that, with so many means of corruption, and of destructive influence, some nominations—nay, that one single place should escape them; as, after a vast conflagration, we sometimes see with astonishment some buildings respected by the flames.

“ We will not recall to you, citizens, what has been the deplorable success of these atrocious combinations. In Floreal, peace, honourable and solid, smiled propitious to our wishes: it is flown. Could it reside in a land in convulsion, ready to cover itself with blood

and ashes? National credit had taken consistency; the creditor was about to be paid; salaries were discharged in currency; and in an instant, misery and penury returned to burst upon France. The creditor sunk into despair; the inscriptions, which were at forty, fell to ten; the armies without pay, without clothing:—the armies that had triumphed over Europe—oh shame! oh grief!—were obliged to live either upon requisition, or upon the product of their courage. And yet a hideous laugh escaped from the lips of the artificers of counter-revolution; each day they saw the embarrassments of government augment, each day they increased them more and more; interpretations the most forced, want of faith the most imprudent, every thing was good in their eyes, provided they attained the desired end. The labourers in fanaticism were recalled; a scandalous and public traffic for the erasure of emigrants was openly carried on. Citizens, alarmed by these appearances, assembled to confer together: the right of meeting was interdicted; they reclaimed their rights; they were treated as seditious, and as cut-throats: they complained of miserable men being assassinated; to which it was answered, that vengeance was legitimate, and crime was erected into system. A new revolution, a thousand times more bloody than the first, was issuing from every pore of the body politic; but some indiscretions, some signs of premature joy, betrayed the conspirators; they began to take pride in the title of royalists; a separation, the *avant-courier* of assassination, took place between the proscribers and the proscribed. They first entitled themselves the

true representatives ; the others were no longer considered as their colleagues ; judgment was passed upon them ; they were republicans. Arms were distributed, poniards were made, many of which were seized along with the cards of rendezvous ; registers of enrolment were opened. Oh country ! oh secret and noble sentiment of liberty ! generous offspring of honour and of national pride, what art thou become ? Oh justice, morality, humanity ! names so often profaned, ye social and public virtues, where have ye taken refuge ? They live in the armies !

“ This intrepid advanced guard of a nation, whose destruction had been sworn by traitors, faithful to its oath, rung the alarm ; its cry was heard throughout all France ; it was heard in the camp of the enemy ; it struck dismay to the souls of the traitors. Then they changed their plan ; without being less active, they feigned an extensive moderation, to diminish the means of resistance which they dreaded. But it was done ; the *reveille* was beat ; the government, that had been so long deceived, now recollected that it also was the repository of the constitution, and guardian of the destinies of the republic. In the two councils a majority, courageous and clear-sighted, constantly in open combat with a faction unmasked, no longer despaired of bringing back to their side those faithful members that the party had only enlisted by deceiving them. They perceived that the constitution, in not foreseeing the case of a faction of legislators overthrowing it, even by surrounding themselves with the appearance of its forms, left, by this very omission, to those

who were desirous to save it, the right of employing every sort of measure to that purpose, and that it was absurd to pretend, that if a factious or deceived minority should decree the abrogation of the republic, all the powers instituted by the constitution ought to shut their eyes, and execute the decree.

“ Frenchmen, the event did not deceive their hopes ; and this time again, as in the tennis-court, Providence, the preserver of knowledge, of the virtues, and of liberty, protected the republic ! You know the result of the memorable day of the 18th Fructidor : the conspirators were arrested ; the legislative body, freed from oppression, and enlightened on the reiterated manoeuvres of the guilty, feeling their own dignity and their duties were not wanting to the one, while they discharged the other with courage. They did not, and they ought not to place any considerations whatsoever, in circumstances so imperious, in the balance with the safety of the country and the constitution ; but in striking down the conspirators, they did not forget that they represented a sensible and great nation, and that they ought to preserve to it its character. These men, who talked of humanity while they were meditating assassinations ; these men, who would not have spared the life of a single republican, are going to lead their own lives far from us with remorse and opprobrium : they are transported.

“ Not a drop of blood, not an act of violence or disorder, has stained this day. Thus, this great and wise attitude of Frenchmen, and particularly of our brothers in arms, on this terrible occasion, in completing their eulogium, attests
the

the baseness and infamy of those who, in their criminal correspondence, and in their audacious libels, have dared to paint Frenchmen as robbers and ruffians. The constitution is their fortune; they have sealed it with their blood; they will not suffer it to be attacked; Frenchmen have placed it between royalty and anarchy, and they know how to keep it in its place.

“ Oh ye fathers, mothers, husbands, children! whom the remembrance of the misfortunes and the disasters of the revolution have irritated, consider with affright what a horrible revolution they have prepared for you anew; and may this sentiment remove for ever from your hearts, those barbarous enmities, those murderous oppositions, which dissolve a nation, and involve it in a deluge of calamities!

“ Citizens, the mischief unmasked will no doubt try to calumniate us, and to arm you one against another. These calumnies we despise, but we cannot despise your peril. We have told you the truth; do you examine the interest of those who shall speak to you in other language. The legislative body conjures you to this—repel far from you every perfidious insinuation; let not England and Austria tear from you the fruits of this last victory, which closes at length the revolution. Let us gather round the constitution; let us think and feel that its spirit and its letter ought never to be separated.

“ Oh! if after twenty years of this civil war, that they wished to inflict upon us, and of the frightful catastrophes that would be its necessary consequences, a beneficent genius were to bring us this constitution of the third year, with what

transport should we not receive it! what tears of gratitude would it not make us shed! what newest hopes would it not revive in families reduced to desolation!—Well, we have it, we possess it, let us learn to preserve it. As to you, Frenchmen, it is to your union, it is to your confidence, that we are to look for encouragement. Returning presently to our ordinary labours, all our cares will be to close the wounds which our enemies are striving to enlarge. The restoration of the finances, of commerce, of industry, of agriculture; the solace of the indigent classes, of the hospitals, of the national creditor; the debt of our immortal defenders, will demand our first regards. Peace also, that consoling peace which is acquired by victory, shall speedily come, and we have the solid hope of it, to consolidate all our triumphs, and to repair all our losses. If, on the contrary, the enemy should be obstinate, to precipitate their own destruction, may the union of our good citizens, may their attachment to the constitution and government of the third year, be at once their despair, and the pledge of their approaching ruin!

“ Magistrates, administrators, functionaries, the voice of your country calls you back to your posts. Everywhere in a republic, that man is in the field of honour who conducts himself as a republican. Men of letters, you whom the despotism of calumny reduced to silence, resume your pristine energy; commence your republican instruction; make the coward apologists of slavery to blush; aid also the legislative body and the government; form the manners of the nation.

X §

“ Frenchmen,

“ Frenchmen, unity of action is re-established between the two great powers, not that which results from the dependence of one of them, but that which produces the harmony of reciprocal wills. We have exposed to you our conduct and our principles; our life is altogether devoted to the maintenance of the republic; we will not say that we are merely ready to lose our lives in combating the factions, but we swear to you that we will overcome them.”

The following Proclamations have been published by the Directory. On their Authenticity no great Reliance can be placed. Thus much, however, must be said, that the Pretender has not thought fit to disavow them.

LOUIS XVIII. TO THE FRENCH.

A PROFOUND grief penetrates our breast every time we see Frenchmen groaning in captivity, through their attachment to the safety of France. But will it satisfy your tyrants to have procured new victims? In this conspiracy which they impute to them, in the papers they publish so fastidiously, will they not seek pretexts to calumniate our intentions? Is it not to be dreaded, finally, that, either by forging papers, or by throwing out subtle insinuations, they will attempt to paint us to you in false colours?

It is our duty to admonish you against a perfidy which the experience of what is past authorizes us to foresee; it is our duty to manifest to you the sentiments with which our heart is filled. The tyrants envelope themselves in the shades of mystery; a father dreads not to be seen by his children.

Those of our faithful subjects whom we have appointed to instruct you as to your true interests, will retrace in this paper the instructions they have received. Those whom the purity of their zeal and the wisdom of their principles will entitle to our confidence in future, will here read beforehand the instructions which will be given to them. Finally, all the French who, sharing our love for the country, wish to concur towards saving it, will instruct themselves in the rules they ought to follow; and all France, acquainted with the end to which every one should concur in concert, and the means which ought to be employed, will form a judgment for itself of the good which it ought to expect from them.

We have said to our agents, (note, by the Directory, Dunan, Brottier, and Lavilluernois) and we repeat to them incessantly, “ Bring back our people to the holy religion of their forefathers, and to the paternal government which so long constituted the glory and happiness of France. Explain to them that the constitution of the state has been calumniated, because it has been misunderstood. Instruct them to distinguish it from the regime which had been too long introduced. Shew them that it is alike opposite to anarchy and despotism, the two scourges which are as odious to us as they are to them, but which have alternately afflicted France since she has no longer had a King. Consult wise and enlightened men as to the new degrees of perfection, of which that constitution may be susceptible, and make known to them the forms it has prescribed to effect its own amelioration. Affirm that we have adopted the most efficacious measures

measures to preserve it from the injuries of time, and from the attacks of authority itself. Guarantee once more the oblivion of errors, of injuries, and even of crimes. Quench in every breast every the smallest wish of private revenges, which we are resolved to repress with severity. Transmit to us the public will as to the regulations which are calculated to correct abuses, the reform of which will be the constant object of our solicitude. Apply all your attention to prevent the return of that regime of blood, which has cost us so many tears, and with which our wretched subjects are still menaced. Direct the choice they are about to make, towards men of worth, friends of order and peace, who are at the same time incapable of betraying the dignity of the French name, and whose virtues, intelligence, and courage, may help us to restore happiness to our people. Promise rewards proportioned to their services, to the military of every rank, and to the members of the administrations who shall cooperate towards the re-establishment of religion, laws, and the legitimate authority.—But, in the re-establishment of them, avoid the employment of the atrocious means which were practised to overthrow them. Expect from the public opinion a success which it alone can render solid and durable; or, if it should be necessary to have recourse to *force of arms*, do not at least employ this cruel force until the last extremity, and to give it a just and necessary support.

Frenchmen! all the documents you may meet with in conformity to these sentiments, we shall glory in avowing. If any should be pre-

sented to you in which you should not recognize these characters, reject them as the production of liars; they are not in conformity with our heart.

Given on the 10th of March,
of the year of grace 1797,
and of our reign the second.

(Signed) Louis.

*This was to have been published previous
to the Entry of the Pretender into Paris.*

LOUIS THE XVIII. TO ALL
FRENCHMEN.

PROVIDENCE has permitted for the instruction of Kings, and for the punishment of nations, that the monarchy of France should be overturned by a handful of factious men, whose conduct has been stained by every species of guilt.

The clergy, the nobility, and all the personages of the highest distinction and probity, have been either persecuted, exiled, or massacred.—Our august Brother, and a part of his family, have been the victims of this cruel tyranny.

Frenchmen, your hearts are now opened and softened. They are returned to those sentiments of love for their King which have ever distinguished them beyond all other nations; they have recognized *our sacred right* to govern them: they have recognized us, in the persuasion that we shall not suffer the diadem on our brow to be dishonoured.

Yes!—we take the Most High to witness, that we shall forget the faults of our subjects who have been misled by the seditious. Far from marking our accession to the throne by any terrible display of vengeance, I shall shew myself like a tender father, who pardons the

errors and wanderings of his children. We shall pardon with as much pleasure as our tyrants have found in sacrificing. The justice of God does not resemble that of men; he alone can read our hearts, and punish their hardness.

(Signed) LOUIS.

Treaty of Peace concluded between the Pope and the French Republic.

Art. I. **T**HERE shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French Republic and Pope Pius the Sixth.

II. The Pope revokes all adhesion, assistance, and concession, open or secret, given by him to the coalition armed against the French Republic; and to every treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with whatever power it may be. He engages himself not to furnish, either for the present or any future war, to any power armed against the French Republic, any succours in men, ships, arms, warlike stores, provisions, or money, under any title or denomination whatever.

III. His Holiness shall disband, within five days after the ratification of the present treaty, the troops of the new formation, retaining only the regiments existing before the treaty of armistice signed at Bologna.

IV. The ships of war or corsairs of the powers armed against the French Republic, shall not enter, or at least shall not make any stay during the present war, in the ports or roads of the ecclesiastical states.

V. The French Republic shall continue to enjoy, as before the war, all the rights and prerogatives which France had at Rome, and

shall be treated in every respect as the most respectable powers, and particularly so as to what relates to its ambassador or minister, its consuls or vice-consuls.

VI. The Pope shall renounce absolutely and entirely all the rights which he may pretend to have in the cities and territories of Avignon, the Comtat Venaissin, and its dependencies; and shall transfer, give up, and abandon the said rights to the French Republic.

VII. The Pope in like manner renounces for ever, and gives up and transfers to the French Republic, all his right to the territories known by the title of the Legation of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; and no attack shall be made on the Catholic religion in that quarter.

VIII. The citadel and villages forming the territory of the city of Ancona, shall remain in the hands of the Republic till a peace with the continent shall be concluded.

IX. The Pope engages, for himself and his successors, not to transfer to any one the titles of Seignories attached to the territory by him ceded to the French Republic.

X. His Holiness engages to pay and deliver, at Foligno, to the treasurer of the French army, before the 5th of March, 1797, the sum of 15,000,000 of French livres Tournois, of which 10,000,000 shall be in specie, and 5,000,000 in diamonds and other valuable effects; besides the sum of 1,600,000 remaining due according to the 9th article of the armistice signed at Bologna on the 5th Messidor, in the fourth year of the Republic, and ratified by his Holiness on the 27th of June.

XI. In order to settle finally what shall remain to be paid, in order to the complete execution of the armistice

Rice signed at Bologna, his Holiness shall provide the army with 800 cavalry horses accoutred, and 800 draught-horses, bulls, and buffaloes, and other objects produced from the territory of the church.

XII. Besides the sum mentioned in the preceding articles, the Pope shall pay to the French Republic, in specie, diamonds, and other valuables, the sum of 15,000,000 of French livres Tournois, of which 10,000,000 livres shall be paid in the course of March, and five in the course of April next.

XIII. The 8th article of the treaty of armistice signed at Bologna, concerning the manuscripts and objects of art, shall be carried into complete execution as speedily as possible.

XIV. The French army shall evacuate Umbria, Perugia, and Camerino, as soon as the 10th article of the present treaty shall be executed and accomplished.

XV. The French army shall evacuate the province of Macerata, excepting Ancona and Fano, and their territories, as soon as the first five millions of the sum mentioned in the 12th article of the present treaty shall have been paid and delivered.

XVI. The French shall evacuate the territory of the city of Fano, and the duchy of Urbino, as soon as the second five millions of the sum mentioned in the 12th article of the present treaty shall have been delivered, and the 3d, 10th, 11th, and 12th shall have been executed. The last five millions, making up the whole of the sum stipulated to be paid by the 11th article, shall be paid at farthest in the course of April next.

XVII. The French Republic cedes to the Pope all its right to the different religious foundations in the city of Rome, and at Loretto; and the Pope cedes entirely to the French Republic all the allodial property belonging to the holy see in the three provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and particularly the estate of Mesola, and its dependencies; the Pope reserving to himself, however, in case they shall be sold, a third of the sums arising from such sale, which shall be remitted as part of his contribution.

XVIII. His Holiness shall disavow, by his minister at Paris, the assassination of the Secretary of Legation, Bassville; and, in the course of the year, the sum of 300,000 livres shall be paid to and divided among those who have suffered by this event.

XIX. His Holiness shall set at liberty all persons in confinement on account of their political opinions.

XX. The Commander in Chief shall permit all the prisoners of war from the troops of his Holiness to return home, as soon as he shall have received the full ratification of this treaty.

XXI. Until a commercial treaty shall be concluded between the French Republic and the Pope, the commerce of the Republic shall be re-established, and treated by the states of his Holiness on the same footing as the nation most favoured in its commerce.

XXII. Conformable to the 6th article of the treaty concluded at the Hague in April, in the third year, the peace concluded by the present treaty between the French Republic

Republic and his Holiness, is declared to extend to the Batavian Republic.

XXIII. The post of France shall be re-established at Rome, in the same manner as existed before.

XXIV. The school of arts, instituted at Rome for all the French, shall be re-established, and shall continue to be conducted as before the war. The palace belonging to the Republic, where this school is held, shall be restored without waste.

XXV. All the articles, clauses, and conditions of the present treaty shall be, without exception, obligatory for ever, as well on his Holiness as on his successors.

XXVI. The present treaty shall be ratified with the shortest possible delay.

Made and signed at the headquarters of Tolentino, by the said Plenipotentiaries, February 19th, 1797.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.
CAGULT.

To Cardinals Maltei, L. Galeffi,
L. Duca, Braschi, Onesti, and
Camillo, Marquis of Massa.

Convention stipulated at Monte Bello upon the 5th and 6th of June, 1797, between Citizen Buonaparte, General in Chief of the French Army of Italy, Citizen Faypoult, Minister of the French Republic at Genoa, and his Excellency M. Michael Angelo Cambrosa, Louis Carbonera and Gerolino, Deputies of the Republic of Genoa.

THE French Republic and the Republic of Genoa being desirous to consolidate the union and harmony which have always existed between the French Republic and

the Republic of Genoa; thinking likewise that the happiness of the Genoëse nation requires that it should regain possession of the deposit of its sovereignty; the two states have agreed upon the following articles:

I. The government of the Republic of Genoa acknowledges the sovereignty to reside in the aggregate of all the citizens of the territory of the state.

II. The legislative power shall be entrusted to two representative councils: the one composed of three hundred, and the other of one hundred and fifty members. The executive power shall be delegated to a senate of ten members, over which a doge shall preside: the senators shall be in the nomination of the councils.

III. Every commune shall have a municipality, and every district an administration.

IV. The mode of election of all the authorities, the limits of the districts, the portion of authority entrusted to all the different bodies, the organization of the judicial power and the military force, shall be determined by a committee of legislation, charged with the task of framing the constitution, and all the organical laws of the government, with the reserve of doing nothing contrary to the Catholic religion, to guarantee the consolidated debts, to preserve the free port of the city of Genoa and the bank of St. George, and to take measures, as far as means shall permit, to provide for the support of the poor nobles who at present exist. This committee shall be obliged to complete its work in the space of one month, reckoning from the day of its formation.

V. The people finding them-
selves

selves restored to the enjoyment of their rights, every kind of privilege and exclusive establishment which breaks the unity of the state is necessarily annulled.

VI. The provisional government shall be entrusted to an executive committee, who shall be composed of twenty-two members, over which the reigning doge shall preside, and which shall be installed upon the 14th of the present month of June, 26th Prairial, the 5th year of the French Republic.

VII. The citizens who shall be called upon to compose the provisional government of the Genoese Republic, are not at liberty to refuse the office without being regarded as indifferent to the welfare of the country, and condemned to a fine of two thousand crowns.

VIII. When the provisional government shall be formed, it shall determine the necessary regulations for the forms of its deliberations; it shall appoint, within a week after its installation, the committee of legislation, empowered to frame the constitution.

IX. The provisional government shall fix the just indemnification due to the French who were pillaged upon the 3d and 4th Prairial.

X. The French Republic, desirous of giving a proof of the interest which it takes in the happiness of the Genoese people; desirous of seeing them united, and free from factions, grants an amnesty to all the Genoese against whom it has grounds of complaint, either on account of the transactions of the 3d and 4th Prairial, or on account of the different events which took place in the imperial sieges. The provisional government shall employ its utmost endeavours to ex-

tinguish all factions, to unite all the citizens, and to convince them of the necessity of rallying round public liberty, and shall therefore grant a general amnesty.

XI. The French Republic shall grant its protection to the Genoese Republic, and even the assistance of its armies to facilitate, if necessary, the execution of the above articles, and to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Genoese Republic.

Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the French Republic and Her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal.

THE French Republic and Her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal, desirous of re-establishing the bonds of commerce and friendship which existed between the two powers before the present war, have given full powers to enter into negotiations for that purpose, viz. the Executive Directory, in the name of the French Republic, to citizen Charles Delacroix; and Her Very Faithful Majesty to M. le Chevalier d'Aranjo Dazevedo, of her said Majesty's council, Gentleman of her Household, Knight of the Order of Christ, and her Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Batavian Republic; who, after having exchanged their respective powers, have concluded the present treaty of peace.

Article I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding between the French Republic and Her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal.

II. All hostilities shall cease, as well by land as by sea, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, viz. in
fifteen

fifteen days for Europe, and the seas on her coasts, and those of Africa on this side the equator: forty days after the said exchange for the countries and seas of America and Africa beyond the equator, and three months after for the countries and seas situated to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

III. The ports, towns, places, or any other territorial possessions of either of the two powers, in whatever part of the world, which are occupied or conquered by the troops of the other, shall be reciprocally restored within the periods above-mentioned, without either compensation or indemnity being required.

IV. Her Most Faithful Majesty engages to observe the most exact neutrality between the Republic and the other belligerent powers. A similar neutrality shall be observed by the French Republic, in case of a rupture between Portugal and any other European power. In consequence, neither of the two contracting parties, during the course of the present war, shall furnish to the enemies of the other, in virtue of any treaty or stipulation whatever (public or secret) any succours in troops, ships, arms, warlike ammunition, provisions, or money, under whatever title or denomination.

V. Her Most Faithful Majesty shall not admit into her great ports more than six armed ships of war belonging to any one of the belligerent powers, nor more than three into her smaller ports. The prizes made by their ships of war or respective cruisers shall no more be received into her Majesty's ports than the cruisers themselves, unless it be in cases of tempest or imminent peril, and then they shall depart as soon as the peril is past. All

sale of merchandise or captured vessels shall be severely prohibited. The French Republic shall observe the same regulations with respect to ships of war, cruisers, or prizes belonging to the European powers with which Her Most Faithful Majesty may enter into war.

VI. Her Most Faithful Majesty acknowledges, by the present treaty, that all the territories situated to the north of the limits hereinafter mentioned, between the possessions of the two contracting powers, belong in full property and sovereignty to the French Republic: renouncing, as far as need be, as well for herself as her successors, all the rights to which she might pretend upon the said territories, under whatever title, and particularly in virtue of the eighth article of the treaty concluded at Utrecht, the 11th of April, 1713. The French Republic reciprocally acknowledges that all the territories situated to the south of the said line, belong to Her Most Faithful Majesty, in conformity to the treaty of Utrecht.

VII. The limits between the two French and Portuguese Guyanas shall be determined by the river called by the Portuguese Calmeme, and by the French Vincent Pinson, which flows into the ocean above the North Cape, about two degrees and a half southern latitude. They shall follow the said river to its source, and afterwards a right line drawn from the said source towards the west, as far as Rio Blanco.

VIII. The mouth, as well as the whole course of the said river Calmeme or Vincent Pinson, belong in full and entire sovereignty to the French Republic, without, however, the subjects of Her Most Faithful Majesty, established in the envi-

rons

rons to the south of the said river, being prevented from using it freely, and without being subject to the duties of entrance, course, and water-duty.

IX. The subjects of Her Most Faithful Majesty who are settled to the north of the frontier line above marked, shall be free to remain there, obeying the laws of the Republic, or to withdraw with their effects, or to sell the lands belonging to them. The faculty of retiring and selling their moveable or immoveable effects, is reciprocally reserved to the French who may be settled to the south of the said frontier line. The exercise of the said faculty is limited to one, and the other to two years, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the French treaty.

X. There shall be negotiated and concluded as soon as possible between the two powers, a treaty of commerce founded upon equitable basis, and reciprocally advantageous. Until it is concluded, it is agreed,

1st. That the commercial relations shall be re-established immediately after the exchange of the ratification, and that the citizens or subjects of each of the two powers shall enjoy in the territories of the other all the rights, immunities, and prerogatives enjoyed by the most favoured nations.

2d. That the provisions and merchandises, the produce of their soil or their manufactures, shall be respectively admitted, if the provisions and merchandise of the same kind of other nations are, or shall afterwards be admitted; and that the said provisions and merchandises shall not be subject to any prohibition which shall not equally fall

on other provisions and merchandises of the same kind imported by other nations.

3d. That nevertheless the French Republic not being able to offer to Portugal but a price extremely low for its wines, and being unable to compensate by the introduction of French cloths into that kingdom, things shall reciprocally remain, with respect to those two articles, in their present state.

4th. That the duties of custom and others upon provisions and merchandise of the soil and manufactures of the two powers, shall be reciprocally regulated upon the same footing as with regard to other most favoured nations.

5th. That out of the duties thus regulated, there shall be allowed a drawback in favour of merchandises the produce of the soil or manufactures of the states of each of the two powers, provided they are imported in national vessels on account of the merchants to whom they belong, and sent in right of the ports of Europe, on the one hand, to the ports of Europe on the other. The amount of these drawbacks, as well as the kinds of merchandises to which they shall apply, to be regulated by the treaty of commerce to be concluded between the two powers.

6th. That further, all the stipulations relative to commerce inserted in preceding treaties concluded between the two powers shall be provisionally executed, wherein they are not contrary to the present treaty.

XI. Her Most Faithful Majesty shall admit into her ports the French ships of war and merchantmen, under the same conditions as the ships of the most favoured nations are admitted.

mitted. The Portuguese vessels shall enjoy in France the most exact reciprocity.

XII. The French consuls and vice-consuls shall enjoy privileges, immunities, prerogatives, and jurisdictions, as they enjoyed them before the war, and as they are enjoyed by the most favoured nations.

XIII. The ambassador or minister of the French Republic at the court of Portugal, shall enjoy the same immunities, prerogatives, and privileges as French ambassadors enjoyed previous to the war.

XIV. All the French citizens, as well as the individuals composing the establishment of the ambassador or minister of the councils, and other agents accredited and acknowledged by the French Republic, shall enjoy in the states of Her Most Faithful Majesty the same liberty of worship as is enjoyed by the most favoured nations in this respect.

The present, and two preceding articles, shall be reciprocally observed by the French Republic with regard to the ambassadors, ministers, consuls, and other agents of Her Most Faithful Majesty.

XV. All the prisoners made on both sides, including marines and sailors, shall be given up in a month, reckoning from the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, on payment of the debts they shall have contracted during their captivity. The sick and wounded shall continue to be taken care of in the respective hospitals: they shall be given up immediately after they are cured.

XVI. The peace and good friendship re-established by the present treaty between the French Republic and Her Most Faithful Majesty, are declared to extend in common to the Batavian Republic.

XVII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in two months, reckoning from this day.

Done, performed, concluded, signed, and confirmed, to wit, by me Charles Delacroix, by the seal for foreign affairs, and by me the Chevalier d'Arango, by the seal of my arms, at Paris, the 23d Thermidor, fifth year of the French Republic, answering to the 10th of August, old style.

(Signed)

CHARLES DELACROIX.

ANT. D'ARANJO DAZEVEDO.

The Executive Directory agrees to sign this present treaty between Her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal, negotiated in the name of the Republic by citizen Charles Delacroix, Minister Plenipotentiary, invested with powers to that effect by a decree of the 30th last Messidor, and charged by his instructions.

Done at the national palace of the Executive Directory, the 24th Thermidor, 5th year of the Republic, one and indivisible. For the sake of expedition,

(Signed) REVELLIERE LEPAUX,
President.

By the Executive Directory,
LAGARDE, Sec. Gen.*
Convention

* The Executive Directory, however, by a decree of the 26th October, declared this treaty null and void.—The following is a copy of the decree :

“ The

Convention concluded between General Buonaparte and the Marquis of Melfredini, on Behalf of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

1st. THE Grand Duke shall pay 800,000 livres, as an indemnity for the expences of the French garrison at Leghorn.

2d. General Buonaparte promises to withdraw that garrison, consisting of 1600 men, and on whose departure the Grand Duke will pay 1,200,000 livres more to the French Republic.

Declaration of the General Administration of Lombardy.

WHEREAS, notwithstanding the declaration of neutrality of the Helvetic Republic, the inhabitants of the bailiwicks of Lugano and Belinzona have openly favoured the desertion of the Austrian prisoners; whereas money, boats, and clothes are procured, and roads pointed out to them to join their armies; whereas the magistrates permit Austrian and English emissaries to reside in those bailiwicks, from whence they endeavour to disturb the internal tranquillity of Lombardy; whereas the principal magistrate at Lugano has dared to compel by force some Lombards who resided in that town to lay aside the cockade of the first

power in Europe, which is the French Republic: in fine, whereas these infringements of the neutrality display a tendency hostile to the French Republic, and contrary to the good understanding which ought to subsist with Lombardy, the General Administration resolves as follows:

1st. All the inhabitants of the bailiwicks of Belinzona and Lugano, who shall appear on the territory of Lombardy unprovided with passports of the Lombard constituted authorities, shall immediately be arrested as suspected persons, conducted beyond the frontiers, and, should they return again, be treated as spies of the hostile powers, and judged by martial law.

2d. All the Swiss barges, on board of which Austrian deserters shall be found, are to be confiscated, and their masters judged by military law as persons recruiting for the enemy.

3. As long as the agents of Austria, especially one Andreazzi, calling himself an imperial commissioner, shall not be banished from those countries, the importation of corn from Lombardy shall be prohibited.

Ratification, February 19th, 1797.

THE impending new campaign has been officially announced to the diet

“The Executive Directory, considering that the Queen of Portugal, instead of sending a pure and simple ratification of the treaty of peace concluded with the Executive Directory, in the name of the French Republic, on the 23d Thermidor, 5th year, within the two months allowed by that treaty, has put her principal strong places into the hands of the English army, decrees as follows:

“The treaty between the French Republic and the Queen of Portugal, concluded on the 23d Thermidor, 5th year, and not ratified on the part of her said Majesty, is declared to be of no effect.

“The minister for foreign affairs is charged to notify to M. Arango Dazavedo, Minister Plenipotentiary of the Queen of Portugal, to quit the territory of the Republic without delay.

(Signed)

“LA REVELLIERE LEPAUX, President.”

diet of the empire. The declaration made on the 14th instant, on the part of the Emperor, to the three colleges of the empire, contains, amongst others, the following passage :

The states must have acquired the most perfect conviction from many events, especially from the hostile sentiments expressed by the enemy against the integrity of the empire, that it is become unavoidably necessary to make greater efforts, and to lose no time in straining every nerve to support his Imperial Majesty in the generous patriotic resolution of employing all his forces for the welfare of the Germanic empire, and the preservation of its constitution, with all possible vigour, and with farther sacrifices of his resources.

The Emperor then demands of all those states who wish for the farther protection of the imperial arms, the speedy furnishing of their quintuple contingent of troops, who are to join the army of the empire without delay ; to furnish also the contingents in money, and the arrears of the Roman months, in order that the effective force may be seasonably known before the opening of the impending campaign, which is to be carried on with the greatest energy.

The Emperor concludes his declaration by stating, —

His Majesty the Emperor and King, considering the immense efforts of the enemy, and the vicissitudes of the war which have hitherto taken place, will find it impossible to avert the hostile dangers which threaten the Germanic constitution, and the prosperity of certain districts of Germany, unless his co-states will grant him the most active support.

Buonaparte, General in Chief of the Army of Italy, to the People of Carinthia.

General Quarters at Clagenfurt, April 1st.

THE French army does not come into your country to conquer it, nor to effect any change in your religion, manners, or customs. It is the friend of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany.

The Executive Directory of the French Republic have spared no pains to bring to a termination the calamities which desolate the Continent. Resolved to be foremost in the accomplishment of this plan, they sent General Clarke to Vienna, as a Plenipotentiary, to commence negotiations for peace ; but the court of Vienna refused to hearken to them : it has ever been declared at Vicenze, through the medium of M. St. Vincent, that it did not acknowledge the French Republic. General Clarke demanded a passport, to go to speak to the Emperor himself ; but the ministers of the court of Vienna dreaded, with reason, that the moderation of the propositions which he was charged to make, would influence the Emperor to conclude a peace. These ministers, corrupted by English gold, betrayed Germany and their prince, and are as reluctant to negotiation as the perfidious islanders who are the horror of all Europe.

Inhabitants of Carinthia ! I know it, you detest, as much as us, both the English, who are the only gainers by the existing warfare, and your minister, who is sold to them.

If we have been at war for six years, it is contrary to the wishes of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened

enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the simple but honest citizens of Carinthia.

No matter! In spite of England, and the ministers of the court of Vienna, we are friends. The French Republic assures to you the rights of conquest; let them disappear before the contract by which we are reciprocally bound. You will not join in a contest which is contrary to your sentiments. You will furnish the provisions which we may want. On my part, I shall protect your religion, your manners, and your property. I shall not exact from you any contribution. Is not the war of itself horrible enough? Have you not already suffered too much, you who are the innocent victims of others folly? The impositions which you have been accustomed to pay to the Emperor, will indemnify you for the inevitable losses attending the march of an army, and the provisions with which you will furnish us.

Proclamation relative to the Disturbances in the Venetian Territory.

THE conduct of the Republic of Venice, during the commotions in Europe, has always been, and still remains, so perfectly neutral and friendly towards all the belligerent powers, that the Senate did not imagine it necessary to give the least attention to the evil-disposed who pretended to question their sincerity; but, as these malignant enemies of the Republic have disseminated the vilest slanders against the sincerity of the peaceable disposition of the Republic, in a fabricated proclamation, dated Verona, March 22, in which expressions injurious to the French Republic

are attributed to the Proveditori Battagia, the Republic of Venice sees itself under the necessity of declaring that proclamation forged, and of warning all its faithful subjects not to be deceived by such slanders, or induced to suppose that its friendship towards the Republic of France is in the least changed. The Senate entertains no doubt that the French nation will treat such calumnies with the contempt they deserve, and repose that confidence in the Republic of Venice which it has merited by its irreproachable conduct.

Manifesto of General Buonaparte against Venice.

*Head Quarters, Palma Nova,
14 Floreal (May 13).*

WHILST the French army was engaged in the defiles of Styria, and left far behind them Italy and the principal establishments of the army, where only a small number of battalions remained, this was the conduct of the government of Venice:—1. They profited of Passion-week, to arm 40,000 peasants, uniting them with ten regiments of Slavonians, organised them into different corps, and sent them to different points, to intercept all kind of communication between the army and the places in the rear.—2. Extraordinary commissaries, guns, ammunition of all kinds, and a great quantity of cannon, were sent from Venice even to complete the organization of different corps of the army.—3. All persons in the Terra Firma who had received us favourably, were arrested; benefits and the confidence of the government were heaped upon all those who possessed a furious

furious hatred to the French name, and especially the fifteen conspirators of Verona, whom the Proveditori Prioli had arrested three months ago, as having premeditated the massacre of the French.—4. In the squares, coffee-houses, and other public places of Venice, all Frenchmen were insulted, treated badly, and called by the names of Jacobins, Regicides, Atheists. The French were to leave Venice, and a short time afterwards it was prohibited to them even to enter it.—5. The people of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, were ordered to take up arms, to second the different corps of the army, and to begin at length those new Sicilian vespers. It belongs, said the Venetian officers, to the Lion of St. Marc to verify the proverb,—that Italy is the tomb of the French.—6. The priests in the pulpit preached the crusade; and the priests in the state of Venice never speak any thing but the will of the government. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, anonymous letters, were printed in the different towns, and began to agitate the minds of all; in a state where the liberty of the press is not permitted, in a government as much feared as it is secretly detested, printers print, and authors write, nothing but what the senate please.—7. All smiled at first at the perfidious project of the government. The French blood flowed on all sides. On all the roads, our convoys, our couriers, and every thing respecting the army, were intercepted.—8. At Padua a chief of a battalion and two other Frenchmen were arrested. At Castiglione de Mori our soldiers were disarmed and assassinated. On all the great roads from Mantua to

Legnano, from Cassano to Verona, we had more than two hundred men assassinated.—9. Two French battalions, wishing to join the army, met at Chiari with a division of the Venetian army, which attempted to oppose their passage: an obstinate conflict took place, and our brave soldiers cut a passage for themselves, by putting these perfidious enemies to the rout.—10. At Valeggio there was another battle; at Desfengaro another. The French were everywhere the weakest in numbers; but they know well that the number of the enemy's battalions is never counted when they are composed only of assassins.—11. The second feast in Easter, at the ringing of the bell, all the French were assassinated in Verona. Neither the sick in the hospitals were respected, nor those who, in a state of convalescence, were walking in the streets, and were thrown into the Adige, where they died, pierced with a thousand wounds from stilettos. More than four hundred French were assassinated.—12. For a week the Venetian army besieged the three castles of Verona. The cannon which were placed on the battery were carried at the point of the bayonet. The town was set on fire, and the moveable column that arrived in the interim, put these cowards to complete rout, by taking three thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were several Venetian generals.—13. The house of the French consul to Zante was burnt in Dalmatia.—14. A Venetian ship of war took an Austrian convoy under its protection, and fired several shot at the corvette *la Brune*.—15. The *Liberateur d'Italie*, a vessel of the Republic, with only three or four small pieces of cannon,

don, and a crew of forty men, was sunk in the very port of Venice, and by order of the senate. The young and intrepid Haugier, lieutenant and commander of the said ship, as soon as he saw himself attacked by the fire of the fort and the admiral's galley, being from both not more than pistol-shot, ordered his crew to go below. He alone got upon the deck, in the midst of a storm of grape-shot, and endeavoured, by his speeches, to disarm the fury of his assassins; but he fell dead. His crew threw themselves into the sea to swim, and were pursued by six challops, with troops on board, in the pay of Venice, who cut to pieces several that sought for safety in the open sea. One of the masters, with several wounds, and bleeding in every part, had the good fortune to reach the shore, near the castle of the port; but the commandant himself cut off his hand with an axe.

On account of the above-mentioned grievances, and authorised by the 22d title, article 328, of the constitution of the republic, and on account of the urgency of affairs, the General in Chief requires the French minister to the republic of Venice to leave the said city; directs the different agents of the republic of Venice in Lombardy, and the Venetian Terra Firma, to quit it in twenty-four hours; directs the different generals of divisions to treat as enemies the troops of the republic of Venice, and to pull down, in the towns of the Terra Firma, the Lion of St. Marc. Every one will receive, in the orders of the day to-morrow, a particular instruction respecting ulterior operations.

BUONAPARTE.

Proclamation of General Buonaparte.

*Head Quarters, Monte Bello,
11th Messidor, 5th year.*

THE Cisalpine Republic was for many years under the dominion of the house of Austria. The French Republic succeeded it by the right of conquest. It now renounces this right, and the Cisalpine Republic is free and independent. Recognized by France and the Emperor, it will soon be equally acknowledged by the rest of Europe. The Executive Directory of the French Republic, not content with employing its influence, and the victories of the republican armies, to secure the political existence of the Cisalpine Republic, extends its care still further; and convinced that, if liberty be the first of blessings, the revolution which attends it is the greatest of evils, it has given to the Cisalpine people their peculiar constitution, resulting from the wisdom of the most enlightened nation. From a military regime the Cisalpine people pass to a constitutional one. That this transition should experience no shock, nor be exposed to anarchy, the Executive Directory has thought proper to nominate, for the present, the members of the government and the legislative body; so that the people should after the lapse of one year, have the election to the vacant places, in conformity to the constitution. For a great number of years there existed no republic in Italy. The sacred fire of liberty was extinguished, and the finest part of Europe was under the yoke of strangers. It belongs to the Cisalpine Republic to shew to the world by its wisdom, its energy, and the organization of its armies, that

that modern Italy is not degenerated, and is still worthy of liberty.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

Ordinance published at Verona on the 8th of August, 1797.

WHEREAS citizen George Giusti continues, notwithstanding repeated admonitions; to revile the popular government and equality; and instead of styling himself citizen, assumes the title of Count; since he daily boasts to his servants that he is of one of the best families in Rome; and, what is much worse, continually inveighs against the popular government; the said citizen George Giusti is hereby sentenced to pay 100 sequins; which money shall be appropriated to erect a column to liberty in the Green-Market. This sentence shall be read to citizen Giusti in the presence of all his servants and domestics, by the secretary of the municipality, to instruct the whole family in the true principles of liberty and equality.

Approved by General Verdier,
French Commandant in the
province of Verona.

*Letter of General Buonaparte to the Chief
of the Maniotes, dated Milan, 12th
Thermidor, (July 30th)*

THE council of the French Republic at Trieste has acquainted me with the attention your Lordship had shewn in sending a deputation to intimate to me the desire you had to see in your ports some French vessels, and to be in any respect useful to the brave French soldiers of the army of Italy.

The French esteem the small but

gallant Maniote people, who alone of ancient Greece have preserved their liberty. In all the circumstances which may occur, they shall ever give proofs of their protection, and a particular care to favour their vessels and their citizens.

I beg your Lordship to receive with kindness the bearers of this, who have the strongest desire to see more nearly the worthy descendants of Sparta, who, to be as renowned as their ancestors, wanted only to appear on a larger theatre.

The first time that any of your relations have occasion to visit Italy, I beg you to recommend them to me. I shall feel a real pleasure in giving marks of the esteem which I entertain for you and your compatriots.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

*From the Vienna Court Gazette,
April 5th, 1797.*

THE present war, of which the unavoidable consequence has been the destruction of so many lives, has given the greatest uneasiness to his Imperial Majesty from the time of his first accession to the throne. Penetrated with a sense of his duty, and compassion for his subjects, and animated with a wish to restore plenty and prosperity to all his hereditary states, his Majesty has never ceased to devise such means as might put an end to the calamities of war; and it was with the utmost regret that he saw all his endeavours fruitless, and himself in consequence obliged to exert his utmost force to defend his states and faithful subjects against the attacks of the enemy. Anxious to spare the blood of his subjects, his Imperial

Imperial Majesty still wished for peace, even in the moment when his arms were most signally victorious.

His Majesty has now likewise given in charge to the undersigned, the President of Lower Austria, to communicate to the public the most positive assurance that he is now employed in the most earnest manner, in hastening the conclusion of a peace. But though his Majesty will neglect nothing which may procure the blessings of a speedy peace to his hereditary states, he trusts with confidence, that should the enemy, dazzled by the changeable fortune of war, contrary to what we would hope, arrogantly reject all reconciliation, or insist on extravagant conditions, and such as are disgraceful to the Austrian nation, every faithful subject, mindful of the duties to which he has sworn, will exert his utmost efforts to obtain peace by a courageous defence of his country, and will contribute all in his power to preparations which the extreme emergency may render necessary for the safety of the capital; and that the brave inhabitants of Vienna will shew no less courage and loyalty than their glorious ancestors, who, under Ferdinand and Leopold I, on the walls of their city, fought and conquered for religion, their Sovereign, their country, and their honour.

FRANCIS COUNT SAURAU,
President of Administration
in Lower Austria.

Vienna, April 4th, 1797.

*Declaration of the Emperor at Vienna,
on the 13th of April, 1797.*

COUNT Saurau, President of
the administration of Lower Austria,

has published a proclamation, by order of his Imperial Majesty, signifying, that though his Imperial Majesty cannot, for obvious important reasons, undertake the defence of his capital in his own person, he has taken all the necessary measures, and caused every provision to be made under his own inspection, for its defence. His Imperial Majesty likewise expresses his hope that the enemy will at length consent to accept more equitable terms, and see in their proper light those which his Majesty has proposed; they are so framed, as they only can be, without derogating from the dignity of his Imperial Majesty, and the honour of the nation he has the happiness to govern. His Majesty, however, confides in the assistance and support of all his faithful subjects; and trusts that, should the enemy proceed to extremities, they alone, by the Divine assistance, will be the victim.

His Majesty likewise gives notice, that whatever damage may be done to the city or suburbs by the preparations necessary for defence, or the assaults of the enemy, shall be repaired, after the restoration of peace, from his Majesty's private property.

Vienna, June 21st, 1797.

ON the 21st instant Count Thurn, in Styria, published a declaration relative to the entrance of the Austrian troops into Venetian Istria. The principal reasons assigned are as follows:

1st. The revolutionary spirit which has manifested itself in the inhabitants of the Venetian territory, threatens the neighbouring countries, and compels the Empe-

ror to secure himself from the unhappy consequences which may be the result.

2d. The ancient rights of his Imperial Majesty, and his ancestors, to Venetian Istria, which formerly made part of Hungary. And as several of the Venetian provinces have detached themselves from the sovereignty of Venice, his Majesty conceived this to be the time to assert his ancient rights.

This declaration has been accompanied by a general pardon, as well for the Austrian subjects who had fled into Istria to avoid taking up arms, as for the Venetian subjects who had left their country.

Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded between the French Republic and the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia.

HIS Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French Republic, being desirous to consolidate the peace, the basis of which has been laid down by the preliminaries signed at the Chateau of Eck-enwald, near Leoben, in Styria, on the 18th of April, 1797, (29th Germinal, 5th year of the French Republic, one and indivisible) have named for their Plenipotentiaries the following persons: his Majesty the Emperor and King, the Sieur D. Martius Mastrilly, noble Neapolitan Patrician; Marquis of Gallo, Knight of the royal Order of St. Januarius, Gentleman of the Chamber to his Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, and his Ambassador Extraordinary at the court of Vienna; the Sieur Louis, Cobentzel, Count of the holy Roman Empire,

Grand Cross of the royal Order of St. Stephen, Chamberlain and actual Privy Counsellor of State to his said Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, and his Ambassador Extraordinary to his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias; the Sieur Maximilian, Count of Merveldt, Knight of the Teutonic and Military order of Maria Theresa, Chamberlain and Major-General of Cavalry in the armies of his said Majesty the Emperor and King; and the Sieur Ignatius, Baron Degelmann, Minister Plenipotentiary of his said Majesty to the Helvetic Republic; and the French Republic has named Buonaparte, General in Chief of the French army in Italy; which persons, after the exchange of their respective powers, have resolved upon the following articles:—

Art. I. There shall be in future, and for ever, a solid and inviolable peace between his Majesty the Emperor of the Romans, King of Hungary and Bohemia, his heirs and successors, and the French Republic. The contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to the maintenance of a perfect intelligence between themselves and their states, without permitting, for the future, any sort of hostilities on either side, for whatever cause, or under whatsoever pretext, and shall carefully avoid whatever may hereafter affect the union thus happily established. No assistance shall be given, either directly or indirectly, to those who would attempt any thing to the prejudice of one or other of the contracting parties.

II. Soon after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the contracting parties shall remove all sequestrations imposed upon

on the effects, rights, and revenues of individuals residing in their respective territories, and the countries reunited to them, as well as upon the public establishments; they shall be bound to pay all debts for funds supplied to them by the said individuals or public establishments, and to repay all rents settled for their profit.

The present article is declared common to the Cisalpine Republic.

III. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, renounces for himself and his successors, in favour of the French Republic, all his rights and titles to the *ci-devant* Belgic provinces, known by the name of the Austrian *Pays Bas*. The French Republic shall possess these countries in perpetuity, in entire sovereignty and property, and with all the territorial effects which belong to them.

IV. All the debts for which the soil of the said countries shall have been mortgaged before the war, and the contracts for which shall subsist in the customary forms, shall be adopted by the French Republic. The Plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the Emperor shall give an account of them as soon as possible, and before the exchange of the ratifications, in order that, previous to the exchange, the Plenipotentiaries of the two powers may agree upon the additional articles explanatory of the present, and may sign them.

V. His Majesty the Emperor and King consents that the French Republic shall possess, in entire sovereignty, the *ci-devant* Venetian Isles in the Levant, called Corfou, Zante, Cephalonia, St. Maure, Cerigo, and the other isles depending upon them, as well as Batrinto, Larta, Vonizza,

and in general all the *ci-devant* Venetian establishments in Albany, which are situated lower than the Gulph of Lodrino.

VI. The French Republic consents that his Majesty the Emperor and King shall possess, in entire sovereignty and property, the countries hereafter mentioned; Istria, Dalmatia, the *ci-devant* Venetian isles in the Adriatic, the mouths of Cattaro, the city of Venice, the channels and the countries comprised between the hereditary states of his Majesty the Emperor and King, the Adriatic Sea, and a line which, issuing from the Tyrol, shall follow the torrent in front of Gardola, and traverse the lake of Garda, as far as Lacise, whence a military line, offering equal advantages to both parties, shall be marked out by officers of engineers, named on both sides, before the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty. The line of limitation shall afterwards pass the Adige at Langiacomo, and follow the left bank of that river to the mouth of the Canal-Blanc, comprising that part of Porto-Legnago which is on the left bank of the Adige, with a circular district of three thousand toises diameter. The line shall proceed by the left bank of the Canal-Blanc, by the left bank of the Tartaro, by the left bank of the canal called Polifella, as far as its entrance into the Po, and by the left bank of the Great Po, as far as the sea.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor and King renounces for ever, with respect to himself and his successors, all the rights, and titles arising out of those rights, which his said Majesty might assert over the countries possessed by him before the war, that now make part of the Cisalpine Republic.

Republic, which Republic shall possess them in entire sovereignty, with all the territorial effects belonging to them.

VIII. His Majesty the Emperor and King acknowledges the Cisalpine Republic as an independent power. This Republic comprehends the *ci-devant* Austrian Lombardy, the Bergamasque, the Brescian, the Cremasque, the city and fortress of Mantua, Peschiera, that part of the *ci-devant* Venetian states which is to the west and south of the line pointed out in Article VI, for the frontier of the states of his Majesty the Emperor in Italy; the Modenois, the principality of Massa and Carara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna.

IX. In all the countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged by the present treaty, there shall be granted to all the inhabitants and proprietors of every sort a removal of the sequestrations laid upon their property, effects, and revenues, on account of the war between his Imperial and Royal Majesty and the French Republic, and they shall not be disturbed, with respect to it, in their effects or persons. Those who may wish to quit, for the future, the said countries, shall be obliged to make a declaration to that effect three months after the publication of the said treaty. They shall then have the term of three years to sell their effects, moveable or immovable, or to dispose of them at their pleasure.

X. Debts for which the soil of the countries ceded, acquired, or exchanged by this treaty shall be mortgaged, are the debts of those to whom the countries remain.

XI. The navigation of those parts of the rivers and canals which serve

as limits between the territories of his Majesty and those of the Cisalpine Republic shall be free, so that neither party can establish any toll, or maintain any vessel armed for war; but this article does not exclude the precautions necessary to the safety of the fortresses of Porto-Legnago.

XII. All sales and alienations made, and all engagements contracted, either by the cities or by the government, or by the civil and administrative authorities, of the *ci-devant* Venetian countries, for the maintenance of the German and French armies, up to the date of the signing of the present treaty, shall be confirmed and regarded as valid.

XIII. The titles and archives of the different countries ceded or exchanged by the present treaty, shall be delivered within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, to the powers which have acquired the property of them. The plans and charts of the fortresses, cities, and countries, which the contracting parties acquire by the present treaty, shall be also faithfully delivered to them. The military papers and registers taken in the present war, shall be delivered to the Etat-Majors of the respective armies.

XIV. The two contracting parties, equally animated with the desire of removing whatsoever might injure the good intelligence happily established between them, engage themselves, in the most solemn manner, to contribute every thing in their power to maintain the interior tranquillity of their respective states.

XV. A treaty of commerce shall be speedily concluded upon an equitable basis, and such as shall assure

sure to his Majesty and the French Republic, advantages equal to those enjoyed in their respective states by the most favoured nations. In the mean time all the communications and commercial relations shall be re-established upon the footing on which they were before the war.

XVI. No inhabitant of the countries occupied by the Austrian or French armies can be prosecuted, either in his person or his property, for his opinions, or his civil, military, or commercial actions, during the war between the two powers.

XVII. His Majesty the Emperor and King cannot, consistently with the principles of neutrality, receive in any of his ports, during the present war, more than six vessels of war belonging to either of the belligerent powers.

XVIII. His Majesty the Emperor and King obliges himself to cede to the Duke of Modena, as an indemnity for the countries hitherto belonging to that prince and his heirs in Italy, the Brisgaw, which he shall possess under the same conditions as those in virtue of which he possessed the Modenois.

XIX. The landed and personal property of their Royal Highnesses the Archduke Charles and the Archduchess Christina, not previously alienated, and which are situate in the territory ceded to the Republic, shall be restored to them, on the condition that they shall be sold within three years.

The same terms shall be observed with respect to the landed and personal property of his Royal Highness the Archduke Ferdinand, in the territory of the Cisalpine Republic.

XX. A Congress shall be held at Rastadt, composed solely of the Ple-

nipotentiaries of the Germanic Empire, and of the French Republic, to conclude a pacification between those powers. This congress shall be opened within one month after the conclusion of the present treaty, or sooner if possible.

XXI. All the prisoners of war made on either side, and the hostages taken or given during the war, and which have not yet been restored, shall be given up within forty days from the signature of the present treaty.

XXII. The contributions, deliveries, furnishings, and seizures of every hostile description, which have taken place in the respective states of the contracting powers, shall cease from the day the ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged.

XXIII. His Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and the French Republic, shall preserve between them the same ceremonial, as to rank and other etiquettes, as was constantly observed before the war. His aforesaid Majesty and the Cisalpine Republic, shall observe the same ceremonial as prevailed between his Majesty aforesaid and the Republic of Venice.

XXIV. The present treaty of peace is declared to be in common with, and to be extended to the Batavian Republic.

XXV. The present treaty shall be ratified by his Majesty the Emperor and the French Republic, within the space of thirty days from the present day, or sooner, if possible, and the acts of ratification, in due form, shall be exchanged at Rastadt.

Concluded and signed at Campo
Formia, near Udina, on the
17th of October, 1797, (the
26th

26th Vendemiaire) in the sixth year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE, the Marquis DI GALLO, LOUIS Compté COBENZEL, the Compt DE MERVELDT, General Major; and the Baron DE DEGELMANN.

The Executive Directory decrees and signs the present treaty of peace made with his Majesty the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, negotiated in the name of the French Republic by the Citizen Buonaparte, Commander in Chief of the army of Italy, provided with powers by the Executive Directory, and charged with their instructions for this purpose.

Rescript addressed to his Excellency M. de Falkenberg, Directorial Minister of Austria at Ratisbon, on the Part of his Majesty the Emperor and King, dated Feb. 7, 1797.

HIS Majesty the Emperor and King, in beholding the prodigious efforts of an enemy who, according to his irreligious and artful system, permits himself all possible means to ensure success, and considering the hazards attending the fate of arms, has always endeavoured to make the states understand how impossible it would be for him, without the most efficacious assistance of the whole empire, to resist alone the danger which threatens the constitution of the Germanic body with its ruin, and the individual members of the empire with the entire loss of their possessions.

The existence of this impending

danger had plainly enough manifested itself, when one of the most powerful states of the empire abandoned the common cause, to conclude with the enemy a peace which, as it is conjectured, contains secret conventions that cannot but be far from favourable to the integrity of the Germanic empire.

These apprehensions and alarms gained an additional weight when several Protestant princes and states of the empire, following the aforesaid example, and, in the midst of a war deliberated by one common accord, did not hesitate to cease co-operating in the defence of the Germanic empire, their country, by acknowledging and admitting the line of demarcation and neutrality. The danger becoming greater every day, his Majesty several times apprised the states of the empire of it, and above all the ecclesiastical states: he strove to persuade them, that their farther existence was threatened; that there were forging secretly plans of secularization; and that, according to appearances, it was intended not to assign any sort of indemnity to the ecclesiastical states, and to force the Germanic empire, divided and incapable of defending itself, to accept this sacrifice as the principal basis of the conditions of peace, with the concurrence of the French forces, united with the Protestant power dependent on Prussia.

Notwithstanding the accuracy of these representations on the part of his Majesty, they did not however wish to own and be convinced of them till now; and by a mistaken œconomy they would not recur to the only means of salvation proposed by his Majesty, which were to oppose the enemy with all the possible forces of the state. At present,
since

since the projects which the enemies themselves have manifested, have transpired by the negotiations of peace entered upon at Paris and rendered public, no person will doubt the apprehensions of his Majesty having been perfectly well-founded, that the secularization of the different ecclesiastical states of the empire still continues to make part of the enemy's destructive plan; and that, in consequence, the admonitions of his Majesty, and his proclamation, particularly to the ecclesiastical states, to unite themselves as closely as possible with him, were well worthy of their taking the trouble to reflect upon them in time.

The ecclesiastical states cannot have failed to observe, after an attentive examination of the negotiations for peace opened at Paris, that his Majesty would not acquiesce in the plans prejudicial to the empire; that he has each time constantly rejected them, and that he has manifested that he would not accept of indemnities at the expence of the faithful and patriotic states of the empire; that, on the contrary, he was resolved rather to hazard all, and to make his last efforts, than be forced to it.

His Majesty expects that, in the face of the imminent and pressing danger which menaces the ecclesiastical states, the electorates, the principalities, and the other states of the empire, they will have nothing more at heart than to deliberate among themselves upon the means of forming a close union with the august house of Austria, and of giving succour to his Majesty in every possible manner, by using all the forces, all the means, which are in their power, and to strengthen his Majesty in the gene-

rous resolution of defending with vigour, both during the war and at the conclusion of peace, the rights and the cause of the ecclesiastical states and the country.

In this confident expectation, the Directorial Archducal embassy of Austria shall positively demand, that the contingents of all the states of the empire which expect any farther assistance from the imperial and royal court, be furnished as speedily as possible, complete, according to the quintuple proportion, and provided with all the military stores, as likewise the discharge of the arrears still due in Roman months, &c. in order that, at the opening of the ensuing campaign, where it will be required to act with all possible vigour, we may ascertain in due season the effective amount of the troops that will be employed, as well as the other auxiliary means for the vigorous prosecution of the war.

Imperial Rescript to the Diet of Ratisbon, respecting the furnishing of the Quintuple Contingents.

HIS Majesty, the Emperor and King, has not ceased to endeavour to convince the states of the empire during the present war, that the vigorous support of the united empire is required to avert the danger which threatens the Germanic constitution with total subversion. This danger became the more manifest, since several princes of the empire entered into separate negotiations with the French republic, and by so doing exempted themselves from all further active co-operation for the defence of Germany. The apprehensions which his Imperial Majesty

ty has so frequently expressed, that, to all appearances, there would be proposed plans for secularizing several ecclesiastical states of the empire as fundamental terms of peace, have been confirmed by the negotiations lately entered into at Paris; and the ecclesiastical states of the empire cannot but have remarked his Majesty's total aversion to consent to a plan so destructive to the empire, and to an indemnity at the expence of his patriotic co-states; and that his Imperial Majesty would rather venture every extreme than suffer such conditions to be forced upon him.

His Majesty, therefore, expects, on the other hand, that as the danger becomes hourly more imminent, the states of the empire will most speedily unite, and by exerting their utmost efforts, procure all possible aid and support, in order to second his Imperial Majesty in the generous resolution of defending, in the most efficient manner, the cause of the ecclesiastical states of the empire, both in war and at the conclusion of peace. To attain, however, this salutary end, the furnishing of the quintuple contingent is an object of immediate necessity.

BARON VON THUGOT.

Vienna, Feb. 6, 1797.

Declaration of the Prince Bishop of Wurtzburgh, in Answer to the Imperial Rescript.

HIS Serene Highness the Prince Bishop of Wurtzburgh entered into the present war on the principle of exerting all his powers to satisfy in the most scrupulous manner the conclusion of the empire respecting the furnishing of the contingents and of the Roman months. His

Serene Highness has long been convinced, that, had the French government succeeded, agreeable to the tenor and the views of the treaty of Basil, to force the Imperial court on the banks of the Danube to make peace, the consequence would have been the overthrow of the Germanic constitution, which must have been subscribed to in that case; the ecclesiastical elective states would also have fallen, and by their fall that of other states would have been prepared.

His Serene Highness has never sanctioned any unconstitutional measure with his consent; he has supported at all times the common cause with all his power, and will also strive in future to prove his unchangeable attachment to the House of Austria. No arrears for Roman months are therefore due from his Highness. And in order to complete his quintuple contingent, a considerable levy of recruits has already been ordered, and will take the field, provided with all necessaries, at the beginning of this campaign. His Highness has supplied the Imperial army with fruits, to the amount of 648,205 florins; with wood, worth 51,131 florins; waggons, at the rate of 20,753; which, including some other articles of expenditure, will occasion a loss of 300,000 florins for the diocese of Wurtzburgh alone.

In other respects, his Highness the Prince Bishop is convinced, that there actually exists in Germany a powerful confederation of the protestant princes, who have resolved beforehand, to do nothing more to serve the common cause; but his Highness has no doubt that, on the other hand, all the Catholic, especially

especially the ecclesiastical elective princes, unanimously agree in the main point of doing every thing for the common cause, and are already united with the Imperial court; his Highness, at least, owns such a connexion for his own part, and is prepared to suffer all the vicissitudes which this covenant may hereafter produce, and which cannot but turn out to be consolatory and remunerating to the fortitude and the pure policy of the Imperial court. His Highness, with the rest of his ecclesiastical co-states, is ready to enter into a more explicit and confidential engagement with his Imperial Majesty upon that subject, which he expects with gratitude.

Wurtzburgh, Feb. 15, 1797.

Note delivered by M. de Weckasovich, Chargé d'Affaires of Russia to the Electoral Circle, and that of the Upper Rhine.

ALTHOUGH, in the actual circumstances, the Emperor, my august master, thinks it not necessary to put the resolution of the late Empress, his august mother, into execution,—his Imperial Majesty will nevertheless not remain less faithful and inviolably attached to the alliances and obligations entered into in respect to the present war; and his Majesty is firmly resolved to support them in all their integrity.

The considerations, the interest, and solicitude which the Emperor will ~~not cease to take~~ for the well-being of the German empire, can but determine his Majesty to exhort the states and members composing that body, to act in common concert with his Majesty the Roman Emperor, and to fulfil towards their

supreme head, those duties which the constitution has prescribed, and on which the salvation and tranquillity of the empire depends.

Jan. 11, 1797.

Letter of Convocation addressed to the Plenipotentiary Envoys of the Associated States of Northern Germany, by Von Dohn, the Prussian Minister.

THE undersigned is charged, by the express command of the King of Prussia, his most gracious Sovereign, to make the following overtures to all their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of the Associated States of Northern Germany, delegated to assemble in convention at Hildersheim. The general concerns of Germany, with regard to the continuance of the war, still remain in a most undecided condition, and the consolatory hope of a general peace, so devoutly to be wished, remains as yet uncertain and remote to the last degree, since the negotiations entered upon for that purpose may, alas! produce a farther and more obstinate war, rather than bring about its final conclusion. In this perplexing situation, it certainly is a happiness which Northern Germany cannot sufficiently praise, to see itself entirely freed, not only from the miseries of this ravaging war, but also from all the inconveniences connected with it, such as the requisitions of the belligerent powers, the passage and marches of troops, and many other similar burdens. It needs but a slight comparative glance at the most piteous state of the countries of Southern Germany, formerly flourishing, and now ruined for a long time to come, in order to feel, in its whole extent, the happiness

of the northern parts, which have, for the two last campaigns, enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity.

The King is fully convinced, that it can be unknown to none of his co-states, who participate in this blessing, that it is the mere result of the indefatigable exertions of his Majesty, by which he has laid a safe foundation for the neutrality of Northern Germany, and most effectively protected it by a corps of his own troops, and of those of the two allied courts. His Majesty has further consolidated this neutrality, by the formal accession of his Serene Highness the Elector of Saxony, in virtue of a supplementary article added to the convention of the 5th of August, 1796, by which a line of demarcation, extending from the utmost coasts of the North Sea to the Lower Rhine, and from thence to Silesia, encompassed the whole north of Germany. The two associations in this vast extent of territory must remain separate, with respect to the maintenance of the troops drawn out to cover their neutrality, which is done in Upper Saxony by a corps belonging to the Elector himself; but with regard to their common design, they join hands, and by this enlargement, effected by his Majesty, the neutrality of Northern Germany receives a new and manifest importance.

The King is likewise firmly resolved to secure farther, and until the conclusion of the war, the full enjoyment of the neutrality to all the associated states, to protect them and their territories against every power, and to defend them in particular, at all times, and in the most effectual and powerful manner, against the incursions of the troops of the belligerent powers, against

each and every demand of military requisitions, of whatever sort, and the levying of those requisitions which might be attempted by execution, and against all similar burdens of war; likewise to screen them by his most forcible interposition, during the period of this neutrality, from all the subsequent demands of supplies for the war of the empire.

The undersigned is expressly instructed to give once more these definite and explicit assurances. It affords infinite pleasure to his Majesty to have thus secured the invaluable benefits of the neutrality to all his co-states, connected with his dominions by their topographical locality; in the same manner as it has been done to his own territories, and to have thus given them so strong a proof of his friendly sentiments. Besides the gratifying consciousness of having hitherto accomplished this happy end, his Majesty requires no other proof of gratitude on the part of his co-states, than that they should continue, as heretofore, to co-operate in the maintenance of the troops. The King flatters himself the more to find the most perfect readiness on their part, since the burden which will arise from this measure to the countries thus protected, does not bear the most distant comparison with the manifold evils, and the probable and entire ruin averted from them, especially since the two courts allied with his Majesty, and furnishing troops in a like manner, make the major part of the sacrifices required for that end. This latter circumstance must strike all the associated states with the most perfect conviction that the continuance of those measures will not be prolonged a single moment beyond the

the period of their indispensable necessity. But the undersigned has his Majesty's direct commands to declare, in the most positive manner, that his Majesty deems the continuance of those measures absolutely necessary for the present, as he will only find himself enabled by the corps of troops which is drawn out, covering the line of demarcation, maintaining farther, in the most efficacious manner, the neutrality of the countries situate within their precincts, to fulfil the promises previously given. Yet in this he will not commit himself respecting those very possible events which accompany the vicissitudes of the fortune of war. But whereas the King is under the necessity of setting boundaries to the great sacrifices he has already made; and whereas the concurrence farther demanded of the protected countries for the maintenance of the troops who defend them, is so extremely just and equitable, the undersigned has also express orders herewith to declare, that in the unexpected case of the majority of the states not displaying the necessary zeal and alacrity, his Majesty will forthwith withdraw his troops, renounce entirely all the obligations which he has voluntarily taken upon him from motives of patriotism; suppress totally the convention made for that purpose with the French Republic, and confine himself solely to the defence of his own dominions, abandoning all the rest to their own means and resources, and making known his intention to the belligerent powers. Should such a resolution once be taken, and the corps be withdrawn, no circumstance, of what complexion soever, shall induce his Majesty to recur a-

gain to the adoption of similar measures; and the undersigned is obliged to announce before-hand, that his Majesty will at no rate interest himself again in the fate of those of his co-states who shall not now accept of the friendly proffer of protection, made with so much friendship, and so many personal sacrifices.

The coldness which has for some time past been manifested from various quarters, respecting the maintenance of the troops, has induced his Majesty to authorise the undersigned to make this frank and explicit declaration, and to give the well-meant warning not to suffer themselves to be deceived by the hope of a speedy peace, but rather to rely upon the sufficiently public-spirited and patriotic sentiments of the King, and his Majesty's knowledge of the general situation of public affairs, and to entertain the firm confidence that his Majesty would certainly, and with great pleasure to his co-states, save the burdens required by the maintenance of the troops, if there was the least possibility of securing to their territories the benefits of the neutrality, and all the advantages which have hitherto accrued from it, without such a measure.

That, however, the saving of the burdens occasioned by the maintenance of the troops, according to the general situation of affairs, being impossible, and his Majesty deeming it absolutely necessary to preserve the corps of observation till the conclusion of a peace, if the tranquillity and neutrality of Northern Germany are to be maintained, his Majesty doubts not but all his associated co-states will shew their readiness for that purpose, in
the

the maintenance of the troops, display proper zeal in a measure so closely connected with self-preservation, and render practicable the farther execution of the beneficent designs of his Majesty.

With this confidence, the undersigned, by supreme command, has the honour to make known to you, &c. &c.

[Here follow two articles, specifying the supplies to be granted, for three months longer, in flour, oats, hay, and straw, for the Prussian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick troops, at two different periods, viz. the 15th instant, and the 1st of April. In order to secure the subsistence of the troops in future, the states of Northern Germany are to meet in convention at Hildesheim on the 20th instant, or to send Plenipotentiaries to regulate the quotas of supplies, in necessities or in money, for as long as the war may last.]

As those deliberations (in convention at Hildesheim) will preclude all subjects not essentially and directly relating to the maintenance of the troops, the undersigned will lose no time to terminate them with the utmost speed, and not to detain the Plenipotentiaries a moment longer than shall be necessary from following their other affairs. The flattering confidence with which the undersigned has hitherto been honoured in the late negotiations, makes him equally confident that his zeal and activity will be entirely depended upon in that business. He has only most urgently to request that, for the sake of dispatch, the states may furnish their Plenipotentiaries with full instructions for the purpose, which has been thus plainly notified, in order

not to waste time in sending for new ones, but that the necessary resolutions may be taken, not only for the farther substantial regulation of the maintenance, but for the obligatory assent to the same to the end of the war.

The undersigned has it likewise in command to request, that their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries may arrange matters in such a manner as not to quit the convention till the state of affairs shall permit its suspension or conclusion, since the gradual departure of many Plenipotentiaries has formerly occasioned a precipitate suspension of the first convention, which has been highly prejudicial to the dispatching of business. His Majesty will also consider the fulfilment of this wish, and the infallible meeting of the convention, according as it is expected to meet, as a gratifying proof that his serene co-states wish to do justice to his efforts and sacrifices.

And the undersigned also looks forward for the desired answer respecting the fourth sending of supplies, before the expiration of the present month; and hopes to have the honour and pleasure to see again their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries at the second opening of the convention, on February 20.

(Signed) DONM.

Halberstadt, Jan. 4, 1797.

Cleves, 14 Nivose (Jan. 3).

The Administrators of the Cantons of Cleves and Xanten to the Inhabitants of the said Cantons.

Citizens,

THE director-general of the conquered countries between the

the Meuse and the Rhine, having the entire administration of those countries, could not see without the greatest surprise the order of the Royal Chamber of War and Domains of Wesel, and of the regency of Emmerick, dated the 29th of December (O. S.), which forbids the cutting down of wood sold, under the penalty of restitution and reprisal.

We should be essentially wanting in the discharge of our duties and obedience, if we suffered other authorities to interfere in the administrative affairs of our cantons, without having previously received a formal order from our superiors.

You have seen several times ordinances emanating from those authorities; you have seen also that the French government has not, on that account, discontinued the direction of Prussian as well as of other countries. Do not doubt that they will still continue it; you will, perhaps, be convinced of it when you shall pay attention to the manner in which the ordinances have been communicated. We appeal to the members of those chambers, if a foreign authority were to intimate orders to them, would not they say, with reason, "We have a sovereign; it is only to him that we owe obedience;" and would not they continue their functions without paying any attention to the order? We are therefore, determined, citizens, to maintain with firmness all the operations undertaken, or to be undertaken, in the name of the government which we represent, and to punish exemplarily all those who shall shew any disobedience in any manner whatever. But you have already given us sufficient marks of your obedience to make us believe that

we shall not be forced to have recourse to such extremities.

(Signed) WASSEINEL. SEIDA

Declaration published by the Prussian Government at Wesel.

THE Royal Chamber of War and Domains has learned, with surprise, from several quarters on the other side of the Rhine, that the French agents insist not only upon the payment of the first instalment of the contribution of 3,000,000, but that a fixed number of men are also to be put in requisition, to cut down the wood destined to be sold. And whereas an edict, published by the King's supreme command, in that part of the country, declares such a proceeding unlawful, and contrary to the treaty of peace concluded at Basle; the Magistrates of Xanten can by no means be farther authorised to make payments of a similar description, and to do actions directly in opposition to his Majesty's Royal intention. There is no doubt but the French agents, upon a maturer investigation of the matter, will be of the same opinion; and the magistrates of Xanten need to be the less afraid of compulsion by military execution, which would render the French agent responsible, since we are informed that the orders of the Directory at Paris, purporting that the Royal Prussian provinces shall be exempted from all farther requisitions and contributions, are already arrived at Aix la Chapelle.

(Signed) SEIMBURGER,
VON BERNOTH,
WULFING.

Done at Wesel, in the Royal Chamber of War and Domains, January 6th, 1797.

Z

Prussian

*Forming Provinces for the Prussian
Provinces, from the left Bank of
the Rhine.*

Art. I. ON the 1st Germinal, of the fifth year of the Republic (March 21, 1797) all the French administrations, under what denomination soever they may have been organized, shall entirely cease their functions. In order to replace them, and examine their operations, there shall be created an intermediate commission of five members, one of whom shall be perpetual president. The commission shall reside at Bonn.

II. The ancient constitution, usages, customs, laws, and contributions, shall be re-established at the above mentioned period, for the Prussian provinces on the left bank of the Rhine. Their magistracies, chambers of justice, and finances, shall resume, with full right, their functions. The clergy of all orders shall remain in the entire possession of their property; and no wood shall, under any pretence, be felled, without a special and explanatory order from the commander in chief of the French army, called of the Sambre and Meuse; be it however observed that, until farther orders, the authority of the Republic is the only one that ought to be acknowledged in the conquered countries.

III. The intermediate commission shall appoint a commissioner with the Prussian administrations, whose functions shall be to watch over the execution of the orders given, either by the commander in chief or by the commission, to receive and transmit to the commission the requests, either of the administrations or private individu-

als: to execute all the instructions he may happen to obtain, and to give information to the government respecting the conduct adopted by some of its former agents in the conquered countries.

IV. Immediately after the installation of the magistracies, which shall be certified by an authentic act (*procès verbal*) the chamber of finances of the Prussian provinces shall order the agents of the former administrations to give a detailed account of their operations, which it shall examine and forward to the intermediate commission, with such remarks as it shall think proper to add thereto.

V. The new magistrates shall correspond with the intermediate commission on such matters as relate to their administration; they shall address to the commission all the just requests which they may deem proper to form, and give every month a minute account of their conduct.

VI. The produce of the taxes of the said Prussian states, of which the mode of collection shall without delay be fixed, as well as the arrears due on the forced loan, shall be thrown, without any deduction, into the chest of the paymaster-general of the army, who will give proper receipts.

VII. By virtue of the execution of the preceding article, no requisition in money or provisions shall be made in the Prussian provinces. Should, however, the events of the war, or other circumstances, render necessary a supply of provisions or cattle; or should the want of specie oblige the persons paying contributions to acquit themselves in articles of daily consumption, the provisions shall be received at the prices hereafter

hereafter mentioned, and in defalcation of the taxes, namely, a quintal of wheat, nine livres; a quintal of rye, barley, or spelt, six livres; a sack of oats, of six Parisian bushels, six livres; a quintal of hay, two livres five sous; a quintal of straw, one livre; a pound of meat, four sous six deniers.

VIII. The members of the magisterial corporations, and the bailiffs, who, for any cause whatever, may have transferred their residence to, or preserved the same on the right bank of the Rhine, are authorised and invited to resume their charges. In case of the demise of any member of the chambers, tribunals, or bailiwicks, the intermediate commission is authorised to appoint to the vacant places, persons recommended as proper objects by the magistrates, who are to be immediately reinstalled.

These presents, corroborated with the seal of command, and delivered to the deputies of the Prussian provinces, have been resolved at Cologne, the 22d Ventose, 5th year of the Republic (March 12, 1797.)

The General commanding in chief the army of the Sambre and Meuse, charged by the Executive Directory with the general administration of the conquered countries.

(Signed) LAZARUS HOCHÉ.

Promulgated at Wesel,
March 18, 1797.

Edict published at Berlin.

*Frederic William, by the Grace of God,
King of Prussia, &c. &c.*

HAVING understood that the Aulic Council of Vienna have adopted, without ever consulting us, different measures, on the re-

quest of one party, and wholly to the advantage of the complainants, by which they have attacked us and our rights, and dissuaded our subjects from performing those obligations which they have contracted on oath with us, and have even formally summoned those of the Equestrian Order not to regard us as their Sovereign, — the measures which they have adopted, by printing and circulating them, to mislead our subjects, are,

1st. A mandate of the Aulic Council, dated March 17th, 1797, on the subject of the claims of the sovereignty of Brandenburg against the bishopric of Etchstadt. 2d. A *conclusum* of the Aulic Council, of the 23d March, concerning the pretensions of the sovereignty of Brandenburg against the Equestrian Order in Franconia. 3d. *Idem*, of the 8th of April, and against the imperial town of Welfschinbourg. 4th. *Idem*, March 5th, &c. against the Elector of Cologne, as Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. 5th. *Idem*, May 9th, &c. against the imperial town of Nuremberg.

Considering what the laws of the empire prescribe, we can by no means regard, nor will regard, these measures as legally valid and obligatory, but, on the contrary, we must consider them as real encroachments on our rights of sovereignty, and peculiarly prejudicial: we, in consequence, therefore, solemnly and seriously, by the present patent, advise and forewarn all those of the Equestrian Order who have hitherto belonged to the canton of the Equestrian Order of the empire, as also all other persons whose sovereigns belong to the Equestrian Order, or are neighbouring princes, not to swerve in the least degree from

from their duties as subjects: we assure them that our intention has never been to interfere with the oath which they have taken to their respective sovereigns; and we promise to protect them with all our power against every one. At the same time we would apprise all those who shall attempt to dissuade any subject from his due allegiance to us, that they will be prosecuted in the most rigorous manner.

FREDERIC GUILLAUME.

FENKILSTEIN ALVENSIEBEN.

HARDENBERG HAUGWITZ.

Given at Berlin, June 14, 1797.

Proclamation published at Nuremberg on the 4th July, 1797.

WHAT has taken place to-day* in the barracks, has induced a great part of the burghers and inhabitants of this city to take an active part in the event, without being invited by the magistrate;

and their conduct upon this occasion has produced the effect, that the plan formed by a detachment of Prussian troops, to drive the military of the city from their barracks, has completely failed. The senate is very far from misunderstanding the motives of this action. They are convinced that too animated a zeal for the just cause of this city, and too exalted a patriotism, have been generally the incitement. Although such motives deserve the general gratitude, yet the senate consider it as one of their duties, and think themselves obliged to forewarn these persons of the dangerous effects to which they are exposed by taking part, without being invited, in the events which did not demand their intervention.

The senate believe the burghers to be sufficiently enlightened, to be convinced themselves that the supreme head of the empire will support with suitable energy the just decree of the 9th May against the

* The third of July had been fixed upon by the Prussians as the last period for the evacuation of the barracks occupied by the Nuremberg troops upon the territory; to the possession of which they form pretensions. In case of refusal, force was to be employed; yet the voluntary evacuation did not take place. The garrison, consisting of eighty-eight men, had received orders to maintain their post, even if the last extremity were recurred to. On the third of July, a detachment of 310 Prussian hussars, grenadiers, fusiliers, and chasseurs, commanded by a Major, made their appearance. The gate of the barracks was forced, the garrison defended itself: an officer of Prussian grenadiers and four soldiers were wounded, and the attack failed. A truce of five hours was concluded, and in this interval fresh instructions from the senate were expected. At nine o'clock a capitulation was agreed upon, stating that the garrison should quit the barracks, drums beating, and with all the honours of war. The capitulation was, in fact, carried into execution; but as soon as it was made public, a violent ferment broke out among the citizens assembled; a great number armed themselves with all kinds of arms, and appeared determined to make use of them. The prudent conduct of the Prussian major prevented all disorder in this critical moment: he retired at ten o'clock with his detachment. A troop of armed populace afterwards demanded permission from the senate to drive away the Prussian garrison which was stationed under the gates of the two suburbs; but this demand was refused, and it was only permitted to the burghers to guard the gates conjointly with the Prussians. In the afternoon the magistrates published the above proclamation.

Prussian

Prussian regency, and which the senate have just rendered public; they invite them, in consequence, to wait quietly for the issue, and not to expose themselves and their families to danger by useless resistance, and a too exalted patriotic zeal.

The senate having thus satisfied the desire of the burghers, by confiding to them for a time the care of the gates, expect that they will remember the promise they have made to abstain from all excesses and precipitate steps, and leave entirely to the magistrate and supreme tribunal of the empire, the care of terminating this affair.

Substance of a Letter addressed by the Elector of Saxony to his Majesty the King of Prussia, relative to the late Differences subsisting between that Monarch and his Neighbours in Franconia.

FAR from meaning to decide upon, or to call in question the validity of the pretensions of your Majesty to the rights of sovereignty, which, in later times, have been enjoyed by several of your neighbours in Franconia, reputed, in consequence, to be members of the Equestrian Order of the empire, I think it my duty to suppose, from the known equity of your Majesty, that you will not determine to assume these rights without impartially examining your pretensions, and that all the steps which are taken respecting the principalities of Franconia have been directed by justice, and a desire to pave a way (for you and your electoral house, and for the advantage of the subjects of Franconia, suffering from the differences that have arisen re-

specting the sovereignty) which may lead to a distinct and amicable conciliation of all their respective rights. Your Majesty, however, is too enlightened not to be convinced, that, after all the laws which have been made, pretensions to rights which are not united with the possession must be previously referred to the judge, and decided, in order to be able to come at the enjoyment of them; and that the arbitrary deposing of him who is actually in possession, cannot be approved by any one. In truth, it cannot be doubted, that if your Majesty had employed measures of negotiation with the different powers, it was much to be feared that the business would not have been speedily terminated and arranged. But this consideration was not sufficient to set you above all the laws against arbitrary power, which are so salutary in themselves, and so interwoven with the spirit of the Germanic constitution. We can no longer accuse the supreme tribunals of the empire with partiality and injustice: if they exercise their functions agreeably to the laws by which they should be guided, and if they apply them to the actions and conduct of your Majesty, the consequences which will result from it will be felt. Your Majesty has been revered with reason by a great part of the empire, as one of the first defenders of the constitution; and what matter of affliction will it not be for every state of the empire torn from the country, if that confidence, which is founded upon veneration, is weakened by the new steps taken in Franconia! I leave to your Majesty's wisdom to decide, whether these premature steps will not lead them to form very cu-

ricus notions of the Germanic association, whose founders had for their principal object the support of the laws of the empire, and the preservation of its constitution? Upon the seizure of the county of Schaumbourg by Hesse, your Majesty testified that a member of that association would draw upon him the reproaches of the whole body, if he attempted to dispossess a co-estate of the empire without having recourse to a judicial process. I confess that that differed in several particulars from the present case; but they are similar in respect to the arbitrary procedure in both cases. It is satisfactory for me to learn, that after having concluded an arrangement with different states, your Majesty hopes that the same thing will take place with neighbouring states. I consider the speedy fulfilment of this prospect as the only means of preventing those consequences which will follow from a juridical information if the difference cannot otherwise be accommodated. After all these considerations, and conformably to the sentiments of friendship and veneration which I feel for your Majesty, I intreat you to employ ultimately the most proper means for effecting an equitable arrangement with the states of the empire, and to remove every thing which looks like being unconstitutional in your conduct to these states.

Madrid, March 1st.

Proclamation of the King of Spain.

THE glory of my crown and the honour of my people, with the government of whom I have been entrusted by Divine Provi-

dence, and the interest I take in defending their rights, and in obtaining a just satisfaction for the insults they have sustained by the English, by a notable infraction of the most solemn treaties, founded upon the reciprocal utility of both states, obliged me, contrary to my pacific intentions, to enter into a new war, when hardly disengaged from that which I had maintained against the French republic, which terminated in an honourable peace that secured the tranquillity and happiness of my faithful subjects. But to consolidate this important benefit, and to contribute to the repose of which Europe stood so much in need, I find myself under the indispensable necessity of entering into new engagements, which require an enormous expence and immense provision.—As it has ever been my principal object to unite the high dignity of my crown with the good of my subjects, already so much oppressed by the weight of the public revenue as scarcely to admit of any new imposts, I have not availed myself of the power with which I am invested, nor adopted any of the means pointed out to me as capable of producing the desired effect; being persuaded that, on the contrary, it would be more convenient to adopt other measures, which may greatly facilitate the necessary succours, such as the re-establishment of the loan upon the revenue of tobacco, created by my august predecessor, according to a royal decree of December 17, 1782, and conformable to my edict of December 10, 1794, which will effectually unite the necessities of the state with the good of individuals, of which it is composed. The return of the capital
having

having the most advantageous security, will tend to insure the future subsistence of families, without the risk to which money might be exposed when at the arbitrary disposal of inexperienced and dissipated youth—I have therefore resolved to open the above loan for the term of one year, reckoning from the 1st of January, 1797, with the liberty of continuing the same as I may find it convenient.

(Signed)

I THE KING.

Abstract of a Proclamation issued by the Court of Spain, relative to the Prohibition of English Merchandize.

THE first article prohibits the importation into Spain of all British goods and manufactures, and likewise of all articles that have been conveyed to any port of Great Britain, and subject to a duty, under any pretence whatever.

The fourth article enjoins all persons who have English goods in their possession, to deliver an account of the same within fifteen days after the date of the proclamation, and grants six months for the sale of the goods specified in the inventory. Those that neglect to make a declaration within the period abovementioned, are informed by the fifth article that the goods will be confiscated.

The sixth article states, that such prohibited goods as shall not be disposed of in the space of six months allowed for that purpose, shall be sold by public auction in lots. The price of each article cannot exceed the price of the same kind of goods

before the war: the value shall, therefore, be ascertained before the sale.

The merchants who may not have had an opportunity to dispose of all the British merchandise in their possessions, and who may not choose to have the residue sold in the manner stated in the preceding article, will be permitted to send them to Cadiz, whence they may export them to the West Indies.

The English merchandise that may be imported subsequent to the proclamation, shall be confiscated, together with the ships or other vehicles by which they were conveyed. The carriers of these goods, if it should be proved in evidence that they acted with intent to evade this proclamation, shall be imprisoned for the term of eight years.

The fourteenth article provides, that, three months after the publication of the royal schedule, no merchandise shall be received in the ports of Spain from foreign parts without the magistrate's or inspector's certificate resident at the place whence they have been exported. The certificates must specify the quality and quantity of the goods, the materials of which they were fabricated, and likewise that they have not been manufactured in, or paid any duties to England.

The twentieth article mentions, that, as many articles of English manufacture are imitated with the greatest exactness in France, the utmost care is to be observed by the collectors of the duties, that goods of French manufacture may not experience any diminution in the demand in Spain.

The twenty-second article relates to the regulations with respect to
Z 4 British

British merchantmen who may be forced into Spanish ports through stress of weather.

The twenty-third and succeeding article mentions, that the former regulations will be observed with respect to English property taken and carried into Spain by Spanish or French privateers.

Imperial Ukasa, or Edict, issued at Petersburgh, respecting the Importation of French and Dutch Merchandize.

Paul I. by the Grace of God, Emperor and sole Governor of all the Russias, &c.

We do most graciously ordain,

1. **T**HE importation of all French wines, without exception, also salad-oils of Provence, olives, capers, anchovies, to be freely permitted in all our harbours in neutral bottoms.

2. French and Spanish brandy is only permitted to be imported by neutral ships in those harbours which are specified in the ukasa of the 11th of December, 1784, and to which we add the ports of Liebau and Windau.

3. The duties on wine, oils, &c. shall be taken from the tariff of September 27, 1782, till a new one shall appear; and the duty on French brandy shall be regulated

agreeably to the ukasa of November 25, 1793.

4. The ukasa of the 8th of April, 1793, shall be strictly observed, as far as it forbids the importation of various French goods, and of others which are mere objects of luxury; as likewise all communication with the French until a lawful government and order of things shall have been introduced into that country; the certificates of Consul or Government, ordained by the said ukasa, shall also no longer be demanded in the future importation of French goods, except for such articles for which some duties are to be remitted.

Done at St. Petersburgh, January 22, 1797.

SECOND UKASA.

Paul I. &c.

WE do hereby most graciously permit the free importation, in all our harbours, of such Dutch goods as are not prohibited in the tariff or ukasa, provided such importation takes place in ships belonging to neutral powers. Those goods are to pay the duties prescribed by the tariff of September 27, 1782, till a new tariff shall be published.

Done at St. Petersburgh, January 22, 1797.

CHARACTERS.

CHARACTERS.

MR. BURKE'S WILL.

The Last Will and Testament of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke. Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

IF my dear son and friend had survived me, any will would have been unnecessary; but since it has pleased God to call him to himself before his father, my duty calls upon me to make such a disposition of my worldly affairs as seems to my best judgment most equitable and reasonable: therefore I, Edmund Burke, of the parish of St. James, Westminster, although suffering under sore and inexpressible affliction, being of sound and disposing mind, and not affected by any bodily infirmity, do make my Last Will and Testament in manner following:

First. According to the ancient, good, and laudable custom, of which my heart and understanding recognize the propriety, I bequeath my soul to God, hoping for his mercy through the only merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. My body I desire, if I should die in any place very convenient for its transport thither (but not otherwise) to be buried in the church at Beaconsfield, near to the bodies of my dearest brother and my dearest son, in all humility praying, that as we have lived in perfect amity toge-

ther, we may together have a part in the resurrection of the just.—I wish my funeral to be (without any punctiliousness in that respect) the same as that of my brother, and to exceed it as little as possible in point of charge, whether on account of my family, or of any others who would go to a greater expence; and I desire, in the same manner, and with the same qualifications, that no monument beyond a middle-sized tablet, with a small and simple inscription on the church-wall, or on the flag-stone, be erected. I say this, because I know the partial kindness to me of some of my friends; but I have had in my lifetime but too much of noise and compliment.—As to the rest, it is uncertain what I shall leave after the discharge of my debts, which, when I write this, are very great. Be that as it may, my will concerning my worldly substance is short. As my entirely beloved, faithful, and affectionate wife did, during the whole time in which I lived (most happily with her) take on her the charge and management of my affairs, assisted by her son, whilst God was pleased to lend him to us, and did conduct them (often in a state of much derangement and embarrassment) with a patience and prudence which probably have no example, and thereby left my mind free to prosecute my public duty,

or my studies, or to indulge in my relaxations, or to cultivate my friends at my pleasure; so on my death I wish things to continue as substantially as they have always been.—I therefore by this, my last and only will, devise, leave, and bequeath to my entirely beloved and incomparable wife, Jane Mary Burke, the whole real estate of which I shall die seised, whether lands, rents, or houses, in absolute fee-simple; as also all my personal estate, whether stock, furniture, plate, money, or securities for money, annuities for lives or years, be the said estate of what nature, quality, or extent or description it may, to her sole uncontrouled possession and disposal, as her property, in any manner which may seem proper to her to possess or to dispose of the same, whether it be real or personal estate, by her last will, or otherwise; it being my intention that she may have as clear and uncontrouled a right and title thereto and therein as I possess myself, as to the use, expenditure, sale, or devise. I hope these words are sufficient to express the absolute, unconditioned, and unlimited right of complete ownership I mean to give to her to the said lands and goods; and I trust that no words of surplusage, or ambiguity, may vitiate this my clear intention. There are no persons who have a right, or, I believe, a disposition to complain of this bequest which I have duly weighed and made, on a proper consideration of my duties, and the relations in which I stand.—I also make my wife, Jane Mary Burke aforesaid, my sole executrix of this my last will, knowing that she will receive advice and assistance from her and my excellent friends Dr. Walker,

King, and Dr. Laurence, to whom I recommend her and her concerns, though that perhaps is needless, as they are as much attached to her as they are to me. I do it only to mark my special confidence in their affection, skill, and industry.—I wish that my dear wife may, as soon after my decease as possible—which, after what has happened, she will see with constancy and resignation—make her will, with the advice and assistance of the two persons I have named; but it is my wish also, that she will not think herself so bound up by any bequests she may make in the said will, and which, whilst she lives, can be only intentions, as not, during her life, to use her property with all the liberty I have given her over it, just as if she had written no will at all, but in every thing to follow the directions of her own equitable and charitable mind, and her own prudent and measured understanding.

Having thus committed every thing to her direction, I recommend, subject always to that discretion, that if I should not, during my life, give or secure to my dear niece Mary C. Harland, wife of my worthy friend Captain Harland, the sum of 3 thousand pounds, or an annuity equivalent to it, that she would bestow upon her that sum of money, or that annuity, conditioned and limited in such manner as she, my wife aforesaid, may think proper, by a devise in her will, or otherwise as she may find most convenient to the situation of her affairs, without pressure upon her during her life. My wife put me in mind of this, which I now recommend to her. I certainly, some years ago, gave my niece reason to expect it, but I was not
able

able to execute my intentions. If I do this in my life-time, this recommendation goes for nothing.

As to my other friends, relations, and companions through life, and especially to the friends and companions of my son, who were the dearest of mine, I am not unmindful of what I owe them. If I do not name them all here, and mark them with tokens of my remembrance, I hope they will not attribute it to unkindness, or to a want of a due sense of their merits towards me. My old friend and faithful companion, Will. Burke, knows his place in my heart. I do not mention him as executor or assistant. I know that he will attend to my wife; but I chose the two I have mentioned, as from their time of life of greater activity. I recommend him to them in the political world. I have made many connections, and some of them among persons of high rank. Their friendship from political became personal to me, and they have shewn it in a manner more than to satisfy the utmost demands that could be made from my love and sincere attachment to them. They are the worthiest people in the kingdom. Their intentions are excellent; and I wish them every kind of success. I bequeath my brother-in-law, John Nugent, and the friends in my poor son's list, which is in his mother's hands, to their protection. As to them, and to the rest of my companions, who constantly honoured and cheered our house as our inmates, I have put down their names in a list, that my wife should send the usual memorial of little mourning rings, as a token of my remembrance.

In speaking of my friends, to

whom I owe so many obligations, I ought to name, specially, Lord Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Portland, and the Lords Cavendishes, with the Duke of Devonshire, the worthy head of that family. If the intimacy which I have had with others has been broken off by a political difference on great questions, concerning the state of things existing and impending, I hope they will forgive whatever of general human frailty, or of my own particular infirmity, has entered into that contention; I heartily entreat their forgiveness. I have nothing further to say.

Signed and sealed, as my last will and testament, this 11th day of August, 1794, being written all with my own hand.

EDMUND BURKE, L. S.

In presence of DU PONT,
WILL. WEBSTER,
WALKER KING.

On reading over the above will, I have nothing to add, or essentially to alter; but one point may be wanted to be perfected and explained. In leaving my lands and hereditaments to my wife, I find that I have omitted the words which in deeds create an inheritance in law. Now, though I think them hardly necessary in a will, yet, to obviate all doubts, I explain the matter in a codicil which is annexed to this.

EDMUND BURKE.

Jan. 22d, 1797.

I, Edmund Burke, of the parish of Beaconsfield, in the county of Bucks, being of sound and disposing judgment and memory, make this my last will and testament, in no sort for revoking, but explaining and confirming a will made by me,

me, and dated the 11th of August, 1794, in which will I have left, devised, and bequeathed all my worldly property, of whatever nature and quality the same may be, whether lands tenements, houses, freehold or leasehold interests, pensions for lives or years, arrears of the same, legacies, or other debts due to me, plate, household stuff, books, stock in cattle and horses, and utensils of farming, and all other my goods and chattels, to my dear wife, J. M. Burke, in as full and perfect manner as the same might be devised, conveyed, or transferred to her by any act or instrument whatsoever, with such recommendations as in my will aforesaid are made, and with a wish that, in the discharge of my debts, the course hitherto pursued may be as nearly as possible observed; sensible, however, that, in payment of debt, no exact rule can be preserved. The same is therefore left at her discretion, with the advice of our friends, whom she will naturally consult.

The reason of making this will, or codicil to my former will, is from my having omitted in devising by that will my lands and hereditaments to my wife aforesaid, the full and absolute property thereof; and therein I have omitted the legal words of inheritance. Now I think those words, however necessary in a deed, are not so in a will; yet, to prevent all question, I do hereby devise all my lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as well as all my other property that may be subject to a strict rule of law in deeds, and which would pass, if left undevise, to my heirs. I say, I do devise the same lands, tenements, and hereditaments, to my wife Jane Mary Burke, and her heirs for ever, in

pure, absolute, and unconditional fee simple.

I have now only to recommend to the kindness of my Lord Chancellor, Lord Loughborough, to his Grace the Duke of Portland, to the Most Honourable the Marquis of Buckingham, to the Right Honourable William Wyndham, and to Dr. Laurence, of the Commons, and Member of Parliament, that they will, after my death, continue their protection and favour to the emigrant school at Perin; and will entreat, with a weight on which I dare not presume, the Right Honourable William Pitt to continue the necessary allowances which he has so generously and charitably provided for those unhappy children of meritorious parents; that they will superintend the same, which I wish to be under the more immediate care and direction of Dr. King and Dr. Laurence; and that they will be pleased to exert their influence to place the said young persons in some military corps, or other service, as may best suit their dispositions and capacities; praying God to bless their endeavours.

Signed and sealed, as a codicil to my will, or a confirmation and explanation thereof, agreeably to the note which some days ago I put to the end of it, this 29th of January, 1797.

EDMUND BURKE, L. S.

In presence of WALKER KING,
RICHARD BOURKE,
EDWARD NAGLE.

Proved at London, with a codicil, the 26th of July, 1797, before the Worshipful French Laurence, Doctor of Laws and Surrogate, by the oath of Jane Mary Burke, widow, the relict and sole

sole executrix, to whom administration was granted, having been first sworn duly to administer.

GEO. GOSTLING, } Dep.
Exd. NATH. GOSTLING, } Reg.
 R. C. CRESSWELL. }

July 24th, 1797.

Fires in Constantinople, and Conduct of the Turks at them.

From Dallaway's Travels in the Levant.

FIRES are so frequent, that few months pass without them, and they are generally so furious, that whole districts are laid in ashes.* Houses are so soon re-erected, that the former appearance of the streets is speedily restored, and little alteration is ever made in their form. Notice of a fire at Constantinople, or at Galata, is given by beating a great drum from two high towers; the night-watch then patrol the streets, striking the pavement with their staves shod with iron, and crying out *Yangen var*, — “There is a fire,” naming the place. The Sultan is then summoned three times, and when the conflagration has lasted one hour, he is forced to attend in person, and to bring mules with him laden with piastres, which he distributes with his own hands to the firemen, who are very inactive before his arrival. These are armed against accidents in the same manner as they are in London, and are equally expert and adventurous. Fires are extinguished by pulling down the adjoining houses, for the engines are very

small, and borne on the shoulders of two men.

The perfect resignation with which a good Musulman sees his house consumed by the flames, and himself reduced from affluence to poverty, has been often and justly remarked by others; he exclaims *Allah Karim*; that is, “God is merciful,” without apparent emotion, and has assured himself that the same Providence which hath made him poor and abject, can once more restore him to wealth, if it be his fate. As to the women, they have not the praise of such philosophy. They assemble in a group near the Sultan, and unmercifully load him with the bitterest revilings, particularizing his own crimes, and the errors of his government, and charging him with the cause of their present calamity. At such rencounters no crowned head need envy Sultan Selim his situation. As this is the only privileged time of conveying the voice of the people to his ears, and as women in Turkey say any thing with impunity, it is presumed that many of the fires are not accidental.

As a grand spectacle, detaching the idea of commiseration of the calamity from the present view, if a volcanic eruption be excepted, none can exceed a great fire at Constantinople. The houses being constructed with wood, and frequently communicating with magazines filled with combustible materials, a vast column of flame, of the most luminous glow, rises from the centre, which lighting up the mosques, and contiguous cypress-groves, produces an effect of superior magnificence. In other

* In 1633 seventy thousand houses were burnt; and in 1788 the conflagration was so extensive, as to threaten the universal destruction of the city.

cities where the buildings are of stone, the flames are seen partially, or are overpowered with smoke.

Of the Trade of Constantinople, the Coffee-houses, and Method of taking Opium.

From the same.

THE merchandise and trade of Constantinople are carried on principally in the khans, bazars, and bezestins, according to the custom of the east, each of which requires a summary description.

The khans* are spacious structures with quadrangles, erected by the munificence of the sultans, or some of the royal family, for the public benefit. They are entirely surrounded by a cloister and colonnade, into which numerous cells open, generally repeated for three stories, are built with stone, and fire-proof. Here the merchants from every part of the empire, who travel with caravans, are received with accommodations for themselves and their valuable traffic.

In the bazars are assembled dealers of each nation under the Turkish government, who have small shops in front, and a room behind, for their wares. These are very extensive cloisters of stone, lofty, and lighted by domes; are admirably adapted to the climate, and in summer are extremely cool. One, called the *Misr Charshé*, or Egyptian market, is set apart for the merchandise of Cairo, chiefly minerals and drugs, and is a great curiosity for the naturalist.

Other quarters are occupied by the working jewellers, where raw

jewels may be advantageously purchased; and by the booksellers, who have each his assortment of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian MSS. of which they do not always know the value, but demand a considerable price. The oriental scholar may here find MSS. equally beautiful and rare, as since the civil commotions in Persia, the most elegant books, taken in plunder, have been sent to Constantinople for sale, to avoid detection.

The staple articles of importation from England are cloth and block-tin, as the consumption of both is very great. English watches prepared for the Levant market, are more in demand than those of other Frank nations, and are one of the first articles of luxury that a Turk purchases or changes if he has money to spare.

The national character is here admirably discriminated; and to investigate it with success, no place offers such opportunities as these markets.

A stranger will wonder to see so many of their shops left open without a master or guard; but pilfering is not a Turkish vice.

He should be informed previously, that no article of commerce has a stated price; bargains must be made, and the basest imposition is counted fair gain. The Turk is fixed to his shop-board with his legs under him for many hours, and never relaxes into civility with his Frank customer, but from the hopes of advantage. One may venture to give him two thirds of his demand; but to those of other nations not more than half. The Greek, more

* The first khan was built by Ibrahim Khan, the Visier of Solyman I. who gave them a general name, synonymous with hotel.

pliant and prevaricating, praises his commodity beyond measure, and has generally to congratulate himself upon having outwitted the most cautious dealer. The Arminian, heavy and placid, is roused to animation only by the sight of money, which he cannot withstand. As for the Jew, everywhere a Jew, he is more frequently employed as a broker, a business which that people have had address enough to engross; and some acquit themselves with honesty and credit. Those of the lower sort are walking auctioneers, who tramp over the bazars, carry the goods with them, vociferating the price last offered. Each of these nations, which constitute the vast population of Constantinople, has a different mode of covering the head: a circumstance soon learned, and which renders the groupes of figures sufficiently amusing, as it breaks the sameness of their other dress. The Armenians, Jews, and the mechanical Greeks, usually wear blue, which the Turks consider as a dishonourable colour, and have their slippers of a dirty red leather.

The common trades are disposed all of one kind in single streets. Shoe-makers, farriers, and pipe-makers, with many others, occupy each their distinct district, and are seldom found dispersed as in our cities.

A room of very considerable dimensions, is called the bezestän, or public exchange; where are collected second-hand goods, which are hawked about by the auctioneers. In another part are the sarrafs, or money changers, Armenians, and Jews.

I regret my incompetency to describe the various mechanic arts

which are practised in the east, and particularly by the Turks, so different from our own; and leave it to some future visitant well qualified to give the history of their manufactures and the divers modes by which the same effect is produced, and the same utensils are made.

The necessaries of life are well managed, and the shops of cooks, confectioners, and fruiterers are excellently stored, and served with neatness. For the greater part of the year, sherbets with ice are cried about the streets at a very cheap rate. The bakers exercise a lucrative, but a dangerous trade, if they are not proof against temptation to fraud. Their weights are examined at uncertain times, and a common punishment on detection is nailing their ear to the door-post. Upon a complaint made to the late Vizier Mehmet Melik, against a notorious cheat, he ordered him to be instantly hanged. The master escaped, but the servant, a poor Greek, perfectly innocent, was executed. It was remarked to a Turk that this injustice was foreign to the character for clemency which Melik bore; when he sarcastically replied "The Vizier had not yet breakfasted."

The coffee-houses, which abound, are fitted up in an airy Chinese taste, and curiously painted. Within, they are divided into partitions or stages without seats, for the Turks sit as the taylor in England. The resort of all ranks to them is universal and constant; and some during the greater part of the day which passes, consume thirty or forty pipes, and as many cups of coffee, boiling hot, thick, and without sugar.

Besides these, near the Osmanic, are teriakhanà, where (asioni) opium is sold; and taken in gradation from

from ten to a hundred grains in a day. Intoxication with this noxious drug is certainly less prevalent than we have been informed; and he who is entirely addicted to it is considered with as much pity or disgust as an inveterate sot is with us. The preparation of opium is made with several rich syrups, and inspissated juices, to render it palatable and less intoxicating, and resembles elder root. It is either taken with a spoon or hardened into small lozenges, stamped with the words *Mash Allah*, literally, "the work of God."

The Turks take opium as an intoxicant, or occasionally under an idea of its enervating quality when unusual fatigue is to be endured. The Tartar couriers, who travel with astonishing expedition, generally furnish themselves with *Mash Allah*. A leading cause of its disuse is, that the prejudices respecting wine are daily relaxing, which account for the scarcely credible quantity and universality mentioned by old writers being unaccordant with modern practice.

Distinctive Dresses of the Turks.

From the same.

THE Turks have sumptuary laws and habits peculiar to professions. By the turban differing in size and shape, every man is known; and so numerous are the distinctions, that a dragoman long conversant with Constantinople, told me he knew not half of them. The Emirs, real or pretended descendants from the prophet, are distinguished by the green muslin, the others wear white round a cap of cloth, and the head is universally very

closely shaven. In the turbans of the oulemah, there is a greater profusion of muslin, from ten to twenty yards, which are proportionably larger, as the wigs of professional men were formerly. The military, as the janissaries, bostanjes, and topjis, wear caps of the most uncouth shape and fashion, such as defy description. The rayahs are known by a head-dress, called a kalpac, made of lambskin, and imitably ugly, but differing entirely from a turban; and sometimes a samour, or black fur cap, which is principally worn by dragomen and physicians. In other respects they are dressed as the Turks. Yellow slippers, or boots, are indulged only to those under ambassadorial protection, and are an envied distinction. When the present Sultan came to the throne, he issued an edict that no unlicensed rayah should appear publicly in yellow slippers. At that time he took great pleasure in walking the streets in disguise; when meeting an ill-starred Jew dressed contrary to law, he ordered his head to be instantly struck off. This was his first act of severity, which created most unfavourable conjectures, not altogether confirmed by his subsequent reign.

The Turks of better rank, and the regular citizens, wear what is called the long dress, with outer robes of fine cloth, shalloon, or pellices, which are in general use for the greater part of the year, and commonly of the most costly furs. They are seldom seen without a tespi in their hands; it is a string of ninety-nine beads, corresponding with the names of the Deity, which they carry as much for amusement as devotion. Hamid Ali,

Ali, a late vizier, wore one of pearl, so perfect as to be valued at 3000l. sterling.

*Sketch of the Life of the late John Wilkes.
From the Monthly Magazine.*

HIS present Majesty ascended the throne of these realms amidst the plaudits of his subjects. His elevation was accompanied by a series of auspicious occurrences; and every appearance augured a fortunate and happy reign. A change in the dynasty had taken place in favour of his family; and the doctrine of popular election, by a practical and memorable exemplification, was justly preferred to a pretended hereditary right. But George I. was unacquainted with our laws, and even with our language. These circumstances, added to his partiality for Hanover, and the enactment of the Septennial Bill (the first infringement on public liberty during the reign of a house expressly called in for its protection) rendered him at times unpopular. The latter part of the reign of George II. was uncommonly brilliant; but he also was accused of an overweening fondness for his electoral dominions, and considered, even on the throne, as a foreigner.

A happier fate attended his grandson, who, in his first speech, gloried in being "born a Briton." His youth, his graceful person, the memory of a father dear to the nation, and, above all, the early promise of a government founded on the practical blessings of liberty, endeared the new king to his people. Indeed, there is not a single instance in all our history, of a prince who attained the throne of these king-

doms with brighter prospects; it was accordingly predicted, in the fervour of enthusiasm, that the sway of a Trajan, or an Alfred, was to be renewed in the person of George the Third.

His Majesty found the country engaged in a just and fortunate contest with the house of Bourbon. The war was conducted by a statesman who proved uncommonly successful in subduing the armies and navies of France; for we pointed the thunders of an united nation with terrible and irresistible effect on its humbled monarchy. A change of men and councils, indeed, saved the enemy from utter ruin; but this very circumstance gave a decided turn to the current of popularity, which had hitherto flowed around, and afforded a sacred barrier to the throne.

On the retirement of William Pitt, 1761, majesty seemed shorn of its rays; and its lustre being intercepted by the sudden interposition of a malignant planet, it appeared to experience almost a total eclipse. The secret views that led to the peace of Paris are still enveloped in obscurity, and the particular motives which superinduced so many sacrifices are, at best, but equivocal. It was, indeed, in some measure, sanctioned by a majority, obtained by means not difficult to be guessed at in a venal age; but it proved the most sinister treaty in our annals, and, from a variety of circumstances, became peculiarly odious to the nation.

The administration of the Earl of Bute gave general disgust. Close, insinuating, cunning, rapacious, and revengeful, he was said to have enjoyed the unlimited confidence of his royal master; and the people

people affected to consider him as the minion of the crown rather than the minister of England. His enemies, however, could not deny that he was amiable in private life: the most zealous of his friends, on the other hand, must confess, that, if not criminal, he was at least unfortunate in the management of public affairs, and that the jealousies which he occasioned between king and people, gave rise to many, if not all the misfortunes of the present reign. Certain it is that his conduct created a most formidable opposition, bottomed on constitutional motives, and that the most zealous advocates for the house of Brunswick, entrenching themselves in the revolution principles of 1688, combated the doctrines and proceedings of the favourite, with the same zeal that their ancestors had opposed the tyranny of the house of Stuart. It was this singular circumstance that gave birth to the political career of the subject of these memoirs; and not only his own biography, but the history of the present times, is intimately connected with the foregoing events.

The father of Mr. Wilkes was an eminent distiller in Clerkenwell, where John is supposed to have been born, on the 28th of October, 1725. The elder son Israel, who is still alive, followed the same business, and ultimately failed. The second, of whom we now treat, and who had received a liberal education early in life, was a brewer; but as he had, in a great measure, become unfitted by classical pursuits from obtaining wealth as a tradesman, it is more than probable that he would not have succeeded in his commercial pursuits. For, is it

possible to suppose that the enthusiastic admirer of the elegant Tibullus, should relish the dull round of business in the neighbourhood of St. Sepulchre?—that he who banished care like Anacreon, and daily quaffed the Falernian of Horace, should pay such a sedulous attention to the process of fermentation, and be conversant in all the properties of two-penny, porter, and brown-stout? Disgust, accordingly, soon succeeded, as a necessary consequence; and the golden dreams arising from the mingled fumes of hops and malt, vanished with the mash-tub and the compting-house.

Mr. Wilkes was calculated, by nature, education, and habit, for far different pursuits; and he soon gratified his inclinations. Having married a daughter of the celebrated Dr. Mead, the author of the *Treatise on Poisons*, we find him exchanging the dull and foggy atmosphere of the city, for the thinner and politer air of the west end of the town. Possessed of a genteel fortune, elegant manners, and a sparkling wit, he easily obtained the acquaintance of many of the most fashionable people of the age. Educated in whig principles, he was at the same time an ardent assertor of English liberty. It was the latter circumstance, indeed, that gave a colouring to the future pursuits of his life; to the former, he was indebted for a seat in parliament, and a regiment of militia.

A standing army has always been considered as the opprobrium of liberty, and a disgrace to a free country. To counterbalance this palpable defect in the system (for it is not inherent in our policy), some generous spirits conceived the idea
of

of a national and constitutional defence. This plan, so long scouted, and since, in a great measure, emasculated by subsequent regulations, was at length carried into effect, but not without much opposition, and considerable dissatisfaction on the side of the people.

Mr. Wilkes, who was a great stickler for the measure, made an offer of his services in Buckinghamshire on this occasion; and as he lived in great intimacy with Earl Temple, the then lord-lieutenant, he soon became member for Aylesbury; and colonel of the county-regiment. It is to be recorded among the other singular anecdotes of his life, that nearly at the same time he was expelled from the one office by the House of Commons, and dismissed from the other by a mandate from the first executive magistrate.

The member for Aylesbury soon participated in the general resentment against Lord Bute, and, possessing a happy talent for satire, contributed not a little to increase the hatred he had everywhere excited. But this was not all: in the bitterness of his resentment, he accused the nation among whom that nobleman was born, of an hereditary attachment to slavery, and, without much ceremony, attacked certain persons, who fondly hoped that their rank was not only too lofty for plebeian animadversions, but even dissolved all connection between guilt and shame.

Mr. Wilkes began his career as an author in 1762; and his first political publication, at present known with certainty, was intitled, "Observations on the Papers relative to the Rupture with Spain." On the 5th of June, in the same year, he became the editor of a periodical paper of much notoriety, called the "North Briton," which gave a particular turn to, and not only influenced the future progress of his affairs, but actually decided the tenour of his whole life. No publication that ever came from the English press was read with more interest, or circulated with greater avidity than this (the Letters of Junius and the works of Paine alone excepted). Nor were the effects disproportioned either to the end with which it was launched on the ocean of popular opinion, or the high expectations that were conceived of its success. It was in vain that the ministers attempted to oppose its progress, by means of the Briton * and the Auditor; the latter of which was conducted by Mr. Murphy, a man of considerable parts, who, in the course of his variegated life, has defended the arbitrary principles inculcated by a Tory administration, and presented us with a Whig version of Tacitus. His pen, however, on this occasion was made to drop from his hand, by the mere force of ridicule alone; and his Journal itself expired in the flames of his own *Florida Turf* †. He, however, did

* Smollet was the editor.

† Such as wish to be better acquainted with this instance of literary jockeyship, are referred to a note in p. 52, vol. 1, of Bell's second edition of Churchill's works, or to the North Briton. Here follows the epitaph occasioned by the discomfiture of the Auditor; and it may be necessary to premise that this event

did not fall alone, for his patron soon lay prostrate by his side; and although he was suspected of regulating the motions of the ministerial puppets long after he left the stage, yet, so obnoxious had he rendered himself, that, from this moment, he was forced to bid adieu, at least, to the ostensible exercise of power.

The Thane was succeeded by Mr. Grenville, the father of the present Lord Grenville and the Marquis of Buckingham; who, partly from hatred to the author, and partly from animosity to his own brother, with whom he had quarrelled (he is also said to have been instigated by another motive) determined, if he could not suppress the publication, that he should, at least, punish the editor. The crown-lawyers were accordingly on the watch, and some unguarded (perhaps improper) expressions in No. 45—for I write not an eulogium—afforded ample opportunity for a prosecution.

It has luckily been always the

fortune of arbitrary councils, not only to render the means disproportionate to the end, but to have recourse to odious measures for the attainment of their object. It was this very circumstance that, in one age, bereaved Charles of his life, James of his crown,—and, in another, endeared Mr. Wilkes to the nation.

Had a common action taken place against the editor of the North Briton, and, after due conviction, a moderate sentence been inflicted, Mr. Wilkes would have been branded as a recorded libeller. It was the illegal proceedings which occasioned that gentleman to be considered as a suffering patriot, through whose sides the liberties of a whole nation were wounded. His, therefore, from that moment, ceased to be a private cause—it was the cause of the people.

On the 30th of April, 1763, he was arrested in the street, by a king's messenger, in consequence of a general warrant* against the authors,

was produced by a waggish letter, signed *Viator*, in which the advantages derived from the possession of Florida (obtained by the peace of Paris) are ironically pointed out, particularly the peats and turf that were to warm the poor American planters in the winter season.

SISTE, VIATOR.

“ Deep in this bog, the Auditor lies still,
 “ His labours finish'd, and worn out his quill;
 “ His fires extinguish'd, and his works unread,
 “ In peace he sleeps with the forsaken dead!
 “ With heath and sedge, oh! may his tomb be dress'd,
 “ And his own turf lie light upon his breast.”

Et quocunque volunt animum Auditoris agunto. HOR.

* (Copy)

L. S. “George Mountague Dunk, Earl of Halifax, Viscount Sunbury, &c.

“ These are in his Majesty's name to authorise and require you (taking a constable to your assistance) to make strict and diligent search after the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious and treasonable paper, entitled the North Briton, Number 45, Saturday, April 23d, 1763, printed for George Kearsley, Ludgate-street, London; and them or any of them having found, to apprehend and seize, together with their papers, and to bring in safe custody before me, &c.

“ Directed to Nathan Carrington, &c.

(Signed) “ Dunk Halifax.

Authors, printers, and publishers of the North Briton, No. 45, and carried to his own house. The publicity of the act having occasioned much noise, he was instantly visited by a number of his friends, and, among others, by Charles Churchill, a fellow-labourer in the political vineyard, whom he saved from imprisonment by that presence of mind which never deserted him on trying occasions. In the mean time he desired two other gentlemen to repair to the court of Common Pleas, and sue out a writ of *habeas corpus*, in consequence of his being detained a prisoner in his own house, by an illegal arrest.

As Lord Halifax did not choose to proceed directly to extremities, he sent several polite messages to Mr. Wilkes, requesting his company: but the latter resolutely refused, and could not be prevailed upon to repair to his Lordship's house, until he was threatened with personal violence, and given to understand that a regiment of guards would, if necessary, be called in. On this he proceeded in a chair, attended by the messengers and their followers; he, however, refused to answer any questions whatever, and treated Lord Egremont, the other secretary of state, who exhibited too much of the insolence of office in his demeanor, with great spirit.

On his being committed to the Tower, he was pressed to offer bail; but he strenuously refused, as it would have looked like an acquiescence in the justice of the proceedings against him, although two noblemen offered to become sureties to the amount of 100,000*l.* each. In consequence of strict or-

ders for that purpose, he was kept a close prisoner; and Earl Temple, and the rest of his friends, denied access to him, until two *habeases* were issued, the first having been evaded by chicanery. At length, on Tuesday the 3d of May, he was brought up to the bar of the Common Pleas, where, in an apposite speech, he complained of the violation of the laws; and asserted, that he had been treated worse "than if he had been a Scotch rebel."

The court having taken time to deliberate, he was remanded, and brought up once more, on the 6th, when the Lord Chief Justice, Sir Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, ordered him to be discharged. Flushed with this victory, in the course of that very night, he wrote a bitter and sarcastic letter to the two secretaries of state; in which, after recapitulating the circumstances relative to the seizure of his papers, he demanded the restitution of them, under the title of "stolen goods," and actually applied to Bow-street for a warrant to search their houses, in order to recover possession of his property, which had been feloniously taken away. It may be easily supposed, that a magistrate under the immediate influence of the ministry, refused his countenance to this proceeding; but recourse was soon had to a higher authority, and ample satisfaction received.

While Mr. Wilkes was yet in the Tower, unlawfully imprisoned, and unconvicted, therefore, in the eye of the law, supposed to be at once innocent and oppressed, he was doomed to experience all the rigour of royal vengeance, having been actually dismissed from his situation

of colonel of the Bucks militia, by a mandate*, with which the Lord Lieutenant reluctantly complied. But this was not all; an attempt to disgrace was soon followed by another, calculated to ruin him: it proved, however, contrary to all human calculation, to be the basis on which he erected the edifice of his future fortune.

In the course of next term, an information was filed against him, in the King's Bench, as author of the *North Briton*, No. 45; and, on the meeting of parliament, being voted "a false, scandalous, and seditious libel," it was ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman: a sentence which was carried into execution with much difficulty in the city; when Mr. Sheriff Harley, who displayed great zeal on the occasion, was maltreated, and even wounded by the populace.

Mr. Wilkes having, in his turn, complained to the House of a breach of privilege, was not only refused redress, but a resolution passed, "That the privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws, in the steady and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence."

Some words that passed on this occasion, in conjunction with a passage in the *North Briton*, occasion-

ed a duel between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, and late secretary to the treasury, which took place in Hyde-Park, on the 16th of December. The representative of Aylesbury behaved with great gallantry on this occasion; and the wound he received in the groin greatly increased the number of his partisans, who were pleased with his spirit, and considered him as a martyr in the public cause.

Soon after, he found it necessary to retire to France; but this did not in the least tend to abate the vindictive spirit of his enemies; for on the 19th of January, 1764, we find him expelled the Commons, and a new writ was immediately ordered to be issued for Aylesbury. The House of Peers also thought its privileges violated, in the person of the Bishop of Gloucester, whose name had been affixed as editor to an obscene pamphlet, printed at Mr. Wilkes's private press, and exhibited a remarkable resentment on that account. In addition to this, he was found guilty, in the court of King's Bench, of the republication of the "*North Briton*, No. 45, with Notes," and for printing and publishing the "*Essay on Woman*." Of the first of these productions, he was avowedly the editor; but as to the second, which is a parody on Pope's *Essay on Man*, he was no farther criminal than by allowing twelve

* (Copy)

" My Lord,

Whitchall. May 4, 1763.

" THE King having judged it improper that John Wilkes, Esq. should any longer continue to be colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham, I am commanded to signify his Majesty's pleasure to your Lordship, that you do forthwith give the necessary orders for displacing Mr. Wilkes as an officer for the militia for the county of Buckingham. I am, &c.

" To the Earl Temple."

EGREMONT."

copies

copies to be printed at his apartments. The real author was a son of an Archbishop of Canterbury. In both instances, the works in question were obtained by the basest fraud; his own servants having been bribed and suborned for that very purpose.

At length a change of ministry having taken place, and the parliament being dissolved, Mr. Wilkes returned to his native country; and notwithstanding the terrors of an outlawry, actually stood candidate for the first city in the empire, and only lost his election by a small majority. He proved more successful in the first county, as he was returned a knight of the shire for Middlesex, after a great and decisive contest.

The violated laws were, however, still to be atoned for; and accordingly the new member, with his usual intrepidity, voluntarily surrendered himself, in the court of King's Bench, on the 20th of April, 1768; and on Saturday morning, June 18th, sentence was pronounced; in consequence of which he was imprisoned for twenty-two calendar months, and obliged to pay a fine of 1000*l*. He found means, however, to get his outlawry reversed; and this was accomplished with less difficulty than had been expected, as Lord Mansfield, who, on great occasions, exhibited evident symptoms of timidity, was alarmed at the odium attached to all those concerned in the proceedings, and did not perhaps think the bench itself, although surrounded by mace-bearers and tipstaves, sacred from the fury of an incensed multitude.

No sooner was this necessary preliminary atchieved, than the action

against Lord Halifax, who had hitherto pleaded the outlawry as a bar, was recommenced, and a verdict of 4000*l*. obtained. This sum, together with 1000*l*. recovered from Mr. Wood, the Under Secretary of State, and the amount of the verdicts, damages, and costs of suit, were all paid out of the civil list, by an express order of council.

To balance the victory, he was doomed to suffer a fresh prosecution. His long and rigorous imprisonment having ensured the indignation of all liberal and independent men, and inflamed large bodies of the populace to a degree of frenzy little short of madness, many riots now took place; and St. George's Fields became the scene of much confusion. There were two legal modes of proceeding in this case. The first, most gracious and assuredly most politic, would have been a spontaneous exercise of the royal mercy, which, by its extension to the prisoner, would have dissolved the associations entered into for his protection and support, and left him without complaint, and consequently without adherents. The second was the constitutional employment of the civil power, in order to keep the peace, and, in case of infraction, to punish the offenders. A third was, however, resorted to, unknown to our ancient laws, equivocal in its nature, and problematical in its application; this was the calling in a military force: a measure strenuously recommended by Lord Weymouth, then Secretary of State, and as warmly combated by Mr. Wilkes. This produced a second expulsion; and as one injustice naturally leads to another, gave birth to the nomination of Mr. Lutterell, now Lord Carhampton,

Carhampton, as the sitting member for Middlesex, although Mr. Wilkes was duly returned by the sheriffs, and fairly elected by an immense majority.

If he was excluded, however, from parliamentary,—civic honours poured thick upon him. While immured within the walls of a prison (in 1769) he was elected alderman of Farringdon Without: the most considerable and patriotic ward in the metropolis. Two years afterwards, he aspired to and obtained the dignity of the shrievalty, and in 1774 he was elevated to the city chair. In all these different relations he exercised the magisterial functions with great spirit and integrity, and in the last of them he incurred fresh * debts, by supporting the honour of his station.

While oppressed by the accusation of ministers, the gale of popular attachment set in strongly in his favour, and he was never so great, or perhaps so happy, as when afflicted by the persecution of the court. His cause was supported by the best and ablest men in the kingdom; his debts were more than once paid by the generous care of his friends, and every immediate want was anticipated by the ardour of their bounty†. But this was not all: they were determined to procure him a more permanent provision, and accordingly started him as

a candidate for the lucrative office of chamberlain of the city of London. Mr. Hopkins however prevailed, notwithstanding his character was tainted respecting some money negotiations with a minor; and an annual contest took place until his death, which occurred in 1779, since which period Mr. Wilkes occupied that situation for the remainder of his life.

During the whole of the American war, he was a strenuous opposer of Lord North's administration, and heartily joined his own personal enemies in opposing the measures, and displaying the guilt of that justly odious statesman. No sooner was the noble Lord hunted into the toils, and brought within the reach of a punishment, from which he escaped in consequence of the eagerness displayed in dividing the spoils of the delinquent, than Mr. Wilkes seized that opportunity of procuring justice to the public and to himself, respecting the Middlesex election. The day this scandalous decision was rescinded from the journals of the House of Commons, may be said to be the last of his political career. Indeed, from that moment, he seems to have supposed his mission at an end, and in his own express words, to have considered himself as "an extinguished volcano!"

In his person, Mr. Wilkes was

* These were the only debts incurred in the public service; and I understand that they have been all liquidated.

† Among other presents received by him was a cup of 500l. value, made by Mr. Stephenson, of Ludgate-hill, on which he caused the following lines to be engraved:

" Proud Buckingham, for law too mighty grown,
 " A patriot dagger prob'd, and from the throne
 " Sever'd its minion. In succeeding times,
 " May all those fav'rites who adopt his crimes
 " Partake his fate, and ev'ry Villars feel
 " The keen deep searchings of a Felton's steel."

tall,

tall, agile, and so very thin towards the latter part of his life, that his limbs seemed cadaverous. His complexion was fallow, and he had an unfortunate cast of his eyes, that rendered his face particularly liable to be caricatured. The ministry of that day were so sensible of the advantages to be derived from this species of ridicule, that Hogarth was actually bought off from the popular party by means of a pension, and earned a dishonourable reward by employing his graver in satirising his former friends. Notwithstanding the defects of his person, Mr. Wilkes at one time actually set the fashions, and introduced blue hair powder on his return from France, in 1769.

Towards the latter part of his life he became regardless of his dress, and his wardrobe for the last fifteen years seems to have consisted of a faded scarlet coat, white cloth waistcoat and breeches, and a pair of military boots, in which he was accustomed to walk three or four times a week, from Kensington to Grosvenor-square, and from Grosvenor-square to Guildhall. Like most of the old school, he never descended from the dignity of a cocked hat; and it is but of late that he abjured the long-exploded fashion of wearing a gold button and loop.

His ready wit was proverbial, and he never missed an opportunity of being jocular at the expence of his colleagues. Sometimes he would disconcert the gravity of a city feast by his satire; and when he told the late Alderman Burnell (formerly a bricklayer) who seemed to be unable to manage a knife in the simple

operation of cutting a pudding, "that he had better take his trowel to it," he set the whole corporation in a roar.

As a man of pleasure, he sacrificed to his passions, not unfrequently at the expence of his happiness, and even of his character. The scandal attached to the Order of St. Francis*, of which he was a member, operated considerably against the influence of his politics; it is not a little remarkable, however, that men, not the most famous for the chastity of their manners, such as the Lords Sandwich and March (the latter is the present Duke of Queensbury) should have been the most eager to detect and expose the follies of his looser moments.

It cannot be denied that his conduct as a magistrate was not only unexceptionable, but spirited and exemplary; and as a guardian of the morals of the city youth, he has not been excelled by any of his predecessors. The same candour that dictates these observations, obliges the author at the same time to confess that he was dilatory in the production of the city accounts, and rather too attentive to the emoluments of office.

As an author, he possessed the singular merit of always writing to and for the people. His success was proportionate, and he actually wrote down at least one administration, which is more than can be said of any man of the present age. His merits can only be appreciated by the benefits he has conferred on his country. It was he who first taught the public to consider the king's speech as the mere fabri-

* The motto over the door of Medmenham abbey, must be allowed to have been extremely appropriate; it was "*Fais ce que voudras.*"

cation of his ministers, and as such, proper to be commented on; applauded, or treated with contempt. By his bold and determined conduct in the case of the city printers, he annihilated the power of commitment assumed by the speaker's warrant, and rendered the jurisdiction of the serjeant at arms subject to the controul of a constable. He punished despotic secretaries of state, by holding them up to public scorn, abolished general warrants, and obliged even Lord Mansfield to declare them unlawful. But this was not all; he contributed to render an Englishman's house his castle, for it is to him we are indebted for the benefit of having our papers considered as sacred, in all cases short of high treason. The most daring minister must now particularize his victim by name, and he cannot attempt to rob us of our secrets, without at the same time endeavouring to bereave us of our lives.

In short, with all his faults, Mr. Wilkes possessed something more than the vapour of patriotism; he could face poverty and banishment, despise a jail, resist corruption, attack and overcome tyranny. Had his existence ceased at the close of the American war, his memory, however, would have been more respected; he outlived his reputation; and, it is painful to add, that when he died at his daughter's house in Grosvenor-square, on Tuesday December 27th, 1797, in the seventy-third year of his age, he was nearly forgotten. Distance blends and softens the shades of large objects: Time throws her mantle over petty defects. The present age already confesses that he was a persecuted, the next will probably consider him

as a great man. At all events, his name will be connected with our history; and if he does not occupy the chief place, a niche, at least, will be tenanted by him in the temple of Fame.

Anecdotes of Zimmerman. From his Life by Tissot.

JOHN George Zimmerman was born in December 1728, at Brug, a town in the German part of the canton of Bern. His father, the senator Zimmerman, was born of a family which had been distinguished, during several ages, for the merit and integrity with which they passed through the first offices of the government. His mother, of the name of Pache, was the daughter of a celebrated counsellor at Morges, in the French part of the same canton; which accounts for the circumstance of the two languages being equally familiar to him, though he had passed only a very short time in France. Young Zimmerman was educated at home till he reached the age of fourteen, when he was sent to study the *belles lettres* at Bern. After three years had been thus employed, he was transferred to the school of philosophy; where the prolix comments on the metaphysics of Wolf seem much more to have disgusted than enlightened him. The death of both parents leaving him at liberty to choose his destination in life, he determined to embrace the medical profession, and went to Gottingen in 1747. Here his countryman, the illustrious Haller, took him into his own house, directed his studies, and treated him as a son and a friend. Besides the proper

proper medical professors, Zimmerman attended the mathematical and physical lectures, and gained a knowledge of English literature. He passed four years in this university; part of the last of which he employed in experiments on the doctrine of irritability, first proposed by the English anatomist Glisson, and afterwards pursued with so much success by Haller. Zimmerman made this principle the subject of his inaugural thesis, in 1751; and the clearness of style and method with which he explained the doctrine, with the strength of the experimental proofs by which he supported it, gained him great reputation. Our anatomical readers are doubtless acquainted with the controversies which this new system excited. Though Haller was generally considered as its author, several attacks were directed against Zimmerman in particular, which he was wise enough to disregard, leaving his facts to speak for themselves.

After a few months spent in a tour to Holland and France, he returned to Bern in 1752, where he was received with great cordiality. In this year he published an account of Haller, in a short letter to a friend, inserted in the journal of Neufchatel, and written in French. Though his only work in that language, it has much elegance of style; and it was the basis of his *Life of Haller* which was published at Zurich in 1755, a large 8vo, in German. During his stay at Bern he married a very amiable and cultivated lady, a relation of Haller, of the name of Meley, then widow of a M. Stek. Shortly afterward, the post of public physician to his native town of Brug becoming va-

cant, he received an invitation to occupy it; with which he complied. Here he earnestly devoted himself to the studies and duties of his profession; not neglecting, however, those literary pursuits which are necessary to fill up the time of a man of education, in a place which affords few of the resources of suitable society. He amused himself occasionally with writing little pieces, which he sent to a journal printed at Zurich under the title of *The Monitor*. As his pleasures were almost exclusively confined to his family and his study, he here contracted that real or supposed love for solitude, which gave such a colour to his writings, if not to his life. It seems, however, at first to have been rather forced than natural; and to have been the splenic resource of a man who was never well satisfied with the obscurity of a situation which was by no means adequate to his talents and reputation. In this place, his years passed on usefully for the improvement of his mind; but, as it appears, not very happily. His natural sensibility, from a want of objects to divert it, preyed on itself; and he was rendered miserable by a thousand domestic cares and anxieties, which he would have felt much more lightly in the tumult of public life. He took, however, the best method in his power for relief, by employing his pen with assiduity on professional and literary topics. In 1754, he sent to the Physico-Medical Society of Basil, a very good case of spasmodic quincy, together with some observations on the hysteric tumours of Sydenham. In 1755 he composed a short poem, in German, on the earthquake of Lisbon; which was much esteemed by

by adequate judges, and placed him among the earliest improvers of that language. In 1756 appeared his first Essay on Solitude: a very short performance. Two years afterward, he began to enlarge its plan, and to collect materials for his more extended publication on this subject. He also formed the plan of his work on the Experience of Medicine, of which the first volume appeared in 1763. In 1758 he published his Essay on National Pride, which passed with rapidity through several editions, and was translated into foreign languages, and much admired. In this performance is one of those predictions of an approaching revolution in Europe, which are to be found in various works of literature—but, as M. Tissot thinks, nowhere with more sagacity and exactness. “The universal spread of light and philosophy, the vices demonstrated in the existing mode of thinking, the attacks on received prejudices, all shew a boldness in opinion which announces a revolution; and this revolution will be happy if it be directed by political wisdom and submission to the laws of the state: but, should it degenerate into criminal audacity, it will cost to some their property, to others their liberty, to many their life.”

Notwithstanding a copious medical practice, now extended by many foreign consultations, and the literary employment of his leisure, Zimmerman's discontent with his situation was such, that his friends, and particularly his present biographer, made various efforts to procure him a new establishment; none of which were as yet successful. It appears,

indeed, that his own irresolution, and a kind of timidity which always adhered to him, were the principal obstacles in some instances. Meantime, however, he did not cease to lay the solid foundations of more extensive fame by professional writings. An epidemic fever, which reigned in Switzerland in the years 1763, 4, and 5, and which in the latter year changed to a dysentery, furnished him with a copious store of observations, and produced his Treatise on the Dysentery, which gained him great reputation. This was the last considerable medical work that he composed, though he continued to write short pieces on occasional topics. It should not be omitted that his cordial friend, M. Tissot, by addressing to him his own letters on the prevailing epidemic, contributed to extend his professional fame. At length, the vacant post of Physician to the King of England at Hanover, which had been offered to M. Tissot, was by his interest procured for Zimmerman; and being accepted, he removed to Hanover in 1768.

This new situation, however, was far from producing the accession of happiness which was expected from it.

A few days after his arrival, he lost the lord of the regency who was most attached to him. The disorder, of which he first felt the commencement while he resided at Brug *, constantly increased, and was accompanied with acute pains, which sometimes rendered irksome the execution of his duty. The jealousy of a colleague, now dead, caused him a number of those slight irritations which he would

* This appears to have been a species of hernia.

not have felt when in health, but which the state of his nerves now rendered almost insupportable. Some persons thought he would do any thing to conciliate their goodwill, and would have had him every moment with them. "Women who drank coffee with George II. persuade themselves that I ought to be at their command, as I should have been at his." They would have made him their slave; and this was a part not adapted for him. He knew that it was for the disease, not the patient, to regulate the number and the hours of a physician's visits; and he always acted on this principle: but the persons whose caprices he thwarted did not take pains to make his abode agreeable. The health of his wife, which always determined his own, declined rapidly; while that of his children, which had never been strong, did not become so. Luckily, the public confidence soon forced him to a continued occupation, which is the surest resource against uneasiness. His patients in Hanover, consultations from all the north, and patients who themselves came to consult him, at length dispelled his melancholy.

In 1770, he had the misfortune of losing his wife; a deprivation which touched him most sensibly; and at the same time his own complaint grew worse. His friend Tissot advised him to seek the best surgical assistance, and persuaded him, in 1771, to go to Berlin and put himself under the care of the celebrated Meckel. He was received into this surgeon's house; and an operation was performed which succeeded. The time of his convalescence was one of the most agreeable in his life. He made a

number of acquaintances among distinguished characters at Berlin, was presented to the king, and was honoured with particular notice from him. His reception on his return to Hanover was equally pleasing. He now again plunged into business, and again domestic and professional cares brought on hypochondriacal complaints. In 1775, by way of vacation, he made a journey to Lausanne, where his daughter was placed for education, and passed five weeks with M. Tissot.

M. Zimmerman was unhappy in the fate of his children. His amiable daughter, whom he most tenderly loved, fell into a lingering malady soon after she had left Lausanne, which continued five years, and then carried her off;—while his son, who was from infancy troubled with an acrid humour, after various vicissitudes of nervous affections, settled in perfect idiocy; in which state he has now remained twenty years. To alleviate these distresses, a second marriage properly occurred to the minds of his friends, and they chose for him a most suitable companion, in the daughter of M. de Berger, king's physician at Lunenburg. The union took place in 1782, and proved the greatest charm and support of all his remaining life. His lady was thirty years younger than him, but she perfectly accommodated herself to his taste, and induced him to cultivate society abroad and at home more than he had hitherto done. About this time, he employed himself in completing his favourite work on Solitude; which, at the distance of thirty years from the publication of the first essay on the subject, appeared

peared in its new form in the years 1784 and 1786, in 4 vols. His ideas of solitude had probably been softened by so long an intercourse with the world; and as he now defined it "that state of the soul in which it abandons itself freely to its reflections," it was not necessary to become either a monk or an anchorite in order to partake of its benefits. Had it not been presented under so accommodating a form, a philosopher might have smiled at the circumstance of a recommendation of solitude from a court-physician, becoming the favourite work of one of the most splendid and ambitious of crowned heads. The Empress of Russia sent her express thanks to the author for the pleasure which she had derived from the work, accompanied with a magnificent present, and commenced with him a regular correspondence, which subsisted with great freedom on her part till 1792; when she suddenly dropped it. She also gave him an invitation to settle at Petersburg as her first physician; and, on his declining the offer, she requested his recommendation of medical practitioners for her towns and armies, and conferred on him the Order of Wladimir.

One of the most distinguished incidents of his life was the summons which he received to attend the great Frederic in his last illness, in 1786. It was at once evident that there was no room for the exercise of his medical skill: but he improved the opportunity which he thus enjoyed of confidential intercourse with that illustrious character, whose mental faculties were pre-eminent to the last; and he derived from it the materials of an

interesting narrative, which he afterward published. The partiality of this prince in his favour naturally disposed him to a reciprocal good opinion of the monarch; and in 1788 he published a Defence of Frederic the Great against the Count de Mirabeau; which, in 1790, was followed by Fragments on Frederic the Great, in 3 vols. 12mo. All his publications, relative to this king, gave offence to many individuals, and subjected him to severe criticism; which he felt with far more sensibility than consisted with his peace of mind. His religious and political opinions likewise, in his latter years, began to be in wide contradiction with the principles that were assiduously propagated all over Europe; and this added perpetual fuel to his irritability. The Society of the Illuminated, coalesced with that of Free Masons, rose about this time in Germany, and excited the most violent commotions among men of letters and reflection. It was supposed to have in view nothing less than the abolition of christianity, and the subversion of all constituted authorities; and while its partizans expected from it the most beneficial reforms of every kind, its opponents dreaded from it every mischief that could possibly happen to mankind. Zimmerman, who is represented by his friend as a hunter of sects, was among the first who took alarm at this formidable association. His regard for religion and social order, and perhaps his connexions with crowned heads, caused him to see in the most obnoxious light all the principles of these new philosophers. He attacked them with vigour, formed counter associations with other men of

of letters, and at length took a step which we leave his friends to justify,—that of addressing to the Emperor Leopold a memoir, painting in the strongest colouring the pernicious maxims of the sect, and suggesting the means of suppressing it; means which we understand to have depended on the decisive interference of civil authority. Leopold, who was well inclined to such measures, received his memoir very graciously, and sent him a letter and splendid present in return: but his death, soon afterward, deprived the cause of its most powerful protector. M. Zimmerman, however, in conjunction with M. Hoffman of Vienna, who had instituted a periodical work on the old principles, did not relax in their zeal. They attacked and were attacked in turn; and Zimmerman, unfortunately, embroiled himself with the courts of law by a paper published in Hoffman's journal, intitled "The Baron de Knigge unmasked as an illuminate, democrat, and seducer of the people." As this charge was in part founded on a work not openly avowed by the Baron, a process was instituted against Zimmerman as a libeller, and he was unable to exculpate himself. This state of warfare may well be imagined to be extremely unfriendly to an irritable system of nerves; and the agitation of the Doctor's mind was farther increased by his personal fears on the approach of the French towards the electorate of Hanover, in 1794. The idea of becoming a poor emigrant perpetually haunted him; nor could the negotiation that secured the country restore him to tranquillity.

From the month of November

he had lost sleep, appetite, strength, and flesh. This state of decline continually advanced. In January he still paid some visits in his carriage, but often fainted at the top of the staircase. Writing a recipe was a labour to him; he complained sometimes of confusion in his head, and at length quitted all business. This was at first deemed an hypochondriac fancy, but it was soon perceived that a settled melancholy did not permit him long to follow the train of his ideas. That happened to him which has happened to so many men of genius: one strong idea obtained the ascendancy over all the rest, and subdued the soul, which was unable to remove it out of sight. Preserving all his presence of mind, and the clearness of his conceptions on all other objects, but no longer chusing to occupy himself with them, incapable of all labour, and not giving even his advice without difficulty, he continually saw the enemy plundering his house, as Paschal always saw a globe of fire at his side; Bonnet, an honest man robbing him; and Spinello, the Devil standing opposite to him. He used some remedies, and took a journey; but all to no purpose. He re-entered his house with the same idea with which he had quitted it; persuaded himself that he saw it pillaged; and fancied that he was entirely ruined.

This notion impressed him so strongly, that his abstinence from food at last was partly attributed to his fear of poverty. He was worn away to a skeleton, became decrepid, and at sixty-six died of old age. He expired October 7th, 1795.

*Anecdotes of Baron Born, the celebrated
Bohemian Chymist.*

*From Townson's Travels in Hungary,
4to, p. 410.*

THE Baron was born at Carlsburg in Transylvania, of a noble family, came early in life to Vienna, and studied under the Jesuits; who, no doubt, perceiving in him more than common abilities, and that he would one day be an honour to their order, prevailed on him to enter into it; but of this society he was a member only for about a year and a half. He then left Vienna and went to Prague, where, as it is the custom in Germany, he studied the law. As soon as he had completed his studies, he made a tour through a part of Germany, Holland, the Netherlands, and France; and returning to Prague, he engaged in the studies of natural history, mining, and their connected branches; and in 1770 he was received into the department of the mines and mint at Prague. As we learn from his letters, this year he made a tour, and visited the principal mines of Hungary and Transylvania, and during it kept up a correspondence with the celebrated Ferber, who in 1774 published his letters. It was in this tour that he so nearly lost his life, and where he was struck with that disease which embittered the rest of his days, and which was only rendered supportable by a strong philosophic mind and active disposition.

It was at Felfo-Banya where he met with this misfortune, as appears from his eighteenth letter to Mr. Ferber. He descended here into a mine where fire was used to detach the ore, to observe the efficacy of this means, too soon after the fire

had been extinguished, and whilst the mine was full of arsenical vapours raised by the heat. "My long silence," says he to his friend Ferber, "is the consequence of an unlucky accident, which had almost cost me my life. I descended the great mine to see the manner of applying the fire, and its effects on the mine, when the fire was hardly extinct, and the mine was full of smoke." How greatly he suffered in his health by this accident appears from his letter which we mentioned when we spoke of Tokay; where it will be remembered he complained that he could hardly bear the motion of his carriage. Upon this misfortune he hastened to Vienna. After this he was appointed at Prague counsellor of the mines. In 1771 he published a small work of the Jesuit Poda, on the machinery used about mines; and the next year his *Lithophylacium Borneanum*. This is the catalogue of his collection of fossils which he afterwards disposed of to the Honourable Mr. Greville. This work drew on him the attention of mineralogists, and brought him into correspondence with the first men in this line. He was now made a member of the Royal Societies of Stockholm, Vienna, and Padua; and in 1774 the same honour was conferred on him by the Royal Society of London.

During his residence in Bohemia, he did not apply himself to the business of his charge alone; but his active disposition induced him to seek for opportunities of extending knowledge, and of being useful to the world. He took a part in the work entitled *Portraits of the Learned Men and Artists of Bohemia and Moravia*. He was likewise concerned in
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the *Acta Literaria Bohemica & Moraviae*; and the editor of the latter publicly acknowledges in the preface to it, how much Bohemian literature is indebted to him. Prague and Vienna were both without a public cabinet for the use of the students: it was at his instigation that government was induced to form one; and he himself assisted by his contributions and his labours. In 1775 he laid the foundation of a literary society; which published several volumes, under the title of *Memoirs of a Private Society in Bohemia*.

His fame reaching the Empress Mary Theresa, in 1776 she called him to Vienna to arrange and describe the imperial collection: and about two years after, he published the splendid work containing the Conchology: in the execution of this, I believe he had some assistance. The Empress defrayed the expences for a certain number of copies. On the death of this patron the work was discontinued, her successor, the Emperor Joseph, not favouring the undertaking. He had likewise the honour of instructing the Archduchess Maria Anna in natural history, who was partial to this entertaining study; and he formed and arranged for her a neat museum. In 1779 he was raised to the office of Actual Counsellor of the Court Chamber, in the department of the mines and mint. This office detained him constantly in Vienna, and engaged the chief part of his time.

The consequences of his misfortune at Felső-Banya began now to be felt in the severest manner; he was attacked with the most excruciating colics, which rose to such a degree as to threaten a speedy termination of his life and miseries.

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In this depth of torment he had recourse to the usual calmer of bodily pain, opium; and a large portion of this being placed by the side of him, which he was ordered only to take in small doses;—once brought to desperation through the intensity of his pain, he swallowed it at one draught. This brought on a lethargy, which lasted four-and-twenty hours; but when he awoke he was free of his pains. The disorder now attacked his legs and feet, particularly his right leg, and in this he was lame for the rest of his life. Sometimes the lameness was accompanied by pain, sometimes not. But his feet by degrees withered, and he was obliged to sit or lie, or lean upon a sofa; though sometimes he was so well as to be able to sit upon a stool, but not to move from one room to another without assistance.

His free and active genius led him to interest himself in all the occurrences of the times, and to take an active part in all the institutions and plans for enlightening and reforming mankind. With these benevolent intentions, he formed connections with the free masons, whose views in this part of the world were something more than eating and drinking, as may be conjectured by the laws and regulations made against masonry by the Emperor Joseph. Under Theresa, this order was obliged to keep itself very secret in Austria; but Joseph, on his coming to the throne, tolerated it; and the Baron founded in the Austrian metropolis a lodge called the True Concord. This was no card club, or association for eating and drinking, where the leading members were chosen by their capacity for taking in solids and liquids,

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quid's, and where a good song was considered as a first rate qualification; but a society of learned men, whose lodge was a place of rendezvous for the literati of the capital.

No doubt the obstacles these gentlemen would find to the progress of science and useful knowledge, in the church hierarchy, and in the cabals of courtiers, would draw their attention to political subjects; and subjects were really discussed here which the church had forbid to be spoken of, and which the government must have wished not to be thought of. At their meetings, dissertations on some subject of history, ethics, or moral philosophy, were read by the members; and commonly something on the history of ancient and modern mysteries, and secret societies. These were afterwards published in the Diary for Free Masons, for the use of the initiated, and not for public sale. In the winter they met occasionally, and held more public discourses, to which the members of the other lodges were allowed access. As most of the learned of Vienna belonged to this lodge, it was very natural to suppose that many of the dissertations read here were not quite within the limits of the original plan of the society. It was these dissertations, I believe, which gave rise to another periodical work, entitled, *Physicalische Arbeiten der einträchtigen Freunde in Wien*, which was continued for some time by the Baron and his brother masons. He was likewise active in extirpating superstitions of various kinds which had crept into the other lodges, and equally zealous in giving to these societies such an organization as might render them useful to the public.

The Baron, and many others of his lodge, belonged to the society of the Illuminated. This was no dishonour to him: the views of this order, at least at first, seem to have been commendable; they were the improvement of mankind, not the destruction of society. Such institutions are only useful or dangerous, and to be approved of or condemned, according to the state of society; and this was before the French revolution, and in a country less enlightened than almost any other part of Germany. So zealous a friend was he to them, that when the Elector of Bavaria ordered all those in his service to quit this order, he was so displeased that he returned the academy of Munich the diploma they had sent him on their receiving him amongst them, publicly avowed his attachment to the order, and thought it proper to break off all further connection with Bavaria as a member of its literary society. The free masons did not long retain the patronage of their sovereign: the Emperor Joseph soon became jealous of their influence, and put them under such restrictions, and clogged them with such incumbrances, as to amount almost to a prohibition; and as such they acted, for the society found it necessary to dissolve.

What raised the Baron so high in the public opinion, was his knowledge of mineralogy, and his successful experiments in metallurgy, and principally in the process of amalgamation. The use of quicksilver in extracting the noble metals from their ores, was not a discovery of the Baron's, nor of the century in which he lived; yet he extended so far its application in metallurgy, as to form a brilliant epoch in this
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most important art. After he had at great expence made many private experiments, and was convinced of the utility of his method, he laid before the Emperor an account of his discovery; who gave orders that a decisive experiment on a large quantity of ore should be made at Schemnitz in Hungary. To see this, he invited many of the most celebrated chymists and metallurgists of Europe; and Ferber, Elhujer, Charpentier, Trebra, Poda, and many more were present, and approved of his invention. On this general approbation, he published, by order of the Emperor, his *Treatise on the Process of Amalgamation*, with a great many engravings of the requisite instruments and machinery. To suppose that his success, whilst it brought him fame and emolument, did not draw upon him the envy and ill-will of many of his brother metallurgists and associates in office, would show a great ignorance of what is daily passing in common life. Envy has its share even in maintaining order in society: it is this which tends to keep the great from rising higher, whilst a contrary passion lifts up the little, or prevents them from falling still lower.

Though great cabals were raised against him, and against the introduction of his method, yet the advantages of it in many cases were so very evident, that the Emperor ordered it to be used in his Hungarian mines; and, as a recompense for his discovery, gave him for ten years the third part of the savings arising from its application, and four per cent. of this third part for the next twenty years. Even this did not defend him from being harassed by his enemies; obstacles were still

thrown in the way to prevent the introduction and success of his discovery, and to defraud him of his well-earned recompense.

Though he suffered very much in the latter part of his life, yet this did not prevent him from continuing his literary pursuits. In 1790 he published his *Catalogue Methodique raisonné* of the collection of fossils of Mifs Raab, which had been chiefly formed by his donations. This work, elegantly printed in two volumes, was well received by the public:—and he was writing the *Faßt Leopoldini*, and a mineralogical work, when death put an end to his useful life, and to his sufferings.

Notwithstanding the varied advice of his physicians, his disease continued. In such a state quacks find easy access to the sick. Who is not then ready to seize the nostrum of the bold pretender? One of these gave him a decoction which soon calmed his sufferings, and which he was assured would cure him in a few weeks. He continued the use of this for the last five months of his life: it really diminished his pains; but his friends observed that his cheerfulness, which hitherto had not left him, diminished likewise, and that spasms often attacked his upper limbs. On the 21st of July, 1791, he was seized with spasms and cold; the former soon subsided on friction, but he lost his speech. On the subsequent days he had different attacks till the 28th, when he found himself better; but he was soon attacked again with spasms, and in these he expired.

Born was of a middle size and delicate constitution, dark complexion, black hair, and large black eyebrows. Wit and satire, and a quick comprehension, were marked in his eyes;

eyes; and his lively and penetrating genius appeared in his countenance. Besides being a good Latin classic, he was master of most European languages of note, and possessed a deal of general information nowise connected with those branches of science required in his profession. He was a great wit and satirist, and a good companion, even under the sufferings of bodily pain. His too liberal and unguarded use of satire made him many enemies. In his youthful days he wrote the *Staats Perücke* for the amusement of his friends; this was afterwards published without his knowledge. But nothing shows more his talent for satire than his *Monachologia*, which he published in 1783, just when the Emperor Joseph was making his reforms in the church. Indeed, at any other time such a severe satire on the monks would not have been permitted. They are characterised thus:

“*Monachus.*

“*Descriptio.* — Animal avarum, foetidum, immundum, siticulosum, iners, inedia potius tolerans quam laborem;—vivunt e rapina & questu; mundum sui tantum causa creatum esse prædicant; coeunt clandestine, nuptias non celebrant, foetus exponunt; in propriam speciem sæviunt, & hostem ex insidiis aggrediuntur. *Usus.* Terræ pondus inutile. Fruges consumere nati.”— And upon the order of Dominicans he says—“*Eximio olfactu pollet, vinum & hæresin* e longinquo odorat. Esurit semper polyphagus. Juniores fame probantur. Veterani, relegata omni cura & occupatione, gulæ indulgent, cibis succulentis nutriuntur, molliter cubant, tepide*

quiescunt, somnum protrahunt, & ex suis diæta curant, ut esca omnis in adipem transeat, lardumque adipiscantur: hinc abdomen prolixum passim præseferunt; senes ventricosi maxime æstimantur. Virginitatis sacrae ofores in venerem volgivagam proni ruunt. Generi humano & sanæ rationi infestissima species, in cujus creatione non se jactavit auctor naturæ.”

The Archbishop of Vienna complained to the Emperor against this work; who replied, that it was only the idle and useless part of the spiritual order which was attacked. This was seconded by his *Defensio Physiohili*; and to this succeeded his *Anatomia Monachi*. He wrote likewise a satire on Father Hell, the astronomer, by publishing a long Latin advertisement, full of irony, announcing a book written against the free masons, in the name of this learned Jesuit.

It must not be forgotten, that his house was always open to the travelling literati who visited Vienna; and that unprotected genius was always sure to find in him a friend and patron. He carried this perhaps too far, so far as to ruin his estate: probably the expectation of receiving a large income from the amalgamation, made him less attentive to œconomy in his domestic concerns; though I believe his insolvency was chiefly owing to usurers and money-lenders, to whom he was obliged to have recourse to carry on his expensive projects. Through these, though his patrimony was very considerable, he died greatly in debt: this is the more to be lamented, as he left a wife and two daughters.

* As being inquisitors.

NATURAL HISTORY.

*On the Nature of the Diamond. By
Smithson Tennant, Esq. F. R. S.*

*From the Philosophical Transactions of
the Royal Society of London.*

SIR Isaac Newton having observed that inflammable bodies had a greater refraction, in proportion to their density, than other bodies, and that the diamond resembled them in this property, was induced to conjecture that the diamond was of an inflammable nature. The inflammable substances which he employed were, camphire, oil of turpentine, oil of olives, and amber; these he called "fat, sulphureous, unctuous bodies;" and, using the same expression respecting the diamond, he says, it is probably "an unctuous body coagulated." This remarkable conjecture of Sir Isaac Newton has been since confirmed by repeated experiments. It was found that, though the diamond was capable of resisting the effects of a violent heat when the air was carefully excluded, yet that, on being exposed to the action of heat and air, it might be entirely consumed. But, as the sole object of these experiments was to ascertain the inflammable nature of the dia-

mond, no attention was paid to the products afforded by its combustion; and it still, therefore, remained to be determined, whether the diamond was a distinct substance, or one of the known inflammable bodies; nor was any attempt made to decide this question, till M. Lavoisier, in 1772, undertook a series of experiments for this purpose. He exposed the diamond to the heat produced by a large lens, and was thus enabled to burn it in close glass-vessels. He observed, that the air in which the inflammation had taken place had become partly soluble in water, and precipitated from lime-water a white powder, which appeared to be chalk, being soluble in acids, with effervescence. As M. Lavoisier seems to have had little doubt that this precipitation was occasioned by the production of fixed air, similar to that which is afforded by calcareous substances, he might, as we know at present, have inferred that the diamond contained charcoal; but the relation between that substance and fixed air was then too imperfectly understood to justify this conclusion. Though he observed the resemblance of charcoal to the diamond, yet he thought that nothing more could be reasonably deduced from

their analogy, than that each of those substances belonged to the class of inflammable bodies.

As the nature of the diamond is so extremely singular, it seemed deserving of farther examination; and it will appear, from the following experiments, that it consists entirely of charcoal, differing from the usual state of that substance only by its crystallized form. From the extreme hardness of the diamond, a stronger degree of heat is required to inflame it when exposed merely to air, than can easily be applied in close vessels, except by means of a strong burning lens; but with nitre its combustion may be effected in a moderate heat. To expose it to the action of heated nitre, free from extraneous matters, I procured a tube of gold, which, by having one end closed, might serve the purpose of a retort; a glass tube being adapted to the open end, for collecting the air produced. To be certain that the gold vessel was perfectly closed, and that it did not contain any unperceived impurities which could occasion the production of fixed air, some nitre was heated in it till it had become alkaline, and afterwards dissolved out by water; but the solution was perfectly free from fixed air, as it did not affect the transparency of lime-water. When the diamond was destroyed in the gold vessel by nitre, the substance which remained precipitated lime from lime-water; and, with acids, afforded nitrous and fixed air; and it appeared solely to consist of nitre, partly decomposed, and of aerated alkali.

In order to estimate the quantity

of fixed air which might be obtained from a given weight of diamonds, two grains and a half of small diamonds were weighed with great accuracy, and, being put into the tube, with a quarter of an ounce of nitre, were kept in a strong red heat for about an hour and a half. The heat being gradually increased, the nitre was in some degree rendered alkaline before the diamonds began to be inflamed; by which means almost all the fixed air was retained by the alkali of the nitre. The air which came over was produced by the decomposition of the nitre, and contained so little fixed air as to occasion only a very slight precipitation from lime-water. After the tube had grown cold, the alkaline matter contained in it was dissolved in water, and the whole of the diamonds were found to have been destroyed. As an acid would disengage nitrous air from this solution, as well as the fixed air, the quantity of the latter could not, in that manner, be accurately determined. To obviate this inconveniency, the fixed air was made to unite with calcareous earth, by pouring into the alkaline solution a sufficient quantity of a saturated solution of marble in marine acid. The vessel which contained them, being closed, was left undisturbed till the precipitate had fallen to the bottom; the solution having been previously heated, that it might subside more perfectly. The clear liquor being found, by means of lime-water, to be quite free from fixed air, was carefully poured off from the calcareous precipitate*. The vessel which was used on this

* If much water had remained, a considerable portion of the fixed air would have been absorbed by it. But, by the same method as that described above, I observed, that as much fixed air might be obtained from a solution of mineral alkali, as by adding an acid to an equal quantity of the same kind of alkali.

occasion was a glass globe, having a tube annexed to it, that the quantity of the fixed air might be more accurately measured. After as much quicksilver had been poured into the glass globe containing the calcareous precipitate as was necessary to fill it, it was inverted in a vessel of the same fluid. Some marine acid being then made to pass up into it, the fixed air was expelled from the calcareous earth; and, in this experiment, in which two grains and a half of diamonds had been employed, occupied the space of little more than 10.1 ounces of water.

The temperature of the room, when the air was measured, was at 55° , and the barometer stood at about 29.8 inches.

From another experiment, made in a similar manner, with one grain and a half of diamonds, the air which was obtained occupied the space of 6.18 ounces of water; according to which proportion, the bulk of the fixed air from two grains and a half would have been equal to 10.3 ounces.

The quantity of fixed air which was thus produced by the diamond, does not differ much from that which, according to M. Lavoisier, might be obtained from an equal weight of charcoal. In the memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences for the year 1781, he has related the various experiments which he made to ascertain the proportion of charcoal and oxygen in fixed air. From those which he considered as most accurate, he concluded, that 100 parts of fixed air contain nearly 28 parts of charcoal, and 72 of oxygen. He estimates the weight of a cubic inch of fixed air, under the pressure and in the

temperature above mentioned, to be 695 parts of a grain. If we reduce the French weights and measures to English, and then compute how much fixed air, according to this proportion, two grains and a half of charcoal would produce, we shall find that it ought to occupy very nearly the bulk of 10 ounces of water.

M. Lavoisier seems to have thought that the aerial fluid, produced by the combustion of the diamond, was not so soluble in water as that procured from calcareous substances. From its resemblance, however, in various properties, hardly any doubt could remain that it consisted of the same ingredients; and I found, upon combining it with lime, and exposing it to heat with phosphorus, that it afforded charcoal, in the same manner as any other calcareous substance.

On the Action of Nitre upon Gold and Platina. By the same.

From the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London.

GOLD, which cannot be calcined by exposure to heat and air, has been also considered as incapable of being affected by nitre. But, in the course of some experiments on the diamond, an account of which has been communicated to the Royal Society, I observed, that when nitre was heated in a tube of gold, and the diamond was not in sufficient quantity to supply the alkali of the nitre with fixed air, a part of the gold was dissolved. From this observation, I was induced to examine more particularly the action of nitre upon gold, as well as to enquire whether it would pro-

duce any effect upon silver and platina.

With this intention, I put some thin pieces of gold into the tube, together with nitre, and exposed them to a strong red heat for two or three hours. After the tube was taken from the fire, the part of the nitre which remained, consisting of caustic alkali and of nitre partially decomposed, weighed 140 grains; and sixty grains of the gold were found to have been dissolved. Upon the addition of water, about fifty grains of the gold were precipitated, in the form of a black powder. The gold which was thus precipitated was principally in its metallic state, the greater portion of it being insoluble in marine acid. The remaining gold, about ten grains in weight, communicated to the alkaline solution, in which it was retained, a light yellow colour. By dropping into this solution diluted vitriolic or nitrous acid, it became at first of a deeper yellow; but, if viewed by the transmitted light, it soon appeared green, and afterwards blue. This alteration of the colour, from yellow to blue, arises from the gradual precipitation of the gold in its metallic

form, which, by the transmitted light, is of a blue colour. Though the gold is precipitated from this solution in its metallic form, yet there seems to be no doubt that, while it remains dissolved, it is entirely in the state of calx. Its precipitation, in the metallic state, is occasioned by the nitre contained in the solution, which, having lost part of its oxygen by heat, appears to be capable of attracting it from the calx of gold; for I found that if the calx of gold is dissolved, by being boiled in caustic alkali, and a sufficient quantity of nitre, which has lost some of its air by heat, is mixed with it, the gold is precipitated by an acid in its metallic state*.

Having found that nitre would dissolve gold, I tried whether it would produce any effect upon platina.

It has been formerly observed, that the grains of platina, in the impure state in which it is originally found, might, by being long heated in a crucible with nitre, be reduced to powder. Lewis, from his own experiments, and those of Margraaf, thought that the iron only which is contained in the grains of platina,

* As the precipitation of gold in its metallic form, by nitre which has lost some of its oxygen, has not, I believe, been noticed, it may not be improper to mention some of those facts relating to it which seem most entitled to attention. Nitre which has been heated some time, precipitates gold in its metallic state, from a solution in *aqua regia*, if it is diluted with water. If a solution of gold in nitrous acid is dropped into pure water, the calx of gold is separated, which is of a yellow colour; but, if the water contains a very small portion of nitre which has lost some of its air by heat (as one grain in six ounces) the gold is deprived of its oxygen, and becomes blue. The alkali of the nitre does not assist in producing this effect. Nitrous acid alone, which does not contain its full proportion of oxygen, occasions the same precipitation, unless it is very strong: and, if a mixture of such strong nitrous acid, and of a solution of gold in nitrous acid, is dropped into water, the gold is deprived of its oxygen, and is precipitated of a blue colour. Two causes contribute to produce this effect upon the addition of water. The adhesion of the calx of gold to nitrous acid is by that means weakened; and the oxygen is attached more strongly to the imperfect nitrous acid, in consequence of their attraction for water when they are united.

was corroded by the nitre. But by heating nitre with some thin pieces of pure platina, in a cup of the same metal, I found that the platina was easily dissolved; the cup being much corroded, and the thin pieces entirely destroyed. By dissolving the saline matter in water, the greater part of the platina was precipitated in the form of a brown powder. This powder, which was entirely soluble in marine acid, consisted of the calx of platina, combined with a portion of alkali, which could not be separated by being boiled in water. The platina, which was retained by the alkaline solution, communicated to it a brown yellow colour. By adding an acid to it, a precipitate was formed, which consisted of the calx of platina, of alkali, and of the acid which was employed.

Silver, I found to be a little corroded by nitre. But, as its action upon that metal was very inconsiderable, it did not appear to be deserving of a more particular examination.

Observations and Experiments made to determine the poisonous Qualities of Azote. By Eaglesfield Smith, Esq. Member of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c.

FROM the fatal consequences which ensue to animals that breathe atmospheric air deprived of its oxygenous principle, or that receive into their stomachs those substances which contain it either as their base or as a principal ingredient (under some particular modification) it appears to me to be the destroying principle in all those poisons which kill the animal, by throwing it into convulsions; and that it is the cause of the pheno-

mena which takes place in many of those diseases to which mankind are subject, or that it is the cause of the disease itself. The following experiments will in some measure illustrate the foregoing hypothesis. It is known, that many substances taken into the cavity of the stomach (except in a very considerable quantity) are not noxious, which when thrown into the circulating system, even in the very smallest quantities, cause the animal to expire in violent convulsions. The atmospheric air taken into the stomach of man or other animals, causes violent vomiting (See Goffe's Experiments on himself and other animals); but its base, when injected into the circulating system, is instantaneous death.

EXPERIMENT I.

I took two mice; one I caused to be stung by a wasp, which was immediately thrown into convulsions, and expired in two minutes: into an incision made into the muscular substance of the other, I injected two drops of the nitrous acid: it seemed to operate exactly in the same manner as the sting of the wasp, and the animal expired immediately. On opening them, and endeavouring to stimulate the muscular substance of their hearts, I found it had, in a great measure, lost its irritability. Fontana observes, in his book upon poisons, that the nitrous acid applied to the muscular substance of a pigeon, killed it immediately. Cavendish and Lavoisier have proved by experiments, that the azote is the radical principle of the nitrous acid.

EXPERIMENT II.

Having taken four frogs, I made incisions into the muscular substance of three of them; into one I injected

jected two drops of a strong decoction of tobacco; into the second, I injected half a grain of the solution of ammoniac; into the third, I injected the tenth part of a grain of opium in solution; the fourth I caused to be stung by an enraged wasp; the three first expired in the course of four minutes; the last in less than seven minutes. On opening them, I found the blood in the ventricles of the heart less florid than usual; and the muscular substance, on the application of zinc and silver, in a great measure to have lost its irritability. Barthollet has shewn, in a Memoir of the Academy at Paris, that 1000 parts of ammoniac, by decomposition, contains 807 parts of azote, and 193 of hydrogene. The salt of tartar thrown into the circulating system of a cat, in the small quantity of a quarter of a grain, kills like the stroke of lightning. Mr. Haissenfratz has shewn by experiments, that azote enters largely into the composition of that substance.

EXPERIMENT III.

I took four young puppies: into the jugular vein of one, I injected four drops of the decoction of white hellebore; into the second, I injected four drops of the digitalis; into the third, I injected one grain of the salt of urine dissolved in water; the fourth I caused to be stung by two wasps: the first died almost instantaneously; the second and third in less than five minutes; the fourth recovered with great difficulty, and seemed to throw off the disease by foaming at the mouth.

EXPERIMENT IV.

I caused a number of earth-worms to be stung by bees, ants, and

other insects, which always killed them immediately; and seemed to act on them in the same manner as the decoction of the poisonous plants, the laurel, tobacco, opium, &c. This effect is astonishing in these animals, which, when cut into pieces with the knife, still retain their irritability for many hours, or even days.

All poisonous plants with which we are acquainted, seem to act in the same manner when injected into the circulating system of animals; yet, from the nature and construction of the stomach of some animals, they are eaten with impunity: goats will grow fat upon euphorbium, and swine upon henbane, &c. The Abbe Fontana has shewn by his experiments, that the poison of the ticunas, supposed to be a vegetable substance, may be taken into the stomach, to the quantity of some grains, without hurt; yet the smallest quantity taken into the circulating system is instantaneous death. With this poison the inhabitants of the banks of the river Amazon are said to poison their arrows. Not only the inspissated juice of poisonous plants is used by savage nations to poison their arrows and darts, but it is known that putrid flesh is used for the same purpose, and from the same principle, even to this day. The Athenians used the water-hemlock to poison their state criminals: the executioner desired Socrates not to talk so much to his friends, as it would prevent the poison from operating as it should do. (See Petit's Miscellaneous Observations.) Plucion, finding that the executioner had not enough of poison, gave him money to buy more, observing facetiously, that the Athenians were obliged even to pay for their

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their death. (See Plutarch's Lives.) The celebrated poisonous tree of Java, called in the Malayan tongue "Bohun Upas," by giving out this destructive principle in the gaseous state, may prove fatal to vegetation, or to animals which come too near it. Although I believe the terrible accounts of this tree have been much exaggerated by travellers (See a paper in the Batavian Society at Rotterdam, by Dr. Holst; wherein he endeavours to confute a very curious account of the Bohun Upas, by Foerch); yet this is in some degree the effect of poisonous plants (with which we are better acquainted) not only preventing vegetation, but proving fatal to animals which happen to fall asleep under their shade. The sensitive plant seems evidently affected when brought near some of these plants, as also with the fumes of tobacco, and the volatile alkali. The juice of the Upas serves, when inspissated, to poison the arrows of the natives where it grows: but it is a most melancholy instrument in the hands of their tyrannic princes.

That some vegetables do not contain azote in their composition is certain; but it is very evident in others, as in many of the genus of *Tytradinamia* of Linnæus. This may be felt by their very pungent quality, as well as from their entering so easily into a state of putrefactive fermentation, and giving out large quantities of azote, either by itself or united with hydrogen in the gaseous form, as may be felt by eyes and nose. In the vegetable form we use azote daily, either through pleasure or from necessity. In cold climates tobacco is now universal, either taken into the stomach, or applied to the olfactory

nerves. Opium is very general in the warm countries of the east: the Turks take it, to the quantity of two drams at a time, without any inconvenience: the porters at Surat (see Grose) take it to the quantity of an ounce at a time; and they find it increases their strength, and assists them in going through more labour: it is allowed plentifully to the soldiery, and is said to inspire them with a furious and undaunted courage. But to those who accustom themselves to take it (first perhaps through pleasure; for, as if by some heavenly magic, it is found to lull the senses into a most pleasing forgetfulness of all our cares, and to assuage the most excruciating pains which affect the human body, and here it is a blessing to mankind) for any length of time, they are sure to experience its baneful effects: from time to time they are seized with a most dejected languor both of body and mind, until the usual and welcome dose is repeated: their constitutions become emaciated, and have every appearance of a premature and decrepit old age, and too often sink under the first shock of disease. We see the azote daily used as a stimulus in cases of suspended animation: it is applied in a concrete form to the nose, in the form of smoke to the intestines, and sinapisms to the soles of the feet, &c. It is found to act differently on different constitutions; and, in the same constitution, when in health and when under disease. I have seen a child thrown into most violent convulsions by taking only two drops of laudanum; and a man, after one grain of digitalis, has scarcely recovered. This difference in the operation of poisons may depend on the different degrees of irri-

irritability in the different constitutions. From the difficulty of discovering the constituent principles of animal and vegetable poisons by chemical decomposition, the foregoing hypothesis may be found erroneous; yet, from the uniformity of nature, from the analogy in the action of these substances on the human body when taken into the circulating system, and from the analogy the action of these substances bear with the azote in the purest and most simple state the chemist can prepare it, we may venture to conclude that it is the destroying principle in all those poisons which destroy the animal life, by throwing it into convulsions; and that the existence of this principle in substances where it cannot be ascertained by chemical analysis, may in a great measure be determined by their operation on the animal constitution. From the violent elevation and depression of the ribs in persons who are just hung, and from the same taking place in the diaphragm in dogs, as if nature was struggling to throw off something which is noxious to the constitution, it seems by its stimulus to be the remote cause of respiration. That the atmospheric air is a stimulus itself, even when taken into the stomach, is proved by Mr. Gosse's experiments above quoted. *Quære*, May not this be the cause of the difference which is found in the recovery of persons after drowning, whether their lungs were inflated during the time they were under water? or if they had a sense of their danger?

When the atmospheric air enters the lungs, it is soon deprived of its oxygen or vital principle, and is rendered thereby noxious to ani-

mals, and unfit to support flame; it not only becomes a stimulus, but puts on the form of a most deadly poison. Melancholy proofs of this have happened where numbers have been crowded into the holds of ships, and closed from the circulation of fresh air. In the Black Hole at Calcutta there was a striking instance of this. The effects of the wind called the Sirroc, seems to be owing to a diminution of the empyreal air in the atmosphere. In some parts of Sicily the inhabitants are confined to their houses for four or five days together, to avoid a contact with this wind. Those Europeans who have felt it, describe it as bringing on such a languor and dejection of spirits as is almost insupportable. (See Brydone's Tour.)

The fatal effects which daily occur to persons from going into vaults, caverns, wells, &c. which have been long shut up, proceeds from the same principle. The famous Lago del Cani, so often described by travellers, is surely no more than throwing the animal into it; which, by the sudden shock it gives, rouses nature to throw off the effects of this air which it had taken into its constitution in the cave; and I make no doubt but one of our English lakes would do as well, had we an equal opportunity of applying it.

The violent pains which take place in the beginning of fever, the spasmodic contraction over the whole body, and the great sensation of cold succeeded by a burning heat, seems to indicate this substance for a primary cause. We find the plague too often arising in those warm countries, and where the rivers, after subsiding, leave vast quantities

quantities of animal and vegetable substances to putrify, and give out this mephitic, which, not being dispersed by the winds, fits the atmosphere to continue this disease whenever it begins, or perhaps begets the disease itself. Growing vegetables are, during the day-time, found to purify the atmosphere, especially in the sun (see Ingenhauzen's Experiments); by giving out empyreal air in great quantities during the night-time, perhaps they absorb it, as many tender people cannot sleep with them in their bed-rooms. We have had instances of whole islands becoming uninhabitable, from the cutting down of the wood. The Dutch, who wanted to enhance the price of cloves in the East Indies, cut down all the clove-trees in the island of Ternati, and the place became almost uninhabitable from its unhealthiness. From the same principle plagues have followed after great battles, and where the slain have remained unburied. The plague is never known to continue long, but under some particular constitution of the atmosphere; and this must have been the case when it rose in the kingdom of Cathay as from the ground, in the form of a mineral exhalation, and continued its horrible desolation through all Europe. The porters who were employed in opening the bale goods in the Lazaretta at Marseilles were killed by the infection of the plague as from a stroke of lightning. The plague terminates like the small-pox, the matter being thrown out upon the skin; while in other fevers it is thrown out in large phlegmons in various parts of the body. We have no way of accounting for why the small-pox should often be endemic, and of a more malignant

nature at one time than at other times, unless by supposing the constitution of the air to have the power of altering the habit of body, so as to render it more liable to receive the infection, and consequently less able to throw it off; therefore, children should be inoculated on the first appearance of the disease, or before their constitutions have suffered from the state of the atmosphere.

The azote, under some particular modification, may be the cause of hydrophobia in dogs: they are ever fond of eating, and haunting about places where there are animal substances in a state of putrefaction. Dogs are found to perspire little or not at all by the skin; therefore the disease, not being able to terminate itself that way, is carried to the salivary glands, and inflames them to such a degree of irritability, that when the animal, parched up with thirst, attempts to drink, by the irritation of the water it is thrown into violent convulsions: and, from the remembrance of the acute pain, it ever after turns from it with horror: hence the disease takes its name. The animal, as if actuated by nature, sets out a running, and generally continues till it drops down dead, before the disease is thrown off by the glands or other evacuation.

If the sting of the tarantula was ever cured by music, it was certainly by the music exciting the person to get up and dance till he was covered with sweat. Under the same principle, some modification of this substance may constitute the venereal virus.

This subject being sufficiently known, might assist us in finding out by experiment some remedy in nature,

ture, which, by combining with or decomposing this substance in whatever state or combination it should find it in, would thereby render it less destructive to life. We know that vinegar taken into the stomach after opium, in a great measure destroys its effects: the vitriolic acid mixed with the poison of serpents renders it much less dangerous (see Fontana): the thieves vinegar was found infallible in preventing the plague to certain persons who used it at Marseilles, and thereby were enabled to go about and plunder the houses of the inhabitants; but were pardoned on discovering by what means they avoided the infection: it was therefore called Thieves Vinegar.

Vinegar is found to be a preventative to the infection in all fevers; and is much used in hospitals and the holds of ships, where there is danger of the infection spreading. When the habit is emaciated, after long voyages, bad food, or breathing confined air, vegetable acids are found the only certain remedy we know of; and a very few days on shore, after a long voyage, never fails to restore the ship's crew to their pristine vigour. Acids themselves, as a topical application, may be employed where persons have been stung by venomous animals. It is common in the country for persons who have been stung by bees, wasps, or even nettles, to rub the parts immediately with the leaves of sorrel or other acid vegetable; and I have known vinegar applied to gonorrhea and chancres with good effect. In the hot countries, where people are daily bit by serpents and other poisonous insects, they rub the part immediately with some acid vegetables; but

the most effectual remedy seems to be sucking the part with their mouths, as the poison only is dangerous when carried into the circulating system: the Marii and Pfylli, brought to Rome from Africa, were famous for this kind of remedy.

It is a curious remark, that serpents inspire, but are not seen to expire; perhaps the phlogisticated air which should be thrown out by the trachea, serves in them to form the poison in those which are mortal from the bite; and may serve to form that horrible *factor* in those which are not poisonous by the bite: and to this we may ascribe that fascinating power so curiously described by travellers, and which serves the animal to take its prey, or to defend itself. The devoted animal, as affected by some convulsive stupor, unable to extricate itself, grows weaker and weaker, till it at last drops into the extended jaws of its destroyer. Putrefaction is the immediate and common effect of the bite of the more dreadful serpents: the person dies in most violent convulsions, succeeded by a total loss of irritability. Mr. Williams, in a very ingenious paper in the Asiatic Researches, recommends (as in cases of suspended animation before mentioned) every stimulus that can rouse nature to struggle with the disease; and that volatile alkali was a most efficacious application. According to Wolfe and Mead, it helps to throw off the effects of laurel water, and is efficacious even in hydrophobia.

Mr. Bruce and Savary, in their accounts of Egypt, describe a common practice of charming serpents, which is by rubbing their naked arms and bosoms with some sort of vegetable; and, to the astonish-

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ment of travellers, they apply them to their skin in every manner with impunity, and make a living by the practice. (See Account of the Cerastes of Linnæus, Edinburgh Encyclopedia, the bite of which is attended with immediate putrefaction). The poisonous wind, called Samiel by Chardin, which is instantaneous death, immediately produces putrefaction in the animal; and much resembles some symptoms of the yellow fever, which evidently shewed the effect of this substance when taken into the system.

From the expence, the tediousness, and difficulties arising from the great nicety required in chemical experiments, and from the present infancy of that science, this subject would take much labour and patience fairly to investigate: from the collateral inferences, from the difficulties in working against old and popular prejudices, few people would undertake so great a labour: but it certainly would be a great step towards the classing diseases, and rendering the cure more simple; for no science will ever make any great progress in the world, but in proportion as it is rendered less intricate. A few years ago, chemistry was scarce known; but by the labour of the late ingenious French chemists, in forming a basis for the study of that science, it is now become easy, fashionable, and delightful.

Proceedings of the African Association.

The public will peruse with much satisfaction the continuance of the proceedings of this respectable Association. We have been favoured by one of the subscribers with the following interesting sub-

stance of a quarto pamphlet, which has just been printed, and privately circulated among the Members of the Association.

WHEN the last memoir of the *Proceedings of this Association* came from the press, the progress of Major Houghton was the subject of just exultation. He had reached Ferbanne, on the river Falemé, in the dominions of the King of Bambouk, and had been received with extraordinary kindness by the King of that country, who had furnished him with a guide to Tombuctoo, and money to defray the expences of his journey.

In the Major's letter to Dr. Laidley of the 6th of May, 1791, written from Medina, he appears to have entertained great confidence of success. "I have received (he observes) the best intelligence of the places I design visiting, from a she-reef here, who lives at Tombuctoo, and who luckily knew me when I was British consul to the Emperor of Morocco, in 1772. I find, that in the river I am going to explore, they have decked vessels with masts, with which they carry on trade from Tombuctoo, eastward, to the centre of Africa. I mean to embark in one of them from Genné, in Bambara, to Tombuctoo."

Of the Major's subsequent progress there is no certain account. The latest intelligence received, immediately from himself, was dated the 1st of September, 1791, about six weeks after the date of the last letter from the King of Bambouk's capital. This advice came in the following very short note to Dr. Laidley, on the Gambia River:—"Major Houghton's compliments to Dr. Laidley; is in good health. On

On his way to Tombuctoo, robbed of all his goods by Fenda Bucar's son."

This note being written with a pencil, the name of the place from whence it was dated was nearly obliterated. It appeared to Dr. Laidley to be Simbing; but no such place can be traced on any existing map, or in any part of the intelligence communicated to the Association. Major Rennel has therefore suggested that, if it could be supposed a part of the initial had been defaced, the name might have been written Timbing; in which case, it would nearly answer to the Timbi of D'Anville, placed about eight journies short of Tombuctoo.

That Major Houghton was within a short distance of Tombuctoo, there is, indeed, no room to doubt; and it was with inexpressible concern that the next communication from the Gambia brought advice of his death. It was reported, at first among the traders on the river, that he had been murdered, by means of the King of Bambara; but Dr. Laidley writes, that this report was afterwards contradicted. Subsequent accounts, however, confirmed the circumstance of his death; but neither the place nor the time of his decease were ascertained with precision. The natives report, that he died a natural death; and, by their description, it appears that the complaint which proved fatal to him was a dysentery. They added, that his remains lay under a tree in the wilderness.

It would seem, from various information, that this unfortunate gentleman, notwithstanding the hospitable reception he had met with from the King of Bambouk, was no favourite of the natives in general.

It was stated, on a former occasion, that he derived an assurance of safety from his poverty; but, unhappily, he had no such security. Contrary to all the suggestions of prudence, and the remonstrance of his friends in England, the Major had encumbered himself with an assortment of bale goods, consisting of linens, scarlet cloth, cutlery, beads, amber, and other merchandize, which presented to the ignorant negroes such temptations as savage virtue could not resist. He complains, in all his letters, of the pilfering disposition of the natives; and it appears that he was involved in perpetual contests with them on that account. Circumstances of this nature, without doubt, deprived him of those kindnesses and attentions which might have contributed to his preservation. Dr. Laidley offered rewards for the recovery of his books and papers, but without effect.

In deploring the melancholy issue of this unhappy expedition, it must, however, be observed, that the miscarriage of Major Houghton furnishes no proof that the difficulties of proceeding to Tombuctoo, by way of the Gambia, are insuperable: on the contrary, there is reason to believe that a traveller of good temper and conciliating manners, who has nothing with him to tempt their rapacity, may expect every assistance from the natives, and the fullest protection from their chiefs. All doubts, indeed, on this head, are obviated by a letter of Major Houghton himself, referred to in page 6 of the last memoir; which, besides acknowledging, in the most explicit terms, his hospitable reception by all ranks of people, contains so many curious and important particulars, that it is thought necessary

to lay before the Society, in a postscript to this account, the material parts of its contents, in the Major's own words.

As soon as the Committee were convinced that the intelligence of Major Houghton's death was but too well founded, they took the first opportunity that presented itself of engaging another person to go the same route. Mr. Mungo Park, a native of Scotland, a young man of no mean talents, who had been educated in the medical line, and was lately returned from a voyage to India, offered himself for this service; and the committee, finding him sufficiently instructed in the use of Hadley's quadrant to make the necessary observations, geographer enough to trace out his path in the wilderness, and not unacquainted with natural history, accepted his offer.

He set out accordingly in May, 1795, and soon afterwards arrived at the Gambia, when Dr. Laidley, to whose good offices the Association are under the greatest obligations, received him more as a son than a stranger: and it is to be lamented that the river Gambia having been for more than a year blocked up by French privateers, many letters from him and the Doctor, of which notice has been obtained through various channels, have miscarried; in particular, the dispatches by a vessel called the Endeavour, which was captured on her passage home; but the crew making their escape in the long-boat in the night, have given advice that there were letters on board to the Association, both from Mr. Park and Dr. Laidley. In another case, it is known that the dispatches were thrown overboard. The only letters of conse-

quence which the Committee have received, are, one from Mr. Park, dated Pisania, 1st December, 1795; and two from Dr. Laidley to Mr. James Willis (the intended consul to Senegambia) communicated by him to the Committee, the one dated the 23d of May, and the other the 1st of August, 1796. From these communications the subscribers will perceive, that well-grounded hopes may be entertained that the views of the Association will, in a great degree, be speedily accomplished. Should Mr. Park have happily escaped the dangers incident to the undertaking and the climate, his return may be daily expected; and the knowledge he must have acquired cannot but be highly interesting and important.

The following are Copies of those Letters.

'Pisania, Dec. 1, 1795.

'Gentlemen,

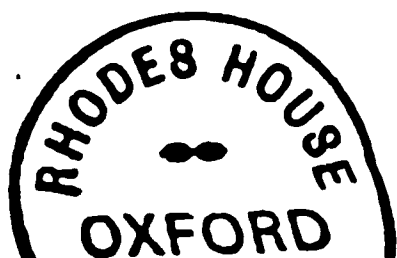
'YOU need not be surprised at my long stay in Gambia, for, I assure you that this is the first opportunity that has presented itself since my arrival; and it happens very fortunately for me, as I am now greatly recovered from a long and painful sickness, that confined me to the house, or bed, during the greater part of the rains.

'As Mr. Willis is not yet arrived, I must have lost the travelling-season for this year, had not Dr. Laidley, who has, on every occasion, seconded the laudable designs of the Association, given me every assistance in his power, and provided me with two attendants, an horse, two asses, and every thing necessary for the journey.

'One of my attendants is a resident of the place; he speaks good English;

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English; and goes as my interpreter. My terms with him are ten bars per month, from the time he leaves Pisania till his return; five bars per month to his wife, during his absence; and, if he accompanies me as far as Sego, he is to receive the price of two prime slaves on his return. — The other is one of Dr. Laidley's own servants; he has always behaved in the most faithful manner; and the Doctor has offered him, as a reward for going with me, his freedom when he returns. A blacksmith and his son likewise accompany us; they have been employed by the Doctor for two years, and are now going to their native town, Jumbo, in the kingdom of Karra.

‘ With this small but select party, I shall take my departure, tomorrow morning, from Pisania. It is my intention to travel with as much expedition as possible, till I have crossed the Senegal, and got into the kingdom of Casson. I shall then think the most troublesome part of this journey is over, and take the first opportunity of writing to the Association.

‘ As all my former communications have fallen into the hands of the French, I shall here repeat some of the most material points of information contained in them. I shall begin, by enumerating the days journies between this and Sego, by the northern route, which is the route commonly used by the Slatces, and that by which I shall travel. They are as follow:—From Pisania, Coota, Cunda, Wooli, Color, Tambacunda, Nomataba, Jalica, first town of Bondou; Fitayeraboy, Cufang, Dibbo, Goolambo, or Galambob, last town of Bondou; Gung-gadi, on the north-

ern bank of the Senegal, in the small kingdom of Cajaga; Kirisnani, first town of Casson; Saboo-fura, Cooniakari, Soomina, Comoroo, Saimpo, the last town of Casson, situated at the bottom of the Banbara mountains; Karrunculla, Gemmoo, or Kimmoo (for the G sounds hard) Fangoomba, Dibbong-Meissang, Seco, Karrabejanga, Comba, Dubbila, last town of Karra; Pampara, first of Sego, Nyamoo, Glungorollo, Dampa, Finimarboc, Scracorro, Fanimboo, Woolocomboo, Doolinkeebou, Diggani, Sego.

‘ Diggani stands on the northern bank of the Joliba, opposite to Sego, which is upon the southern bank of that river. The Joliba is very broad here, but so shallow, that people can wade over it in a dry season: but the king would be much offended at any merchant that crossed the river in this manner; for the old fishermen are entirely supported by the small fares they receive for carrying passengers over the river.

‘ The route from Sego to Genné lies along the southern bank of Joliba, by the places mentioned on the chart of the Association; and from Genné they proceed, by water, to Tombuctoo: few of the Slatces go farther than Sego, and none, I believe, farther than Genné. The only person I have yet seen who has been at Tombuctoo, was an old priest; he represents it as a very large town; and says, that Houssa is thirty days by land, and forty-five by water, to the coast of Tombuctoo; that the canoes are large, and not made of one tree, but of many planks put together; and, what is more surprising, that they are navigated by people as white as I am.

‘ These

‘ These are the most remarkable points of information that I have been able to collect concerning the route. I have got no information respecting the termination of the Niger; and I am sorry it is so lame in other parts.

‘ I think it is but justice to acknowledge the many obligations I am under to Dr. Laidley, who received me, on my arrival in Africa, with an invitation to his house, where I have been ever since; and it has been entirely owing to his exertions that I am now enabled to put my designs in execution, and attempt, with some probability of success, to fulfil my engagements to the Association.

‘ I am, Gentlemen,

‘ Your obedient servant,

‘ MUNGO PARK.’

Dr. Laidley to Mr. Willis.

Sir, *River Gambia, May 22, 1796.*

‘ Your esteemed note, per the Robert, Captain Grandison, I duly received. Your letter to Mr. Park will be sent off immediately, although I have but little hopes of its reaching him. A messenger, who arrived here yesterday, informs me that he had passed Gytim, in his way to Sego, two months ago, and had passed the territories of Dessy previously to the breaking out of the war that now rages between him and the king of Sego: had that not been the case, he would have been under the disagreeable necessity of returning hither, or endeavour to penetrate, by a long, perilous, and circuitous route, his way to Genné. I am happy he has in time reached the territories of the king of Sego; and I hope, if all is well with him, he

must, by this time, have reached Tombuctoo. For farther particulars respecting his outfit, and the engagements I have entered into on his account, I refer you to his letter to Sir Joseph Banks, which accompanies this. I understand there are letters at Galambole and at Desser for the Association, which I am in daily expectation of. Should they arrive in time, they will be forwarded by the Robert. I remain,

‘ With great deference,

‘ Sir, your most humble servant,

‘ JOHN LAIDLEY.’

James Willis, Esq.

Dr. Laidley to Mr. Willis.

Sir, *River Gambia, Aug. 1, 1796.*

‘ Your esteemed favour, per the Robert, was delivered me by Captain Grandison; in answer to which, I beg leave to acquaint you, that Mr. Park left me on the 2d of December, 1795, completely equipped for his intended journey; since which I have received no dispatches from him, which rather surprises me, as he promised to write to the Association from Galambole. I have lately learned that he has reached the residence of an Arabian king, situate to the northward, and considerably to the eastward, of Sego. The northward route, I judge, he has found necessary to take, to avoid the territories of Dessy, which have been depopulated by a numerous army of the king of Sego. I cannot account for his taking such a circuit, in any other manner than to avoid the seat of war, which has been carried on with unabated fury between those two powerful princes, for several months

past. This may, perhaps, account for his silence; or, he may have left letters in the hands of several people that may not have reached me. I hope he has long ere this reached Tombuctoo; and I flatter myself he will find great inducement to penetrate as far as Houssa. From every information I have received, ships come there of about 100 tons burthen (according to the description given of them) but from whence, and by whom navigated, cannot learn.

‘I have written to Mr. Park several times; but, from the rapidity of his journey, I have little hope of any of my letters reaching him. Your letter will be forwarded the first opportunity.

‘I have also, since the death of my friend, Mr. H. Beaufoy, written by different opportunities to Sir Joseph Banks, acquainting him of every particular respecting Mr. Park, and the engagements I have entered into on his account; some of which may not have reached him, as several letters have been destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the French.

‘Having nothing farther to communicate, I remain, with great deference,

‘Sir, your humble servant,

‘JOHN LAIDLEY.’

J. Willis, Esq.

WITH whatever hesitation some of the facts, stated in the preceding letters, may be received, concerning the species of boats which are said to navigate the river leading eastward from Tombuctoo to Houssa, and the magnitude of the ships that come up to the latter city, it is, however, certain, that similar accounts have been transmitted to the

Society from very different quarters, and from persons of the highest credit, wholly unconnected with and at an immense distance from each other. Testimonies without number occur to prove, that the river running eastward to Tombuctoo, and from thence to Houssa, widening as it runs, is the Niger, or a considerable branch of it; and its termination in an extensive lake, or mediterranean ocean, in the very centre of Africa, seems extremely probable. Major Houghton (as we have seen) was informed at Medina, by the sheereef, whom he had known at Morocco, that he might embark at Genné, and proceed with the stream to Tombuctoo; and, moreover, that decked vessels navigated. The same information was given by the native who served the Major as a guide: and the Society have received a letter from Mr. Matra, the consul at Tangiers, inclosing one from his brother at Tunis, wherein the latter expresses himself in these words: — “I have traced a mediterranean sea in the interior of Africa, from such a concurrence of testimony as obviates all doubts of its existence; and it must be of a prodigious surface!” — Concerning the people mentioned by Mr. Park as white, the only conclusion to be drawn is, that they are of Moorish origin. Some of these might appear, in the eyes of Mr. Park’s informant, the negro-priest, a race of whites; but it cannot easily be supposed that a nation perfectly white, like the people of Europe, is to be found in the bosom of the African continent.—

Since the foregoing sheets were printed, the secretary of the Association has been enabled to announce

to the subscribers, that a Mr. Hornemann (another intended traveller) has begun his journey under very favourable circumstances. Having been provided with introductory letters to some distinguished literary characters in France, members of the *Institut National*, he proceeded to Paris, where he arrived in the beginning of July, and was received by those gentlemen with great kindness and attention; and with assurances, on their part, and on the parts of their colleagues, of an ardent zeal to promote the purposes of his mission. M. la Lande furnished him with some copies of his *Mémoire de l'Afrique*, and presented him to a meeting of the *Institut National*, at which he was permitted to assist. M. Broussonnet, who is appointed consul for Mogadore, introduced him to M. de Roche, lately nominated consul-general at Tangier; by whose means he has formed an acquaintance with a Turkish gentleman, a native of Tripoli, now residing in Paris; who being made acquainted with the motives and views of the African Association, has entered into Mr.

Hornemann's intrepid enterprize with a liberality and ardour particularly honourable to a Mahometan. Besides giving him much excellent advice and instruction with respect to his route, he has favoured him with a letter of introduction, written in Arabic, to a person of consequence residing in Cairo, conceived in terms of the warmest recommendation. He particularly requests his friend "to introduce Mr. Hornemann to such Mahometan merchants (men of integrity) as have travelled into the interior of Africa; to furnish him with every assistance and facility in prosecuting his journey; and, above all, to secure to him such protection in the caravan with which he may travel, as may render his progress not only free from peril, but commodious and pleasant.

Thus provided, Mr. Hornemann was on the point of proceeding to Marseilles; from whence to embark by the first opportunity for Alexandria; at which place it is probable he will arrive before the end of this month.

August 26th, 1797.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents granted during the Year 1797, for various Inventions.

JOHN LEE, of Lewisham, in the county of Kent, Brickmaker, for a mixture of chalk, whiting, or lime, together with clay, loam, or earth, for colouring and making of bricks. Dated January 23, 1797.

Dudley Adams, of Fleet-street, Optician, for spectacles upon a new principle, by which all pressure is removed from the temples and nose. Dated January 23, 1797.

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Charing-Cross, and **Richard Morton**, of Sheffield, in the county of York, Manufacturers, for making candlesticks, &c. so that the lights may be raised or lowered, having likewise the advantage of an extinguisher. Dated January 23, 1797.

Timothy Sheldrake, of the Strand, for a method of curing the deformities of children, or others. Dated January 24, 1797.

Robert Ferryman, of Hammer-smith, in the county of Middlesex, Clerk, for a machine for blanching, grinding, and dressing of corn. Dated January 24, 1797.

James Murphy, of Hertford-street, Pancras, for improvements in tanning hides and skins, &c. Dated January 27, 1797.

William Rolfe and Samuel Davis,

of Cheap-side, Musical-Instrument-makers, for improvements in harp-sichords and piano-fortes. Dated January 31, 1797.

George Cotes, of Edward-street, Christ-Church, in the county of Surrey, Carpenter and Builder, for a machine for expediting the making of horse-shoe nails, brads, &c. Dated January 31, 1797.

John Grover, of Chessham, in the county of Bucks, Brewer, for improvements in the construction and fixing of coppers, boilers, and furnaces. Dated February 7, 1797.

John Falconer Atlee, of Wandsworth, in the county of Surrey, Distiller, for a method of condensing and cooling spirits, in the process of distillation. Dated February 7, 1797.

James Glazebrook, of Hadley, in the county of Salop, Engineer, for a method of working and giving power to machinery, by means of air. Dated February 7, 1797.

John Nash, of Dover-street, St. James's, Architect, for a method of constructing bridges of plate-iron, &c. Dated February 7, 1797.

Aaron Garlick, of Duckenfield, in the county of Chester, Manufacturer, for a machine for spinning and roving of cotton. Dated February 7, 1797.

Nicholas

Nicholas Dubois de Chemant, of Frith-street, Soho, for a table with a stove placed in the centre thereof. Dated February 15, 1797.

George Hodson, of the city of Chester, for an improved method of separating the fossil, or mineral alkali, from various substances. Dated February 23, 1797.

Thomas Oxenham, of Oxford-street, Mangle and Press-Maker, for a portable lever-mangle, for calendering linen, &c. Dated February 28, 1797.

John Silvester, of the parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, Millwright, for a method of mashing and mixing malt, and all kinds of grain, for the purpose of brewing and distilling. Dated March 9, 1797.

Henry Goodwyn, of Lower East Smithfield, in the county of Middlesex, Porter-Brewer, for mixing and mashing malt, and all kinds of grain used for the purpose of brewing and distilling, by means of an improved mash-tub and mashing-machine. Dated March 9, 1797.

William Sellars, of Bristol, Manufacturer, for machines for drawing out wool or flax, combed by hand, into a perpetual length or sliver, &c. Dated March 11, 1797.

William Siddon, of West Bromwich, in the county of Stafford, Gun-lock-maker, for a method of screwing and fastening the hammer-springs and sear-springs to gun-locks and pistol-locks. Dated March 14, 1797.

Edmund Bunting, of Pitman's Buildings, Old-street, for a method of producing a forward and retrograde motion, capable of being applied to mangles, pumps, calenders, rolling-presses, &c. Dated March 25, 1797.

Robert Barber, of Billborough, in the county of Nottingham, for an improvement on the machine called a stocking-frame, otherwise the gigger stocking-frame. Dated March 25, 1797.

Joseph Barton, of Bishopsgate-street, London, for preparing indigo for dyeing wool, silk, linen, cotton, &c. Dated March 25, 1797.

John Passinan, of Doncaster, in the city of York, for an improvement in machinery for drawing, roving, and spinning wool, hemp, flax, silk, mohair, &c. Dated March 25, 1797.

John Manton, of Dover-street, in the parish of St. George, Hanover-square, Gun-maker, for an invention, or improvement, in the construction of guns and pistols. Dated April 12, 1797.

Robert Cross, of Quaker Brook, in the county of Lancaster, Tanner, for a new invented tan-pit, and mode of tanning. Dated April 26, 1797.

Thomas Todd, of Kingston-upon-Hull, Iron-monger, for an hydraulic pump or machine for raising water. Dated May 9, 1797.

Richard Varley, of Damside, near Bolton-le-Moors, in the county of Lancaster, Merchant and Cotton-Manufacturer, for a perpetual moving-powder. Dated May 29, 1797.

Timothy Harris, of Waltham-Abbey, in the county of Essex, Pin-maker, for a method of manufacturing pins, with iron and other metals, and making the mine white. Dated July 4, 1797.

Joseph Slater, of Sharples, near Bolton-le-Moors, in the county of Lancaster, Bleacher, for an improvement in a machine for finishing bleached, dyed, and printed muslins. Dated July 4, 1797.

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Charing-

Charing-Cross, Gentleman, for a method of making draw, or bench-looms, for manufacturing carpets, borders, and other things. Dated July 4, 1797.

John Hawkley, of ———, for a method of combing wool, cotton, silk, flax, hemp, and mohair. Dated July 4, 1797.

John Maule, of Castle-street, Oxford-street, Engine-maker, for an improvement on a machine for cleaning grain from the straw. Dated July 4, 1797.

John Richardson, of the parish of St. Giles in the Fields, Optician, for a machine to be applied to glasses and pebbles of every description, for the use of sights in general. Dated July 4, 1797.

Henry Johnson, of London, Gentleman, for a water-proof compound, and a vegetable liquid for bleaching, whitening, and cleansing woollens, linens, cottons, &c. and also for preparing stuffs, or cloths made of wool, linen, cotton, or silk, in order, by the application of the aforesaid water-proof compound, to render them impenetrable to wet. Dated July 7, 1797.

Archibald, Earl of Dundonald, for a method of preparing ceruse, or white lead, which he conceives will be of great public utility, particularly as he has reason to believe it will not be injurious to the health of persons employed therein. Dated August 16, 1797.

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Hans-square, in the county of Middlesex, Gentleman, for a method of constructing pumps and engines for evacuating water or other fluids, extinguishing of fires, &c. Dated August 18, 1797.

William Chapman, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Gentleman, for a

method of laying, twisting, or making ropes or cordage, of any number of yarns or strands, or any number of threads, tarred or untarred. Dated Sept. 13, 1797.

Samuel Stanfield, of Stayley-Bridge, in the county of Lancaster, Clock-maker, for a machine for roving or spinning of cotton, flax, hemp, worsted, yarn, wool, &c. and for doubling and twisting silk, cotton, and thread. Dated Sept. 13, 1797.

Charles Baker, of the city of Bristol, Seedsman, for a method of preventing the smut in wheat. Dated October 11, 1797.

Edmund Cartwright, of the parish of St. Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middlesex, M. A. for an incombustible substitute for certain materials commonly used in constructing dwelling-houses and other buildings. Dated October 11, 1797.

Harry Watts, of Binley, in the county of Warwick, Gentleman, for an implement for draining land. Dated October 19, 1797.

Joseph Bramah, of Piccadilly, in the county of Middlesex, Engineer, for a method of retaining, clarifying, preserving, and drawing off all kinds of liquors; with sundry improved casks and implements, necessary to give his contrivance the full effect. Dated October 31, 1797.

John Harriot, of Prescott-street, Goodman's Fields, in the county of Middlesex, Esq. for a new-invented cog-wheel crab, or capstan, with geers, to work ships, pumps, engines, and hydraulic machines, to give a ship way through the water, in calms or light winds. Dated October 31, 1797.

Thomas Paton, of Christchurch, in the county of Surrey, Engineer,

maker, for a new-invented press. Dated October 31, 1797.

John Parrish, of _____, in the county of Somerset, for a method of rendering all kinds of woollen clothing impenetrable to moisture, or wet, or water-proof, without affecting their beauty, colour, or wear. Dated October 31, 1797.

Robert Beatson, of Kilrie, in the county of Fife, Esq. for a method of applying the power of wind or water to horizontal mills, the principle of which may be also applied to several other purposes. Dated October 31, 1797.

Henry Overend, of the city of Bristol, Gentleman, for a machine which may be used as a waggon, cart, or dray, in a more perfect and expeditious manner, and with fewer horses than usually and heretofore done. Dated November 9, 1797.

Edmund Cartwright, of the parish of St. Mary-le-Bone, in the county of Middlesex, M. A. for improvements in the construction, working, and application of steam-engines. Dated Nov. 11, 1797.

Daniel Langton, of Wandsworth, in the county of Surrey, Builder, for locks, springs, and machinery, for the security of doors, and for preventing rain or wet from passing under them; and which will cause doors to pass over carpets, &c. and will prevent cold air from passing under or over the same, and, by that means, keep rooms warm. Dated Nov. 18, 1797.

John Crooks, of Edinburgh, Chemist, for a method of making soap, and bleaching, by means and use of mineral and vegetable alkalis. Dated December 12, 1797.

James Weldon, of Litchfield, in the county of Stafford, for a machine or mill for breaking, grinding, and pulverizing patched or chopped

bark for tanning; and for breaking, grinding, and pulverizing different kinds of wood, and other hard substances. Dated December 22, 1797.

William Milton, of the city of Bristol, M. A. for a method of causing ships, vessels, barges, boats, and craft of all sizes, to be built at prices considerably below what are given for them, as built in the present mode; and for rendering the rudders thereof, in some cases, more effectual. Dated December 23, 1797.

Matthew Boulton, of Soho, in the county of Stafford, Esquire, for an apparatus and method of raising water and other fluids. Dated December 30, 1797.

For preventing Smut-Balls, or Bunts, amongst Wheat.

Sir,

LAST summer my crop of wheat was very much injured by smut-balls, or bunts, which were found amongst it in very great quantities. This misfortune was by no means peculiar to myself, but was a subject of general complaint in this part of the country, many farmers having their wheat so much damaged by it, as to render it totally unfit for the miller's use. Wishing, if possible, to try some means of prevention, I was at length informed of a farmer in this neighbourhood, who had for many years past made use of a preparation, with which he dressed his wheat, previous to sowing, and which had proved efficacious. I made application to him, and was favoured with his receipt;—which, after having made some alterations in, and more accurately ascertaining the proportions of the ingredients used, I have tried; and with

with pleasure communicate to you the result of my experiment, thinking the knowledge of it cannot be too generally diffused. My seed wheat last autumn was very full of smut-balls, or bunts, both hard and soft; and having previously prepared it, as will be hereafter described, I sowed ten acres of land with it, and have the satisfaction of informing you, the crop of wheat produced therefrom is of a good quality, the quantity equal to my expectation, and on a very minute examination does not appear to contain a single smut-ball, or bunt, though some of the adjoining closes of wheat have a large quantity of it in them. Understanding there is great injury done to the crops of wheat this season by smut-balls, or bunts, I am anxious to communicate the receipts to the farmers, early enough for the ensuing wheat seed-time, most sincerely wishing they may experience equal proofs of its efficacy. I must request very particular attention in locking up the pan and shovel used in preparing the wheat, as I trust it is unnecessary to inform your readers that the preparation is a very strong poison. The bags in which the prepared wheat is carried to the field, should not be used for any other purpose. The pan and shovel, if very carefully washed with boiling water, and scoured repeatedly with sand, may be used for any purpose afterwards with perfect safety. The expence of preparing a sufficient quantity of seed for one statute acre of land, will very little exceed a shilling.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A Nottinghamshire Freeholder.

Aug. 16, 1797.

Receipt for preventing Smut-Balls, or Bunts, amongst Wheat.

TAKE three pounds of pulverized white arsenic, and four pounds of common salt, boil them together in three gallons of water for twenty minutes, stirring it well the whole time, then add three gallons of cold water to it; and this quantity will be sufficient for eight Winchester bushels of wheat.

Method of using the above Mixture.

On the evening preceding the day of sowing, lay the quantity of wheat you intend to sow, on a heap; stir up the mixture, and gradually sprinkle it with a dish upon the wheat, taking care at the same time to keep turning over the wheat with an iron shovel, so that every grain of it shall be well moistened; continue turning it for some time, then sweep the whole up neatly together; let the heap lie on the floor for twelve hours. In the morning mix a small quantity of quick lime amongst the wheat, turning it again repeatedly: you may then carry it to the field and sow it. It will be best to prepare no more wheat at a time than will be sown in one day.

FIRST REPORT FROM THE COMMITTEE ON WASTE LANDS, &c.

The Committee appointed to take into Consideration the Means of promoting the Cultivation and Improvement of the Waste, Unclosed, and Unproductive Lands, and the Common Arable Fields, Common Meadows, and Common of Pasture in this Kingdom; and who were empowered to report thereon
Proceeding,

Proceeding, together with their Opinion thereon, from Time to Time, to the House.

HAVING proceeded to that important inquiry, and having examined several intelligent persons upon the subject, and had several papers and other documents laid before them, have thought it expedient to lose no time in submitting to the consideration of the House the information they have already collected; and for that purpose will state with as much brevity as possible,

I. The progress that has hitherto been made in the inclosure of land by private acts, in so far as the same can be ascertained.

II. The extent of land remaining uninclosed, and the means which, in the judgment of your committee, are likely to be most effectual for the speedy inclosure thereof.

I.

Progress of Inclosure by private Acts.

The first act for the inclosure of lands according to the modern system, is that of Ropley, in the county of Southampton, anno 1709-10. This, as might be expected in a new attempt, was opposed, though, fortunately, without success*. Only one other act passed in the reign of Queen Anne; namely, that of Thromarton, alias Farmington, in the county of Gloucester. In the reign of George I. there were but sixteen acts; in that of George II. only 226. The remainder, amounting to 1,532, have all taken place during the reign of his present Ma-

jestv, and prior to the first session of the present parliament.

The following Table will give some idea of the number of these bills that passed every ten years, and the average thereof, commencing anno 1726; since which period, acts of inclosure have passed in a greater or smaller number every year.

Number of Bills for Ten Years.

Ending anno	1735	38	4
	1745	39	4
	1755	61	6
	1765	312	31
	1775	471	47
	1785	469	47
	1796	371	37

Your Committee next proceeded to draw up an abstract of the acts of inclosure which have passed for each county; and an estimate of the extent of land thereby inclosed in each. The number of acts could be in general sufficiently ascertained by perusing the titles to the statutes passed each year; but the extent of land thereby inclosed could not so easily be known. In the greater part of the acts, it is true, that some general estimate is given of the land to be inclosed, but in 1776 acts, there are no less a number than 466 which do not specify the contents in acres.

In this situation, your Committee were of opinion, that the best rule to proceed upon was to take the average number of acres, where the contents were specified, as the rule of calculation where the extent was unknown; and the following Table is drawn up on that principle.

* See Petition against Ropley Inclosure, *Comm. Jour.* vol. xvi. p. 381.

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General Table of the Acts of Inclosure, from the Commencement of the Reign of Queen Anne to the Conclusion of the Session of the 17th Parliament of Great Britain, 37 George III. anno 1797.

		of Acres is not	Total Number of Acts.	Total Extent.
14	79	31	54,763	
20	33	27	159,666	
22	89	53	63,356	
2	51	7	12,352	
—	—	12	10,563	
11	08	18	63,233	
11	60	74	64,383	
5	30	14	19,622	
—	—	26	64,613	
1	51	3	1,533	
35	19	74	27,663	
—	—	7	3,300	
3	01	9	12,033	
8	47	27	45,321	
1	99	28	27,994	
18	81	135	186,102	
19	87	172	414,897	
■	52	5	7,875	
16	34	33	100,222	
39	35	127	206,808	
—	—	30	111,218	
19	22	79	142,764	
33	22	67	99,980	
3	54	18	27,215	
2	16	18	21,283	
3	11	45	48,200	
15	58	35	27,369	
3	02	38	38,679	
1	07	8	8,579	
1	11	3	615	
—	—	4	1,450	
31	13	69	89,289	
11	38	13	14,027	
—	—	—	—	
32	99	1,330	2559440	
			Brought	

USEFUL PROJECTS. 413

General Table continued.

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On the preceding table your Committee beg leave to remark, that no acts of inclosure have taken place in the counties of Devon and Cornwall; and a very few in proportion to its extent in the principality of Wales. Indeed there is every reason to imagine that counties at a distance from the metropolis are deterred from making applications to parliament, by the difficulty in obtaining such acts, and the expence attending them; and that no extensive plan of improvement can be expected in the more remote parts of the kingdom whilst the present system continues.

Your Committee have also thought proper to draw up a table of the acts, according to the reigns of the different sovereigns, together with a calculation of the extent of land inclosed in each reign.

General Table of Acts of Inclosures, according to the Reigns of the different Sovereigns.

Reign.	Number of Acts.	Extent of Land inclosed.
Queen Anne	- 2	- 1,438
George I.	- 16	- 17,660
George II.	- 226	- 318,778
George III.	- 1,532	- 2,804,197
	<hr/> 1,776	<hr/> 2,837,873

It would also have been desirable to have distinguished the extent of waste land inclosed, compared to that of common fields or lands of an arable nature; but to have ascertained the same with any tolerable accuracy, would have required so much time, and been attended with so many difficulties, that your Committee were under the necessity of giving up the idea.

II.

On the Extent of Land remaining uninclosed, and the Means which might be adopted for more effectually promoting the Inclosure thereof.

HAVING endeavoured to ascertain the quantity of land already inclosed, it would have been extremely desirable, in the next place, to have laid before the House an accurate statement of the extent of land still remaining uninclosed, restricting the estimate to England, as the wastes and commons of Scotland do not come within the scope of this report. Your Committee, however, on this head, have been under the necessity of being satisfied with very general calculations, of which the following is the result:—

It is supposed that England alone contains about 46,000,000 of acres, of which about 7,800,000 remain waste in common or uncultivated; and on the supposition that only 1,200,000 acres are in a state of common fields, or, from various circumstances, as from Lammas tenure, &c. cannot be inclosed without the authority of parliament, it would appear that at least one-fifth part of the southern part of the island remains subject to the operations of a general bill of inclosure.

The progress in dividing and improving this extent of territory must be extremely slow; and experience has already fatally proved, that, as the law now stands, it is extremely inadequate to the increasing population and consumption of the country. On the supposition indeed that 50,000 acres are annually inclosed under the present system, if there are 10,000,000 acres uninclosed, it would require

quire 200 years before the whole is accomplished. Besides, in many cases the commons are too small to bear the heavy expence attending a special act of parliament; and in remote parts of the country, where the land is of little value, the expence of an act is a very material consideration. Your Committee will therefore proceed briefly to state the means which have occurred to them for removing so great an obstacle to improvement.

To pass a law permitting persons unanimously consenting to an inclosure to divide their common property by agreement among themselves, and to remove all legal disabilities which may stand in the way of such agreement, is a measure which will not probably meet with any opposition; and your Committee have come to a resolution, recommending that such a bill should be submitted to the consideration of the House. The great difficulty however is, to suggest the means of bringing about a division where the parties differ regarding the inclosure.

If the parties are not unanimous, there are two modes by which the inclosure might be effected; namely, 1st, By giving authority to the courts of law either to appoint commissioners, or to divide the commons by judicial proceedings: or, 2d, To enable the parties interested to appoint commissioners for the purpose of separating the portions of those who assent from those who dissent to the inclosure, in order that the

shares belonging to the assenters may be inclosed.

In regard to the first idea, that of passing a law giving the power of nominating the commissioners, not to the parties interested, but to the Lord Chancellor, the Judge of Assize, the Grand Jury, or the Quarter Sessions of each county; or to adopt a plan similar to that established in Scotland, by which the commons are divided by the courts of law, without the intervention of commissioners, it would require very deliberate consideration. The Scotch plan, your Committee understand, has in some cases been found expensive, and in others impracticable*. And in regard to the granting authority to the Chancellor, the Judge of Assize, the Grand Jury, or the Quarter Sessions, to appoint commissioners, if other means can be thought of to answer the same purpose, it seems unnecessary to add to the labour of those who are, it is supposed, already sufficiently loaded with judicial business.

2d. To the adoption of the second plan, however, your Committee can see no material objection. It is an established principle in the law of England, that no person holding a property in severalty can have that property encroached upon without his own consent, or an act of the legislature. But the case is different where the property is mixed. It is well known that joint tenants, coparceners, and tenants

* Attempts have been made to divide a common called Milbuie, situated in the counties of Ross and Cromarty, but in vain. To ascertain the rights of the parties, and the extent of their mutual interests, before a court of law, was found impracticable. But commissioners appointed for that purpose, invested with authority similar to that granted in an English bill of inclosure, would have found no difficulty in dividing that common.

in common, are either by the common law, or by express statute, compellable to a division; and it is only necessary to extend the same principles to mixed property of every other description, to obtain what has been so long ardently wished for,—an easy and effectual method of promoting a general system of improvement. For that purpose, it is proposed that provision should be made, under the authority of a general law, by which all persons possessed of mixed property in land, desirous of inclosing or improving the same, shall be enabled to have their share in that property separately set out, leaving the property of those who dissent from such a measure, in its former mixed state. By this plan, every individual may do what he judges best with his own property; but he is not entitled, contrary to every principle of justice and equity, to prevent other individuals from enjoying the same valuable privilege. For effecting so important an object, it is proposed to legalize the division of mixed property by commissioners, one appointed by the parties assenting to the inclosure, another by the parties dissenting, and a third by the two commissioners previously nominated. This is in fact merely extending the principles of the writ of partition, as improved on by the provisions of 8 and 9 Will. III. Cap. 31. to other mixed property, through the medium of commissioners, in consequence of the rights being too complicated for a jury to decide on them; and by that simple operation, the great object of facilitating the improvement of the country will be effectually secured. The

parties desirous of an inclosure may thus obtain the object of their wishes; whereas those who are either unable or unwilling to improve their allotments, and therefore dissent from the inclosure, are permitted to retain their shares in common as formerly. This is infinitely preferable to compelling a reluctant assent; for if the improvements made in the portion thus inclosed, are found to answer, those who dissent will soon follow the example of their neighbours.

Conclusion.

YOUR Committee cannot too strongly recommend to the House an immediate attention to this important subject. Every means (they are of opinion) ought to be taken for adding, without delay, from at least 150,000 to perhaps 300,000 acres to the land now in cultivation, as the only effectual means of preventing that importation of corn, and disadvantages therefrom, by which this country has already so deeply suffered. But if the views of the legislature should extend still further, and if the necessary measures are taken for improving the territory, now in a state of defective cultivation, as well as cultivating the lands which still remain in a waste and unproductive state, this country might draw as much wealth from exporting the surplus produce of its soil as from any branch of its commerce, however lucrative; and thence would arise a source of riches not depending upon the caprice, but arising from the necessities of other nations. Such a resource, in a domestic point of view, is the most likely means of enabling us to bear the heavy
burthens

burthens to which we are now subjected, without being exhausted or crushed by the pressure.

It is more particularly necessary to carry such a measure speedily into effect, because it might be of the most essential public service, as soon as the present war is concluded, to have so important a resource opened at home for the employment of our gallant soldiery, who must be dismissed when such an event takes place, and to whom the cultivation and improvement of the territory of the country would furnish by far the most useful and valuable of all occupations. A disbanded fleet supplies our merchantmen with sailors, and may extend the fisheries on our coasts; but a disbanded army has hitherto had little resource, but emigration to our colonies, or to foreign countries, or resorting to manufactures, many of which require skill and experience in those who are employed in them. Since the introduction of machinery, however, great numbers of hands are less necessary for our manufactures than formerly; and hence the proper business for our disbanded soldiers would be the cultivation of the soil. With what satisfaction would not the nation at large witness those brave and gallant men, who in time of war devoted themselves to the necessary defence of their country, in the time of peace usefully occupied in the essential employment of furnishing it with subsistence!

On the whole, your Committee have come to the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the cultivation and improvement of the waste,

uninclosed, and unproductive lands, and of the common arable fields, common meadows, and common of pasture, in this kingdom, is an object of such essential consequence to the general interests of the nation, that every means ought to be adopted, speedily and effectually, to accomplish the same; and that every possible step ought to be taken for that purpose, in the course of the present session of parliament.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it would tend to promote the inclosure of such lands, if a bill were passed for dividing, allotting, and inclosing the waste lands, commons, common fields, and other commonable lands, of that part of Great Britain called England, by agreement among the parties interested therein, and for removing any legal disabilities which may stand in the way of such agreement.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it would materially tend to the inclosure of such lands (more especially where the parties are neither numerous or complicated; if, in cases where the parties are not unanimous, a law were passed for enabling any person or persons entitled to any waste, uninclosed, and unproductive lands, common arable fields, common meadows, or common of pasture, or any portion thereof, in that part of Great Britain called England, to divide, inclose, and hold the same in severalty.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the chairman do move the House for leave to bring in a bill or bills, pursuant to the above resolutions.

ANTIQUITIES.

Order passed by the House of Commons in 1641, rating every man according to his Estate for the King's Use.

DUKES 100l.—Marquisses 80l.—Earls 60l.—Viscounts 50l.—Lords 40l.—Baronets and Knights of the Bath 30l.—Knights 20l.—Esquires 10l.—Gentlemen of 100l. per annum, 5l.—Recusants of all degrees to double Protestants—Lord Mayor 40l.—Aldermen 20l.—Citizens fined for Sheriffs 20l.—Deputies of the Wards 15l.—Merchants strangers, Knights 40l.—Common Council-men 5l.—Liverymen of the first twelve Companies 5l.—Liverymen of other Companies 2l. 10s.—Masters and Wardens 5l.—Freemen 1l.—every Merchant of London 10l.—every Merchant stranger, trading within land, 5l.—every English Merchant, not free, 5l.—every English Factor, not free, 2l.—every stranger Protestant, Handicraft, or Tradesman, or Artificer, 2s.—every Papist stranger, and Artificer, 4s.—every Widow, a third part, according to her husband's degree—a Judge and Knight 20l.—King's Serjeant 25l.—Serjeant at Law 20l.—every one of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's council, 20l.—every Doctor of Civil Law

and Doctor of Physic 10l.—every Bishop 60l.—every Dean 40l.—every Canon 20l.—every Prebend 20l.—every Archdeacon 15l.—every Chancellor and Commissary 15l.—every Parson or Vicar of 100l. per annum, 5l.—every office worth above 100l. per annum, to be rated, every man who may spend 50l. per annum, 1l. 10s.—every man spending 20l. per annum, 5s.—every person who is above sixteen years of age, and not receiving alms, nor formerly rated, 6d. per pole.

ACCOUNT OF LONDON BRIDGE.

From the History of the Principal Rivers of Great Britain, 4to.

WE proceed to London-Bridge, whose antiquity carries back our inquiries to a very early period of the English history. The year of its foundation is not ascertained by antiquarian sagacity, but it appears to have been built between the years 993 and 1016, since, in the first of them, Unlaf the Dane, according to the Saxon Chronicle, sailed up the river as far as Stanes; and in the latter, Canute, King of Denmark, when he besieged

sieged London, caused a channel to be formed on the south side of the Thames, about Rotherhithe, for conveying his ships above the bridge. If any credit is to be given to the traditionary account of the origin of the ancient wooden bridge, given by Bartholomew Linstead, the last prior of Saint Mary Overy's convent, London is indebted for this structure to that religious house. Stow seems to be of this opinion; but the persons who continued his work allow no other merit to the monks of this convent than that they gave their consent to the erection of the bridge, on receiving a sufficient recompence for the loss of the ferry, by which they had been supported; and that this conjecture is not without foundation, appears from the appropriation of lands for the support of London-bridge, at so early a period as the reign of Henry I. In the year 1136, it was consumed by fire; and in 1163, it was in such a ruinous state as to be rebuilt, under the inspection of Peter, curate of St. Mary Colechurch, in London, who was celebrated for his knowledge in the science of architecture. At length, the continued and heavy expence which was necessary to maintain and support a wooden bridge becoming burthensome to the people, who, when the lands appropriated for its maintenance proved inadequate to their object, were taxed to supply the deficiencies, it was resolved in the year 1176 to build one of stone, a little to the west of the other; and this structure was completed in the year 1209. The same architect was employed, who died four years before it was finished, and was buried in a beautiful chapel, probably of his own construction, dedicated to

St. Thomas, which stood on the ninth pier from the north end, and had an entrance from the river, as well as the street, by a winding staircase. In the middle of it was a tomb, supposed to contain the remains of its architect. But though so much art and expence were employed in building the bridge with stone, it suffered very much from a fire in the streets at each end of it; so that from this accident, and other circumstances, it was in such a ruinous condition that King Edward I. granted a brief to the bridge-keeper, to ask and receive the benevolence of his subjects through the kingdom towards repairing it. It would be equally irksome and unnecessary to enumerate all the casualties which befel London-bridge till the corporation of London came to the resolution, in 1746, of taking down all the houses, and enlarging one or more of its arches, to improve the navigation beneath it: but it was ten years before this resolution was carried into effect. The space occupied by the piers and sterlings of this bridge is considerably greater than that allowed for the passage of the water; so that half the breadth of the river is in this place entirely stopped. But instead of making reparations, the whole ought to have been removed, as a very magnificent structure might have been erected, at a much less expence than has been employed in maintaining the present nuisance to the river, and disgrace of the city. The last alteration cost near 100,000*l.* and without anywise answering the principal object in view, which was to diminish its fall at the ebbing of the tide, and consequently to lessen the danger of a passage which has proved a watery grave to so many people.

people. This vast work appears to have been founded on enormous piles, driven closely together: on their tops were laid long planks, ten inches thick, strongly bolted; and on them was placed the base of the pier, the lowermost stones of which are bedded in pitch, to prevent the water from damaging the work; around the whole were the piles which are called the sterlings, designed to strengthen and preserve the foundation: these contracted the space between the piers in such a manner, as to occasion, at the return of every tide, a fall of five feet, or a number of cataracts full of danger, and, as they have proved, of destruction. This structure has been styled, by ancient writers, the wonder of the world, the bridge of the world, and the bridge of wonders; and how well it deserved this pompous character will be seen from the description of its form and condition, previous to that alteration to which it owes its present appearance.

The Thames, in this part of it, is 915 feet broad, which is the length of the bridge. The street that covered it consisted, before the houses fell to decay, of lofty edifices, built with some attention to exterior regularity: it was 20 feet wide, and the buildings on either side about 26 feet in depth. Across the middle of the street ran several lofty arches, extending from side to side, the bottom part of each arch terminating at the first story, and the upper part reaching near the tops of the houses; the work over the arches extending in a straight line from side to side. They were designed to prevent the buildings from giving way; and were therefore formed of strong timbers,

bolted in the corresponding wood-work of the houses that flanked them. Thus the street on the bridge had nothing to distinguish it from any narrow street in the city but the high arches just described, and three openings, guarded with iron rails, which afforded a view of the river. But the appearance from the water baffles all description, and displayed a strange example of curious deformity. Nineteen unequal lateral arches, of different heights and breadths, with sterlings increased to a monstrous size by frequent repairs, served to support a range of houses as irregular as themselves; the back part of which, broken by hanging closets and irregular projections, offered a very disgusting object; while many of the buildings overhung the arches, so as to hide the upper part of them, and seemed to lean in such a manner as to fill the beholder with equal amazement and horror. In one part of this extraordinary structure, there had formerly been a draw-bridge, which was useful by way of defence, as well as to admit ships to the upper part of the river, and it was guarded by a tower. It prevented Fauconbridge, the bastard, from entering the city in 1471 with his armed followers, on the pretence of liberating the unfortunate Henry from his imprisonment in the Tower. It also checked, and indeed seemed to annihilate, the ill-conducted insurrection of Sir Thomas Wiatt, in the reign of Queen Mary. In the times of civil dissension, which rendered this kingdom a continual scene of turbulence and bloodshed, this tower was employed to expose the heads of traitors: and an old map of the city, in 1597, represents this building as decorated

decorated with a sad and numerous exhibition of them. But though the passage over the bridge is very much enlarged and improved, and forms a very handsome communication between the city of London and borough of Southwark, we cannot but lament, as if the miserable contrivance of the bridge itself were not a sufficient impediment to the navigation, that the four arches, which have been so long occupied by an engine to supply the neighbourhood with water, still continue to be incumbered with it.

Account of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius.
—From Lumisilen's *Remarks on the Antiquities of Rome.*

ALMOST joining to the gate of St. Paul, there is an elegant pyramid, which is built up in and serves for part of the city wall. It had certainly stood without the city before Aurelian extended the walls. This is the only pyramid remaining about Rome: but which conveys to us, though in miniature, an idea of those in Egypt! * It was built to perpetuate the name of Caius Cestius, one of the *septemvir Epulonum*. But who this Cestius was, other than the title given him on this monument, is uncertain. The *Epulones* were a college of priests, of great dignity, who prepared those feasts to the gods, called *Læstifernia*, where their statues, laid on rich beds, were placed at table as the principal guests. One of those beds (of bronze curiously wrought)

has been found in Herculaneum. These sumptuous entertainments were devoured by the seven noble gormandizing priests. It was to appease the gods, in time of a plague, that the Romans first instituted these feasts, in the year of Rome 356 †. As the ground about the pyramid is much raised, we have not so advantageous a sight of it as formerly. It is 161½ palms high, all incrustated with white marble, and rests on a base of Tiburtine stones, whose height is 3½ palms. The breadth of the square, on which it stands, is 130 palms. Agreeable to the testament of Cestius, this vast monument was built in 330 days. The sepulchral chamber had been finely painted: it is now much defaced; more perhaps from the smoke of the torches used in showing it, than from the humidity of the place. These figures and ornaments seem all to relate to the sacred ceremonies of the *Epulones*. The monument was judiciously repaired, without altering its form, by Pope Alexander VII.

Roman Method of computing Time.
From the same.

ON the authority of Varro, Pliny informs us, that the first *sun-dial* set up for public use at Rome, was brought from Catania in Sicily, by the consul M. Valerius Messala, in the year U. C. 491, and was placed on a column near the *rostra*; but as this dial had been projected for a more southern latitude, it did not show the hours with exactness. However, such as it was, the Ro-

* Pliny, mentioning the pyramids of Egypt, justly calls them, “*regum pecuniarum otiosa ac stulta ostentatio.*”—Hist. Nat. l. 36. c. 12.

† Livius, l. 5. c. 13.

mans regulated their time by it for the space of ninety-nine years, when Q. Marcus Philippus, who was censor with L. Paulus, caused another dial, constructed for the latitude of Rome, to be erected near the old one. But as a sun-dial did not serve in cloudy weather, Scipio Nasica, five years after, remedied this defect, by introducing a method of dividing the night as well as the day into hours, by means of a water machine, a *clepsidra*, which Pliny calls an *horologium*.

I do not indeed conceive how a sun-dial, or any other instrument, could point out the various hours, as time was computed by the ancient Romans. The time the earth takes to revolve once round its axis, or the space between the rising of the sun till its next rising, which makes a day and a night, divided into twenty-four equal parts, we call hours. Now, the Romans divided the day and the night into twenty-four hours. Twelve of these, from the rising of the sun to its setting, constituted their day; and the other twelve, from the setting of the sun to its rising, constituted their night. Thus as the seasons changed, the length of their hours must have varied. In winter the twelve hours of the day were short, and those of the night long: in summer they were the reverse. How then could these hours, of an

unequal length, and which daily varied, be measured by an instrument? I have not been able to discover any method by which this could be done. However, they had two fixed points, viz. mid-day and mid-night, which they called the sixth hour: so that a meridian line would always point out the sixth hour, or mid-day.

Neither have I been able to discover when the modern Romans changed this method of computing time. In the course of the day and night they reckon twenty-four hours, which are all of an equal length in every season of the year. No inconvenience can arise in reckoning twenty-four hours in place of twelve and twelve, as we do. Perhaps so far the modern Roman method is preferable to ours. But the difficulty is, that they do not begin to reckon their hours from a fixed point, viz. from mid-day, when the sun crosses the same meridian line every day in the year. Thus they call half an hour after sun-set the twenty-fourth hour; and an hour and a half after sun-set the first hour, or one o'clock.* Hence the nominal hour of mid-day constantly changes with them: in June it is called sixteen, and in December nineteen o'clock. To regulate, therefore, a time-piece by this method of computing, it must be daily altered.

* To reckon time from the setting of the sun, was a very ancient custom: it was practised particularly by the Germans and Gauls. It seems to be connected with the ideas which establish the existence of a chaos or night, before the world or day. See "Recherches sur l'Origine et les Progrès des Arts de la Grèce, par M. d'Han-kerville." l. 1, c. 2, p. 131.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

Essay on the Means of confining Heat, and directing its Operations.

*From Count Rumford's Essays,
vol. 2, chap. 3.*

THAT heat passes more freely through some bodies than others, is a fact very well known; but the cause of this difference in the conducting powers of bodies, with respect to heat, has not yet been discovered.

The utility of giving a wooden handle to a tea-pot or coffee-pot of metal, or of covering its metallic handle with leather, or with wood, is well known: but the difference in the conducting powers of various bodies with regard to heat, may be shown by a great number of very simple experiments;—such as are in the power of every one to make at all times and in all places, and almost without either trouble or expence.

If an iron nail and a pin of wood, of the same form and dimensions, be held successively in the flame of a candle, the difference in the conducting powers of the two will be manifest.

wood will manifest itself in a manner in which there will be no room left for doubt. As soon as the end of the nail, which is exposed in the flame of the candle, begins to be heated, the other end of it will grow so hot as to render it impossible to hold it in the hand without being burnt; but the wood may be held any length of time in the same situation without the least inconvenience; and, even after it has taken fire, it may be held till it is almost entirely consumed; for the uninflamed wood will not grow hot, and, till the flame actually comes in contact with the fingers, they will not be burnt. If a small slip or tube of glass be held in the flame of the candle in the same manner, the end of the glass by which it is held will be found to be more heated than the wood, but incomparably less so than the pin or nail of metal;—and among all the various bodies that can be tried in this manner, no two of them will be found to give passage to heat through their substances with exactly the same degree of facility*.

* To show the relative conducting power of the different metals, Doctor Ingenhousz contrived a very pretty experiment. He took equal cylinders of the different metals (being straight pieces of stout wire, drawn through the same hole, and of the same length) and, dipping them into melted wax, covered them with a thin coating of the wax. He then held one end of each of these cylinders in boiling water, and observed how far the coating of wax was melted by the heat communicated through the metal, and with what celerity the heat passed.

To confine heat is nothing more than to prevent its escape out of the hot body in which it exists, and in which it is required to be retained; and this can only be done by surrounding the hot body by some covering composed of a substance through which heat cannot pass, or through which it passes with great difficulty. If a covering could be found perfectly impervious to heat, there is reason to believe that a hot body, completely surrounded by it, would remain hot for ever; but we are acquainted with no such substance; nor is it probable that any such exists.

Those bodies in which heat passes freely or rapidly, are called conductors of heat; those in which it makes its way with great difficulty, or very slowly, non-conductors, or bad conductors of heat. The epithets, good, bad, indifferent, excellent, &c. are applied indifferently to conductors and to non-conductors. A good conductor, for instance, is one in which heat passes very freely; a good non-conductor is one in which it passes with great difficulty; and an indifferent conductor may likewise be called, without any impropriety, an indifferent non-conductor.

Those bodies which are the worst conductors, or rather the best non-conductors of heat, are best adapted for forming coverings to confine it.

All the metals are remarkably good conductors of heat; wood, and in general all light, dry, and spongy bodies, are non-conductors. Glass, though a very hard and compact body, is a non-conductor: mercury, water, and liquids of all kinds, are conductors; but air, and in general all elastic fluids, steam even not excepted, are non-conductors.

Some experiments which I have lately made, and which have not yet been published, have induced me to suspect that water, mercury, and all other non-elastic fluids, do not permit heat to pass through them from particle to particle, as it undoubtedly passes through solid bodies, but that their apparent conducting powers depend essentially upon the extreme mobility of their parts. In short, that they rather transport heat than allow it a passage. But I will not anticipate a subject which I propose to treat more fully at some future period.

The conducting power of any solid body in one solid mass, is much greater than that of the same body reduced to a powder, or divided into many smaller pieces. An iron bar, or an iron plate, for instance, is a much better conductor of heat than iron filings; and saw-dust is a better non-conductor than wood. Dry wood-ashes is a better non-conductor than either; and very dry charcoal, reduced to a fine powder, is one of the best non-conductors known: and as charcoal is perfectly incombustible when confined in a space where fresh air can have no access, it is admirably well calculated for forming a barrier for confining heat where the heat to be confined is intense.

But among all the various substances of which coverings may be formed for confining heat, none can be employed with greater advantage than common atmospheric air. It is what Nature employs for that purpose; and we cannot do better than to imitate her.

The warmth of the wool and fur of beasts, and of the feathers of birds, is undoubtedly owing to the air in their interstices; which air, being
strongly

strongly attracted by these substances, is confined, and forms a barrier which not only prevents the cold winds from approaching the body of the animal, but which opposes an almost insurmountable obstacle to the escape of the heat of the animal into the atmosphere. In the same manner does the air in snow serve to preserve the heat of the earth in winter. The warmth of all kinds of artificial clothing may be shown to depend on the same cause; and were this circumstance more generally known, and more attended to, very important improvements in the management of heat could not fail to result from it. A great part of our lives is spent in guarding ourselves against the extremes of heat and of cold, and in operations in which the use of fire is indispensable; and yet how little progress has been made in that most useful and most important of the arts, the management of heat!

Double windows have been in use many years in most of the northern parts of Europe; and their great utility, in rendering the houses furnished with them warm and comfortable in winter, is universally acknowledged; but I have never heard that any body has thought of employing them in hot countries to keep their apartments cool in summer: yet how easy and natural is this application of so simple and so useful an invention! If a double window can prevent the heat which is in a room from passing out of it, one would imagine it could require no great effort of genius to discover that it would be equally efficacious for preventing the heat without from coming in. But na-

tural as this conclusion may appear, I believe it has never yet occurred to any body; at least, I am quite certain that I have never seen a double window either in Italy, or in any other hot country I have had occasion to visit.

But the utility of double windows and double walls, in hot as well as in cold countries, is a matter of so much importance, that I shall take occasion to treat it more fully in another place. In the mean time I shall only observe here, that it is the confined air shut up between the two windows (not the double glass plates) that renders the passage of heat through them so difficult. Were it owing to the increased thickness of the glass, then a single pane twice as thick would answer the same purpose; but the increased thickness of the glass of which a window is formed, is not found to have the least sensible effect in rendering a room warmer.

But air is not only a non-conductor of heat, but its non-conducting power may be greatly increased. To be able to form a just idea of the manner in which air may be rendered a worse conductor of heat, or, which is the same thing, a better non-conductor of it than it is in its natural unconfined state, it will be necessary to consider the manner in which heat passes through air. Now it appears, from the result of a number of experiments which I made with a view to the investigation of this subject, and which are published in a paper read before the Royal Society*, that though the particles of air, each particle for itself, can receive heat from other bodies, or communicate it to them, yet

* See the Philosophical Transactions and our Register for 1792.

there is no communication of heat between one particle of air and another particle of air. And from hence it follows, that though air may, and certainly does, carry off heat, and transport it from one place, or from one body to another, yet a mass of air in a quiescent state, or with all its particles at rest, could it remain in this state, would be totally impervious to heat; or such a mass of air would be a perfect non-conductor.

Now if heat passes in a mass of air merely in consequence of the motion it occasions in that air, if it is transported, not suffered to pass, —in that case it is clear that whatever can obstruct and impede the internal motion of the air, must tend to diminish its conducting power: and this I have found to be the case in fact. I found that a certain quantity of heat which was able to make its way through a wall, or rather a sheet of confined air, half an inch thick in nine minutes and three-fifths, required twenty-one minutes and two-fifths to make its way through the same wall, when the internal motion of this air was impeded by mixing with it one-fifty-sixth part of its bulk of eider-down, of very fine fur, or of fine silk, as spun by the worm.

But in mixing bodies with air, in order to impede its internal motion, and render it more fit for confining heat, such bodies only must be chosen as are themselves non-conductors of heat, otherwise they will do more harm than good, as I have found by experience. When, instead of making use of eider-down, fur, or fine silk, for impeding the internal motion of the confined air, I used an equal volume of exceedingly fine silver-wire flattened (being

the ravellings of gold or silver lace) the passage of the heat through the barrier, so far from being impeded, was remarkably facilitated by this addition; the heat passing through this compound of air and fine threads of metal much sooner than it would have made its way through the air alone.

Another circumstance to be attended to in the choice of a substance to be mixed with air, in order to form a covering or barrier for confining heat, is the fineness or subtilty of its parts; for the finer they are, the greater will be their surface in proportion to their solidity, and the more will they impede the motion of the particles of the air. Coarse horse-hair would be found to answer much worse for this purpose than the fine fur of a beaver, though it is not probable that there is any essential difference in the chymical properties of those two kinds of hair.

But it is not only the fineness of the parts of a substance, and its being a non-conductor, which render it proper to be employed in the formation of covering to confine heat; there is still another property, more occult, which seems to have great influence in rendering some substances better fitted for this use than others; and this is a certain attraction which subsists between certain bodies and air. The obstinacy with which air adheres to the fine fur of beasts and to the feathers of birds, is well known; and it may easily be proved that this attraction must assist very powerfully in preventing the motion of the air concealed in the interstices of those substances, and consequently in impeding the passage of heat through them.

Perhaps there may be another
still

still more hidden cause which renders one substance better than another for confining heat. I have shown by a direct and unexceptionable experiment, that heat can pass through the Torricellian vacuum *, though with rather more difficulty than in air (the conducting power of air being to that of a Torricellian vacuum as 1000 to 604, or as 6 to 10, very nearly); but if heat can pass where there is no air, it must in that case pass by a medium more subtil than air: — a medium which most probably pervades all solid bodies with the greatest facility, and which must certainly pervade either the glass or the mercury employed in making a Torricellian vacuum.

Now, if there exists a medium more subtile than air, by which heat may be conducted, is it not possible that there may exist a certain affinity between that medium and sensible bodies? a certain attraction or cohesion by means of which bodies in general, or some kinds of bodies in particular, may, some how or other, impede this medium in its operations in conducting or transporting heat from one place to another? — It appeared from the result of several of my experiments, of which I have given an account in detail in my paper before mentioned, published in the year 1786, in the 76th volume of the Philosophical Transactions, that the conducting power of a Torricellian vacuum is to that of air as 604 to 1000: — but I found by a subsequent experiment (see my second paper on heat, published in the Philosophical Transactions for the year

1792) that fifty-five parts in bulk of air, with one part of fine raw silk, formed a covering for confining heat, the conducting power of which was to that of air as 576 to 1284; or as 448 to 1000. Now, from the result of this last mentioned experiment, it should seem that the introduction into the space through which the heat passed, of so small a quantity of raw silk as one-fifty-sixth part of the volume, or capacity of that space (which now contained fifty-five parts of air and one part of silk) more impervious to heat than even a Torricellian vacuum. The silk must therefore not only have completely destroyed the conducting power of the air, but must also at the same time have very sensibly impaired that of the ethereal fluid which probably occupies the interstices of air, and which serves to conduct heat through a Torricellian vacuum: for a Torricellian vacuum was a better conductor of heat than this medium, in the proportion of 604 to 448. But I forbear to enlarge upon this subject, being sensible of the danger of reasoning upon the properties of a fluid whose existence is even doubtful; and feeling that our knowledge of the nature of heat, and of the manner in which it is communicated from one body to another, is much too imperfect and obscure to enable us to pursue these speculations with any prospect of success or advantage.

Whatever may be the manner in which heat is communicated from one body to another, I think it has been sufficiently proved that it passes with great difficulty through

* See my Experiments on Heat, published in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. 76.

confined air; and the knowledge of this fact is very important, as it enables us to take our measures with certainty and with facility for confining heat, and directing its operations to useful purposes.

But atmospheric air is not the only non-conductor of heat. All kinds of air, artificial as well as natural, and in general all elastic fluids, steam not excepted, seem to possess this property in as high a degree of perfection as atmospheric air.

That steam is not a conductor of heat, I proved by the following experiment: A large globular bottle being provided, of very thin and very transparent glass, with a narrow neck, and its bottom drawn inward so as to form a hollow hemisphere about six inches in diameter; this bottle, which was about eight inches in diameter externally, being filled with cold water, was placed in a shallow dish, or rather plate, about ten inches in diameter, with a flat bottom, formed of very thin sheet brass, and raised upon a tripod, and which contained a small quantity (about two-tenths of an inch in depth) of water; a spirit-lamp being then placed under the middle of this plate, in a very few minutes the water in the plate began to boil, and the hollow formed by the bottom of the bottle was filled with clouds of steam, which, after circulating in it with surprising rapidity four or five minutes, and after forcing out a good deal of air from under the bottle, began gradually to clear up. At the end of eight or ten minutes (when, as I supposed, the air remaining with the steam in the hollow cavity formed by the bottom of the bottle, had acquired nearly the same tempera-

ture as that of the steam) these clouds totally disappeared; and, though the water continued to boil with the utmost violence, the contents of this hollow cavity became so perfectly invisible, and so little appearance was there of steam, that, had it not been for the streams of water which were continually running down its sides, I should almost have been tempted to doubt whether any steam was actually generated.

Upon lifting up for an instant one side of the bottle, and letting in a smaller quantity of cold air, the clouds instantly returned, and continued circulating several minutes with great rapidity, and then gradually disappeared as before. This experiment was repeated several times, and always with the same result; the steam always becoming visible when cold air was mixed with it, and afterwards recovering its transparency when, part of this air being expelled, that which remained had acquired the temperature of the steam.

Finding that cold air introduced under the bottle caused the steam to be partially condensed, and clouds to be formed, I was desirous of seeing what visible effects would be produced by introducing a cold solid body under the bottle. I imagined that if steam was a conductor of heat, some part of the heat in the steam passing out of it into the cold body, clouds would of course be formed; but I thought if steam was a non-conductor of heat; that is to say, if one particle of steam could not communicate any part of its heat to its neighbouring particles; in that case, as the cold body could only affect the particles of steam actually in contact with it, no cloud would appear

appear; and the result of the experiment showed that steam is in fact a non-conductor of heat; for, notwithstanding the cold body used in this experiment was very large and very cold, being a solid lump of ice nearly as large as an hen's egg, placed in the middle of the hollow cavity under the bottle, upon a small tripod or stand made of iron-wire; yet as soon as the clouds which were formed in consequence of the unavoidable introduction of cold air in lifting up the bottle to introduce the ice, were dissipated (which soon happened) the steam became so perfectly transparent and invisible, that not the smallest appearance of cloudiness was to be seen anywhere, not even about the ice, which, as it went on to melt, appeared as clear and transparent as a piece of the finest rock-crystal.

This experiment, which I first made at Florence, in the month of November, 1793, was repeated several times in the presence of Lord Palmerston, who was then at Florence, and Monsieur de Fontana. In these experiments the air was not entirely expelled from under the bottle; on the contrary, a considerable quantity of it remained mixed with the steam even after the clouds had totally disappeared, as I found by a particular experiment, made with a view to ascertain that fact; but that circumstance does not render the result of this experiment less curious: on the contrary, I think it tends to make it more surprising. It should seem that neither the mass of steam, nor that of air, were at all cooled by the body of ice which they surrounded; for if the air had been cooled (in mass) it seems highly probable that the clouds would have returned.

The results of these experiments compared with those formerly alluded to, in which I had endeavoured to ascertain the most advantageous forms for boilers, opened to me an entirely new field for speculation and improvement in the management of fire. They showed me that not only cold air, but also hot air and hot steam, and hot mixtures of air and steam, are non-conductors of heat; consequently that the hot vapour which rises from burning fuel, and even the flame itself, is a non-conductor of heat.

This may be thought a bold assertion; but a little calm reflection, and a careful examination of the phenomena which attend the combustion of fuel, and the communication of heat by flame, will show it to be well-founded; and the advantages which may be derived from the knowledge of this fact, are of very great importance indeed.

On the Danger of using Vessels of Lead, Copper, or Brass, in Dairies. By Mr. Thomas Hayes, Surgeon, of Hamstead.

From the Letters and Papers of the Bath and West of England Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, &c.

MANY eminent physicians have asserted, that butter is very unwholesome; while others, equally eminent, have considered it as not only innocent, but as a good assistant to digestion; and each have been said to ground their opinions upon experience. Perhaps both may be right; and butter may be innocent or mischievous according as it contains many or few adventitious materials, collected from vessels, &c. used in the process of making it.

I am

I am led to these conjectures by observing, that in almost all the great dairies, the milk is suffered to stand in lead, brass, or copper vessels, to throw up the cream. The closeness of the texture of these metals, and their coldness and solidity, contribute to separate a greater quantity of cream from the milk than would be done by wooden trundles, or earthen pans; both of which are also sometimes made use of.

As I wish to establish the possibility of the fact, that milk may corrode or dissolve particles of the vessels above mentioned, and therefore be liable to communicate pernicious qualities to the butter, I beg leave to submit the reasons from which I draw this conclusion.

Whoever has been much in great dairies, must have observed a peculiarly sour frowsy smell in them, although they be ever so well attended to in respect of cleanliness, &c. In some, where the managers are not very cleanly, this smell is extremely disagreeable, owing mostly to the corrupted milk. In some it arises from the utensils being scalded in the dairy; and in others, from a bad construction of the building itself, the want of a sufficient circulation of air, water, &c. but, in all, a great deal of the lighter or more volatile parts of the milk fly off from the surface of the pans, and furnish a great quantity of acid effluvia to the surrounding air and ceiling; which is again deposited on every thing beneath it, and, of course, often on the vessels, after they have been put by clean, at the times of their being out of use. This may be observed to give a dull sort of appearance to brass and copper, as if you had breathed

on them; for if you rub your finger lightly over the vessels, you will have both the taste and smell of the metal.

It also happens sometimes, that after the vessels are washed, they are not carefully rinsed, nor perfectly dried by the fire; so that some of the milk, &c. is left on the surface of them; which dissolves the metals, either by its animal, oily, or acrescent qualities.

This is not the only way, nor the worst, by which the butter may become impregnated with mischief. The greater the quantity of cream thrown up from the milk, the larger profits accrue to the dairy-man; therefore he keeps it in the vessels as long as he can, and it is frequently kept till it is very sour, and capable of acting upon them: if they are of lead, a calx of sugar of lead is produced; if of brass or copper, verdigris.

It is true, the quantity cannot be very great: this however will depend upon the degree of sourness and length of time which the milk stands; but, independent of the acid, the animal oil in the cream will dissolve brass and copper.

That an acid floats in the atmosphere of a dairy, may be proved by placing therein a basin of syrup of violets for a little time, which will be found to turn red.

If then I am right in my conjectures, as I think I am, from the innumerable experiments and observations which I have made to satisfy myself of the fact, and which it would be trifling to relate here, may not the reputation of the wholesomeness or unwholesomeness of butter depend upon, or be owing to, some of the above causes? And may not many a casual, nay obstinate

nate complaint, which physicians have in vain laboured to account for, have originated from this source? Butter is found very frequently to occasion much disorder to very weakly, delicate, and irritable stomachs; yet these stomachs will bear olive-oil. This cannot easily be accounted for, but from metallic impregnation.

I will not contend that all the ill effects attributed to butter are caused by the mineral particles which it gains by the means before stated: I only insist that it is possible, and indeed very probable; and that, when butter is free from these particles, it is not so unwholesome as some have asserted; though, when it does contain them, it is found to disorder very tender persons.

To enlarge upon the subject, or attempt to explain the many ways by which a very small quantity of the above metals may prove injurious to the human frame, in some particular constitutions, would be only to repeat what has already been said by abler writers*. Some will perhaps say, that my ideas are very far-fetched; and others, that my opinions are ill-founded; but, I trust, whoever has read the industrious Researches of Sir George Baker on the Effects of Lead, and the melancholy case of a young lady who died in consequence of eating pickled samphire very slightly impregnated with copper, and which others ate without being diseased, as related by Dr. Percival, will receive my opinions with less objection. If I have erred, I have done it in honourable company.

I shall be very glad if the foregoing observations have sufficient influence on the dairy-men to induce them to change their utensils. Very commodious vessels may be made of cast-iron, equally well fitted for the purposes of the dairy, which will not be expensive, and will be more innocent and cleanly.

On the Ancient and Modern Navigation of India. From Dr. Vincent's Voyage of Nearchus, &c.

I CANNOT take a final leave of this coast without observing, that the whole distance from the Indus to Cape Jask comes out as near as may be, six hundred and twenty-five miles, equal to the estimation of Arrian on the coast of the Ichthyophagi alone; and this number of miles Nearchus was from seventy to seventy-five days in passing. If, however, with due allowance made for setting out against the monsoon, and twenty-four days lost at Cape Monze, we reduce the whole to forty days, we may form a comparative view between ancient and modern navigation; for it appears from the journal of the Houghton East Indiaman, that she made the same run in thirteen days; and upon her return was only five days from Gomeroron to Scindy Bar. But so far is this from diminishing the credit of the first navigators, that it is enhanced by every difficulty they had to surmount:—weak vessels with inexperienced mariners; no provisions but such as an unknown coast might furnish; no convenience for sleep-

* See Sir George Baker's papers on the effects of lead, in the Medical Transactions; Dr. Percival's paper in the same; and Dr. Falconer on copper vessels.

ing on board; no pilot but such as they might casually pick up on their course; no certainty that this sea was ever navigated before, or even navigable; and no resources such as the moderns have, without number, in their arms, their instruments, their experience, and the accumulated acquisitions of knowledge, whether practical or theoretical. Under all these disadvantages, if the object was attained, and the voyage completed, it is not the length of the course that ought to raise the name of Columbus higher than that of Nearchus; the consequences derived from the discoveries of both are equally important, and the commerce with the East Indies upon a level with that of America: but if the communication fixed at Alexandria is the origin of the Portuguese discoveries, and the circumnavigation of Africa, Nearchus is in fact the primary author of discovery in general, and the master both of Gama and Columbus.

There is one extraordinary circumstance attending this expedition, which is, that we find no mention of mutiny or disease among the people. The former would be naturally checked by their situation, for they had no second hope if they failed in the execution of their enterprise, and no chance of preservation but by obedience to their commander; the latter was less likely to occur, from the circumstances peculiar to the navigation; and the maladies arising from famine or bad provisions, appear not to have had sufficient time to exhibit their worst effects. As far as can be collected from the journal, they were never without shell-fish till within a few days of their arrival; and scorbutic

disorders, which are the scourge of the mariner in the protracted voyages of the moderns, are never noticed by the ancients. The proximity of land, the frequency of sleeping on shore, and the properties of their vessels, which were not decked, seem to have operated to the exclusion of a disease, which two hundred years experience is only now teaching modern navigators to combat; and this experience nothing but the persevering discipline of Cook could have reduced to practice.

It is not apparent that the passage from the Indus to the Gulph of Persia had ever been performed by the natives; for however great the commerce on that river was, and however extended, its progress naturally bent towards the coast of Malabar and the peninsula. The natives there were all Indians; while on the west, the name terminated at the Arabis, and all Indian manners with the boundary of the Oritæ at Malana. This appears to me a proof that no commerce from the Indus was carried farther by the Indians; the other natives, whether Oritæ or Ichthyophagi, had no embarkations even for fishing; and the Persians were never navigators. If any vessels, therefore, visited these coasts even in that early age, they were probably Arabian; but of this there can be no satisfactory evidence. That something passed upon the sea, and in all appearance from port to port, there seems to be ground for supposing; for Hydresses could not have been worthy of employment without some sort of experience; and there is a shadow of evidence that the pirates to eastward of the Indus, who have been pirates in all ages, accidentally visited

visited the coast, either for the purpose of intercepting the traffic, or of plundering the property of the inhabitants; and yet what temptation could they present, unless slaves were a commodity? If so, their persons might be seized, provided there were any record of a market to point out where they were disposed of; but the whole testimony which can be collected, amounts in no degree to a proof of a navigation, like that of Nearchus from India to Persia; and as this is the principal link in the future chain of communication with Europe, the merit of examining it seems wholly due to him as the original undertaker. I am not ignorant of a much longer voyage in this very direction imputed to Scylax by Herodotus, from Pactya (the Pekeli of Rennell) into the Gulph of Arabia: but whether this voyage was performed by the Persians, or that other round the Cape of Good Hope by the Phœnicians from Egypt, as recorded by him, is a point highly problematical in the opinion of every one who considers the structure of ancient vessels, and their whole method of navigation. I believe the record of both, as preserved by Herodotus, to be evidence that the Persians or Egyptians knew, from communication with the interior of the respective countries, that they were bounded by the ocean, and afforded the means of navigation; but that the voyages were actually performed requires more evidence, more particulars, and a clearer detail of facts, to enable us to form a judgment. The bare assertion that the thing had been done, might lead Alexander to think it practicable; but the Persian voyage produced no consequences whatever; and the Egyptian

navigation led to nothing, unless we suppose the Portuguese discoverers influenced by the assertion, that a passage round the Cape was practicable.

Scylax ought to be a Greek by the place of his nativity, Caryanda, or at least an inhabitant of Asia Minor; but we have no remains of his journal, and no other evidence of his voyage but the report of Herodotus, which is very deficient in circumstances to confirm its own authority; and collateral evidence there is none. In regard to the circumnavigation of Africa, there is one particular much insisted on by Larcher, Gesner, and other commentators; which is, the appearance of the sun to the north: a phenomenon dependent on every navigation within the tropics. The reserve of Herodotus, in saying that others may suppose this probable, though he doubts it himself, is a caution worthy of such an historian, and more persuasive than the boldest assertion. I must, however, notice a peculiarity in this passage, which seems to have escaped the scrutiny of his commentators; for he informs us in another place, that he went up the Nile himself as far as Elephantine, in order to ascertain some circumstances relative to the head of that river, about which he thought himself imposed upon by a secretary of the priests at Sais. Now, is it not extraordinary that if he reached Elephantine he should not have visited Syene, the very place at which he represents his doubts to exist? — Is it not strange, that though he lived prior to the construction of the well at Syene, he should mention nothing of the situation of Syene itself under the tropic? Had he been there

in summer, he must himself have seen the phænomenon he professes to doubt, or at least the sun vertical; and if his visit was at any other season, is it not remarkable that he should not have heard of this circumstance? Elephantine is an island, or a city on an island, in the Nile, opposite to Syene; and yet Herodotus does not quite say he was actually at Syene. From his mention that the cataracts are four days sail from the Elephantine he visited, may we not suspect that it was some island lower down (for there are many) or that the island called Elephantine by Pocock is not the Elephantine of Herodotus? and that the historian was not nearer Syene than within three days sail? for it is in reality less than one day's sail or journey by land from Syene to the cataracts. I mention these particulars, in order to shew the great obscurity which attends all the discoveries, whether real or pretended, in ages antecedent to history; and notwithstanding all that Mr. Gosselin has produced, to prove an early state of navigation and geography, previous to the knowledge of the Greeks, and founded upon better principles; notwithstanding the crudition displayed by Gesner in his *Treatise on the Navigation of the Phœnicians in the Atlantic*, there is nothing appears sufficiently satisfactory to establish the authenticity of any one prior voyage, of equal importance, upon a footing with this of Nearchus; or any certainty to be obtained where the evidence is all circumstantial, and none positive. From a journal like the *Periplus of Hanno*, a knowledge of the coast of Africa will enable us to form a judgment of his progress: but a bare

assertion of the performance of any voyage, without consequences attendant or connected, without collateral or contemporary testimony, is too slight a foundation to support any superstructure of importance. I should think it time well employed to vindicate the honour of Columbus against the usurpation of Vesputius; but I would not bestow a moment in annulling the claim of Madock and his Cambro-Britains to the discovery of America. The reader may conceive that this vindication of Nearchus partakes more of the partiality of an editor than the investigation of the truth: but I appeal to the ancient geographical fragments still extant; the *Periplus of Hanno*, the survey of the Euxine Sea by the real Arrian, and that of the Erythræan Sea, or Indian Ocean, by the fictitious one; and I say that all these, as well as the journal of Nearchus, though they have their errors, difficulties, or even absurdities, still contain internal evidence of veracity, and are well worthy of examination; while the expedition of the Argonauts, of Pytheas, or Scylax, is merely a speculation of amusement.

There is, however, another way of enquiry into the discoveries attributed to the earliest times; which is, by examining the commodities such discoveries would produce. Tin, the staple of Britain, is mentioned in the most ancient authors neither as a rare nor a very precious metal; this must have been introduced to the nations on the Mediterranean, either by a transport over land (such as is mentioned by Diodorus) or through the medium of a Phœnician navigation: the existence of the metal, therefore, in Greece and Asia is a proof that
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the voyage was performed, in some sense or other. The influx of gold into Judæa is equally a proof of a commerce extended into the Indian or Æthiopic Ocean, beyond the limits of the Gulph of Arabia. The materials still found in Egypt, that contributed to the preservation of the mummies, are some of them supposed to be oriental; and if so, Egypt must have had, even antecedent to history, a communication with the east, either directly by commerce of their own, or indirectly by means of intermediate nations, perhaps Arabian. In all these cases we have a right to assume the navigation from the view of its effects; but the voyage of Scylax from India to Egypt, or that of the Phœnicians from Egypt round the continent of Africa, have neither produce nor consequences; and though this is only a negative proof of their nonentity, it is as strong as the nature of the case will admit: if no second navigator had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the discovery of Gama might have been deemed problematical. Were it possible to ascribe these two voyages to the age of Herodotus, his testimony is such, that it ought to preponderate against every argument of mere speculation: but he probably records only the vanity of two nations, one the most proud of its empire, and the other of its science; both capable of attributing to themselves an action done, if it were possible to be done; and of this the possibility was perhaps known from internal information. My own opinion is decidedly against the reality of both these voyages; but whatever be my own judgment, it shall be subject to the decision of those who professedly consider the question in its full ex-

tent; it is here only incidental: but I must still repeat, that it is the assertion of facts without circumstances, while the voyage of Nearchus is detailed in all its parts, and is the earliest authentic journal extant. If, then, I am right, this is the first voyage of general importance to mankind; If I am mistaken, it is still the first of which any certain record is preserved.

Disquisitions on the Phrase

THE ENLIGHTENED PUBLIC.

From d'Israeli's Miscellanies.

HE who thinks, will perceive in every enlightened nation three kinds of people: an inconsiderable number instructed by reason, and glowing with humanity; a countless multitude, barbarous and ignorant, intolerant and inhospitable; and a vacillating people with some reason and humanity, but with great prejudices, at once the half echoes of philosophy, and the adherents of popular opinion. Can the public be denominated enlightened? Take an extensive view among the various orders of society, and observe how folly still wantons in the vigour of youth, and prejudice still stalks in the stubbornness of age!

To trace the human mind as it exists in people, would be the only method to detect this fallacious expression. The unenlightened numbers, who are totally uninfluenced by the few, live in a foul world of their own creation. The moral arithmetician, as he looks for the sum total of the unenlightened public, must resemble the algebraist, who riots in incalculable quantities, and who smiles at the simple savage, whose arithmetic extends not further than the number three.

In a metropolis we contemplate the human mind in all its inflections. If we were to judge of men by the condition of their minds (which perhaps is the most impartial manner of judging) we should not consult the year of their birth to date their ages; and an intellectual register might be drawn up, on a totally different plan from our parochial ones. A person may, according to the vulgar era, be in the maturity of life, when, by our philosophical epocha, he is born in the tenth century. That degree of mind which regulated the bigotry of a monk in the middle ages, may be discovered in a modern rector. An adventurous spirit in a red coat, who is almost as desirous (to use the wit of South) to receive a kiss from the mouth of a cannon as from that of his mistress, belongs to the age of chivalry; and if he should compose verses, and be magnificently prodigal, he is a gay and noble Troubadour. A sarcastic philosopher, who instructs his fellow-citizens, and retires from their society, is a contemporary with Diogenes; and he who, reforming the world, graces instruction with amenity, may be placed in the days of Plato. Our vulgar politicians must be arranged among the Roundheads and Olivers; and Tom Paine himself is so very ancient as to be a contemporary of Shimei. The result of our calculations would be, that the enlightened public form an inconsiderable number.

It must, however, be confessed, that what knowledge has been accumulated by modern philosophy, cannot easily perish; the art of printing has imparted stability to our intellectual structures, in what depends on the mechanical prefer-

vation. Human science can no more be annihilated by an Omar. A singular spectacle has, therefore, been exhibited; and it is sometimes urged by those who contemplate, with pleasing astonishment, the actual progress of the human mind, as a proof of the immutability of truth, that, in the present day, every enlightened individual, whether he resides at Paris, at Madrid, or at London, now thinks alike; no variation of climate, no remoteness of place, not even national prejudices, more variable and more remote than either, destroy that unanimity of opinion which they feel on certain topics essential to human welfare.

This appears to be a specious argument in favour of the enlightened public. But we should recollect, that this unanimity of opinion, which so frequently excites surprise, is owing to their deriving their ideas from the same sources: at Paris, at Madrid, and at London, the same authors are read, and, therefore, the same opinions are formed.

Thus we account for this unanimity of opinion; and we may now reasonably enquire whether unanimity of opinion always indicates permanent truth? It is certain that very extravagant opinions were once universally received: it becomes not an individual to affirm that some of our modern opinions are marvellously extravagant; we must leave them for the decision of posterity. We may, however, say to the greatest genius, Look at what your equals have done, and observe how frequently they have erred. Reflect, that whenever an Aristotle, a Descartes, and a Newton appeared, they formed a new epocha in the annals of human knowledge;

knowledge; it is not unreasonable to add one, among your thousand conjectures, and say, that their future rivals may trace new connections, and collect new facts, which may tend to annihilate the systems of their predecessors. Is not opinion often local, and ever disguised by custom? Is not what we call truth often error? And are not the passions and ideas of men of so very temporary a nature, that they scarce endure with their century? This enlightened public may discover that their notions become obsolete, and that with new systems of knowledge, and new modes of existence, their books may be closed for their successors, and only consulted by the curious of a future generation as we now examine Aristotle and Descartes, Aristophanes and Chaucer. Our learning may no more be their learning than our fashions will be their fashions. Every thing in this world is fashion.

It may also be conjectured, that, amidst the multitude of future discoveries, the original authors of our own age, the Newtons and the Lockes, may have their conceptions become so long familiarized, as to be incorporated with the novel discoveries as truths so incontestible, that very few shall even be acquainted with their first discoverers. It would therefore appear, that the justness, as well as the extravagance of our authors, are alike inimical to their future celebrity.

Dedication of the Tragedy of Junius Brutus to General Washington.

From Count Alfieri's Tragedies.

THE name of him alone who gave liberty to America can sanction the tragedy of the de-

liverer of Rome. To you, therefore, a citizen of singular fortune and desert, I dedicate Junius Brutus, without reciting the praises due to you; for they are all included in your name. So brief a mention of you ought not to be deemed indirect adulation.—I am personally unacquainted with you; and divided, as we are, by the immense ocean, we have but one motive immediately in common,—the love of our country. Truly happy are you who have established a fame such as yours, on a basis firm and eternal,—the love of your country proved by your actions!—For myself, I have abandoned my native soil, purely for the sake of writing with ardour on the subject of liberty. By such a sacrifice, I flatter myself, I have demonstrated what my patriotism would have proved, had I been destined to a country worthy of my sentiments. On this consideration alone I aspire to the honour of uniting to the name of Washington that of Vittorio Alfieri.

Paris, December 31st, 1788.

Dedication of Agis to Charles the First, King of England.

From the same.

I THINK that, without meanness or arrogance, I may dedicate my tragedy of Agis to an unfortunate and a deceased king.

This King of Sparta was, like yourself, condemned to die by iniquitous judges and an unjust parliament: but however similar the effect, the cause was widely different. Agis, in the establishment of equality and liberty, wished to restore to Sparta her own virtues, and her ancient splendor; his death was therefore glorious, and his fame is eternal.

nal. To you, by endeavouring to break all bounds of your authority, and to advance your private emolument, nothing remains but the useless pity which accompanied you to the grave.

Both Agis and yourself have offered, and will continue to offer, a memorable example, and a terrible one, to posterity; with this grand difference, That many kings like Charles there have been, and will be; but such as Agis,—not one.

Modern Platonism.

GODEFROI Izarn Marquis de Valadi, a young Frenchman of an enthusiastic turn of mind, having adopted a Pythagorean mode of life, resolved in the year 1788 to visit England, to be more at liberty to prosecute his Platonic reveries, one of his first cares, on arriving in the capital, was to visit a gentleman of eminence in the literary world, and to propose to him the station of Chief of the Pythagorean sect. Followers, he assured him, he could not fail to find in every quarter of the globe. Upon his refusal, Valadi intimated some intention of assuming the honourable post himself. "But, in that case," said the Englishman, "would it not be proper that you should understand Greek?"—"True," answered Valadi; "I had forgot that: I will go and study it at Glasgow."

He set off for that place on foot; staid there six months; and then returned to London, where he chanced to hear that Mr. Thomas Taylor, of Walworth, was generally considered as the principal Pythagorean in England. Valadi immediately purchased his works; and,

after having perused them, dispatched the following scroll, which is highly characteristic of his eccentricity and temper of mind:—

To Thomas Taylor, better named Iyfis, G. Izarn Valadi, of late a French Marquis, and Taniffaire,

Sendeth Joy and Honour.

12 Xbre. 1788, vulg. æra.

"O Thomas Taylor! mayest thou welcome a brother Pythagorean, led by a Saviour God to thy divine school! I have loved wisdom ever since a child, and have found the greatest impediments, and been forced to great struggles, before I could clear my way to the source of it; for I was born in a more barbarous country than ever was Illyria of old. My family never favoured my inclination to study; and I have been involved in so many cares and troubles, that it cannot be without the intervention of some friendly Deity that I have escaped the vile rust of barbarism, and its attendant meanness of soul. My good fortune was, that I met, eighteen months ago, an English gentleman of the name of Pigott, who is a Pythagorean philosopher, and who easily converted me to the diet and manners agreeable to that most rich and beneficent deity, Mother Earth; to that heaven-inspired change I owe perfect health and tranquillity of mind, both of which I had long been deprived of. Also my own oath has acceded to the eternal oath (which mentions the golden commentator on G. V.) and I would more cheerfully depart from my present habitation on this Themis-forsaken earth, than defile myself evermore with animal food,
stolen

stolen either on earth, in air, or water.

"I met with thy works but two days past. O divine man! a prodigy in this iron age! who would ever thought thou couldst exist among us in our shape! I would have gone to China for a man endowed with the tenth part of thy light! Oh, grant me to see thee, to be lustrated and initiated by thee! What joy, if, like to *Proclus Leonas*, to thee I could be a domestic! who feel living in myself the soul of Leonidas.

"My determination was to go and live in North America, from love of liberty, and there to keep a school of temperance and love, in order to preserve so many men from the prevailing disgraceful vices of brutal intemperance and selfish cupidity. — There, in progress of time, if those vices natural to a commercial country are found to thwart most of the blessings of liberty, the happy select ones, taught better discipline, may form a society by themselves, such a one as the gods would favour and visit lovingly; which would preserve true knowledge, and be a seminary and an asylum for the lovers of it.

"There I would devoutly erect altars to my favourite gods,—Dioscari, Hector, Aristomenes, Messen, Pan, Orpheus, Epaminondas, Pythagoras, Plato, Timoleon, Marcus Brutus, and his Portia; and, above all, Phoebus, the god of my hero Julian, and the father of that holy, gentle commonwealth of the Peruvians, to which *nullus ultor* has, as yet, been suscited!

"Music and gymnastic are sciences necessary for a teacher to possess — (what deep and various sense these two words contain!) and

I am a stranger to both! O Gods! who gave me the thought and the spirit, give me the means! for all things are from you.

"Thomas Taylor, be thou their instrument to convoy into my mind knowledge, truth, and prudence! Do thou love and help me. I will go to thee to-morrow morning.

"P. S. May I look to thee, endowed with an ancient and no modern enthusiasm!

"GRACCHUS CROTONEIOS."

According to the promise contained in his letter, Valadi waited upon Mr. Taylor the following day; threw himself in due form at his feet; tendered to him a small sum in bank-notes, which at that moment constituted all his fortune; and begged, with great humility, to be admitted as a disciple into his house. His prayer was granted; and for some time he enjoyed the advantage of imbibing philosophy from the fountain-head: but, finding himself more formed for an active than a contemplative life, he determined to quit philosophy, in order to take some share in the political commotions which began to agitate France with redoubled force. When he took leave of his respectable master of philosophy, he had exchanged his quaker-like apparel for a complete suit of military clothes. "I came over Diogenes," said he: "I am going back Alexander."

It was now the spring of 1789; and every thing, indeed, announced a revolution, in which he was far more instrumental than is generally supposed.

After passing through the various vicissitudes of the revolution, he was guillotined under the agency of Robespierre, in December 1793.

Proceedings of the Vhemie or Westphalian Court. From Mr. Coxe's Letter to the Countess of Pembroke.

THE meeting, in order to be competent, must consist of the Free Count and at least fourteen Assessors; the door being closed, the Judge can neither rise until the whole process is concluded, nor surrender his place to another person, excepting the Emperor, should he happen to be present. The assessor who accuses, takes an oath that the delinquent is guilty of the crime; and immediately the name of the accused is written down in a book, called the Book of Blood. If another than an assessor accuses, he is brought into the court holding the writ of accusation folded up in his hands, with a green cross, and a pair of white gloves. The assessor was accustomed to touch those whom they called to judgment slightly with a rod, or to whisper these mysterious words:—‘As good bread is eaten elsewhere as this.’ Should four assessors surprise a person in the commission of flagrant crimes, they are empowered to try and hang him up on the spot.

Six weeks and three days are allowed for the appearance of the culprit; and the writ of accusation is given to two assessors, who declare, with an oath, that they will make the citation at the stated time, and inform the court when they shall have effected it. Should the person who is summoned conceal himself, letters are written to those among whom he is hid, signifying that he ought to surrender himself at a given time and place; and if he has taken an asylum in a fortified castle, the citator goes either by night or by day, on foot or on

horseback, cuts out three slips from a wooden rail, and places in the incision a coin and the writ of citation. He keeps the three slips as a memorial that he has executed his commission, and calls out to the porter, to inform the man who has taken refuge within, that he is summoned, and will find the writ inclosed in the rail. If the accused can nowhere be found, the assessors proclaim him guilty towards the four corners of the world. If, after three summonses, the accused does not appear, the judge declares that he will proceed against him as contumacious, and pronounce sentence on a stated day: having first proclaimed his name four times, he commands him to attend, and answer to the charge. If after these summonses the accused does not make his appearance, then the judge proclaims, ‘In consequence of the supreme law, which Charlemagne sanctioned, and Pope Leo confirmed, and which Princes, Counts, Nobles, Freemen, in the Saxon land, have sworn to observe, I cast this man from the highest to the lowest degree; I deprive him of all privileges, liberties, immunities, and rights; I subject him to the Royal Ban, to hatred, to execrations, to hostility, and to the greatest possible punishment which can be conceived by man. I render him incapable of all law and pardon; Achloes, Rechloes, Segeloes, Wedeloes. Lastly, according to the laws of this tribunal, I condemn him to death: I adjudge his neck to the halter, his body to birds of prey, to be consumed in the air; his soul I commend to God; his fiefs and estates, if he has any, I pronounce to have lapsed to the Sovereign: I declare his wife a widow, and his children orphans.’

orphans.' After these words, he throws a halter, or a branch of willow twisted, beyond the place of judgment: the assessors spit, and confirm the sentence. This sentence is then forwarded to all the other courts, with orders to hang up the delinquent wheresoever he is found, on the next tree.

If the accused appears at the tribunal, his accusation is read, and the accuser confirms the truth by a solemn oath. The opinions of the assessors are then taken, by means of a string touched by those who pass sentence of death. Should the accused think the sentence unjust, he is permitted to declare it, and to remain till he is convicted by witnesses. There is no appeal but to the Emperor. The judge who passes sentence, as well as the assessors, must be fasting, and bare-headed; without a robe, gloves, or any species of arms. The condemned person is then consigned to one of the younger assessors, who, if he finds himself unequal to the task, can require the aid of another, and with his assistance, hangs up the unfortunate delinquent.

Soup for the Poor. By Sir F. Eden, Bart.

THE principal advantage which the labourers in the north of England possess over their countrymen in the south, consists in the great variety of cheap and savoury soups, which the use of barley and barley-bread affords them an opportunity of making. The cheapness of fuel is, perhaps, another reason why the culinary preparations of the northern peasant are so much diversified, and his table so often supplied with hot dishes. The following is one of the usual soups made by labourers fa-

milies, in the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland. It consists of meat, oat-meal, barley (with the husks taken off) and pot-herbs; such as onions, chives, parsley, thyme, &c. in the following proportions:—

A pound of good beef, or mutton, six quarts of water, and three ounces of barley, are boiled till the liquor is reduced to about three quarts: one ounce of oat-meal, which has been previously mixed up with a little cold water, and a handful, or more, of herbs, are added, after the broth has boiled some time. Some put in a greater, and others a less, quantity of water: the above, however, is the most usual proportion: a pint, or a pint and a half of the broth, with eight ounces of barley-bread, makes a very good supper. The day the broth is made, the dinner usually is broth, with part of the meat, bread, and potatoes, chopped and boiled; and the supper is broth and bread: the next day, the dinner is cold meat from the broth, warm potatoes, broth, and bread; and the supper, bread and broth warmed up, but not boiled again. The broth will continue good three days, if kept cool; and may be heated when wanted. Veal, pork, bacon, lean beef, or mutton, will not make such good broth with this proportion of water: it will, however, still be very palatable; and not a drop of the liquor is lost or wasted, whatever meat is boiled in it. To roast meat, is considered, by the country people in the north, as the most prodigal method of cooking it; because that culinary process does not afford them the opportunity of converting a considerable quantity of water into a nutritious and wholesome soup.

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR, 1797.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

I.

O'ER the vex'd bosom of the deep,
When rushing wild, with frantic haste,
The winds with angry pinions sweep
The surface of the wat'ry waste,
Though the firm vessel proudly brave
The inroad of the giant wave,
Though the bold seaman's firmer soul
Views unappall'd the billowy mountains roll,
Yet still along the murky sky
Anxious he throws th' enquiring eye,
If haply through the gloom that round him low'rs
Shoots one refulgent ray, prelude of happier hours.

II.

So Albion, round her rocky coast,
While loud the rage of battle roars,
Derides Invasion's haughty boast;
Safe in her wave-encircled shores,
Still safer in her dauntless band,
Lords of her seas, or guardians of her land,
Whose patriot zeal, whose bold emprise,
Rise as the storms of danger rise;
Yet, temp'ring glory's ardent flame
With gentle mercy's milder claim,
She bends from scenes of blood th' averted eye,
And courts the smiles of peace 'mid shouts of victory.

III:

She courts in vain!—The ruthless foe,
Deep drench'd in blood, yet thirsting still for more,
Deaf to the shrieks of agonizing woe,
Views with rapacious eye each neighb'ring shore.
Mine be th' eternal sway, aloud he cries;
Where'er my sword prevails, my conqu'ring banner flies.

IV.

IV.

Genius of Albion, hear;
 Grasp the strong shield, and shake th' avenging spear.
 By wreaths thy hardy sons of yore
 From Gallia's crest victorious tore;
 By Edward's lily-blazon'd shield;
 By Agincourt's high-trophy'd field;
 By rash Iberia's naval pride,
 Whelm'd by Eliza's barks beneath the stormy tide;
 Call forth thy warrior race again,
 Breathing to ancient mood the soul-inspiring strain,—
 * "To arms! your ensigns straight display!
 "Now set the battle in array!
 "The oracle for war declares,
 "Success depends upon our hearts and spears.
 "Britons, strike home! revenge your country's wrongs;
 "Fight, and record yourselves in Druid songs!"

ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, 1797.

BY HENRY JAMES PYE, ESQ. POET-LAUREAT.

Set to Music by Sir W. Parsons, Mus. D.

A WHILE the frowning Lord of arms
 Shall yield to gentler pow'rs the plain;
 Lo! Britain greets the milder charms
 Of Cytherea's reign.
 Mute is the trumpet's brazen throat,
 And the sweet flute's melodious note
 Floats on the soft ambrosial gale;
 The sportive Loves and Graces round,
 Beating with jocund step the ground,
 Th' auspicious nuptials hail!
 The Muses cease to weave the wreath of war,
 But hang their roseate flow'rs on Hymen's golden car!
 When o'er Creation's blotted face
 Drear Night her sable banner rears,
 And veils fair Nature's vernal grace,
 Encircled round by doubts and fears,
 Through darksome mists and chilling dews
 His path the wand'rer's foot pursues,
 Till, shining clear in orient skies,
 He views the star of Venus rise,
 And joys to see the genial pow'r:
 Bright harbinger of morning's hour!

* These last lines were inserted at the desire of the King.

And

And now a flood of radiance streams
 From young Aurora's blushing beams,
 Till rob'd in gorgeous state, the orb of day
 Spreads o'er the laughing earth his full refulgent ray!

Blest be the omen, royal pair!
 O may the hymeneal rite,
 That joins the valiant and the fair,
 Shed on the nations round its placid light!
 Her fertile plain though Albion see
 From savage devastation free;
 Though with triumphant sail she reign
 Sole Empress of the subject main,
 She longs to bid the thunders sleep
 Which shake the regions of the deep,
 That crowding nations far and wide,
 Borne peaceful o'er the ambient tide,
 May share the blessings that endear the day
 Which gave a patriot king a patriot race to sway!

SONNET.—BY THE LATE EARL OF ORFORD.

AS the Mole's silent stream crept pensive along,
 And the winds murmur'd solemn the willows among,
 On the green turf complaining a swain lay reclin'd,
 And wept to the river, and sigh'd to the wind.

' In vain (he cry'd) Nature has waken'd the spring;
 ' In vain blooms the violet, the nightingales sing:
 ' To a heart full of sorrow no beauties appear:
 ' Each zephyr's a sigh, and each dew-drop's a tear!

' In vain my Sophia has graces to move
 ' The fairest to envy, the wisest to love:—
 ' Her presence no longer gives joy to my eye,
 ' Since without her to live is more pain than to die!

' O that slumber his pinions would over me spread,
 ' And paint but her image, in dreams, in her stead!
 ' The beautiful vision would soften my pain;
 ' But sleep's a relief I solicit in vain!

THE PILGRIM.—FROM POEMS BY R. SOUTHEY

WITH way-worn feet a pilgrim woe-begone,
 Life's upward road I journey'd many a day,
 And hymning many a sad yet soothing lay,
 Beguil'd my wand'ring with the charms of song.

Lonely

Lonely my heart, and rugged was the way,
 Yet often pluck'd I, as I pass'd along,
 The wild and simple flow'rs of poesy;
 And, as befeem'd the wayward fancy's child,
 Entwin'd each random weed that pleas'd mine eye!
 Accept the wreath belov'd! it is both wild
 And rudely garlanded; yet scorn not thou
 The humble off'ring, where the sad rue weaves
 'Mid gayer flow'rs its intermingled leaves,
 For I have twin'd the myrtle for thy brow.

ALONZO THE BRAVE, AND FAIR IMOGINE.—*A Romance.*

FROM MR. LEWIS'S NOVEL OF THE MONK.

A WARRIOR so bold and a virgin so bright,
 Convers'd as they sat on the green;
 They gaz'd on each other with tender delight!
 Alonzo the Brave was the name of the knight;
 The maid's was the fair Imogine.

“And oh!” said the youth, “since to-morrow I go
 “To fight in a far distant land,
 “Your tears for my absence soon leaving to flow,
 “Some other will court you, and you will bestow
 “On a wealthier suitor your hand!”

• Oh hush these suspicions, fair Imogine said,
 ‘Offensive to love and to me!’
 • For if you be living, or if you be dead,
 • I swear by the virgin that none in your stead
 ‘Shall husband of Imogine be.
 • If e’er I, by lust or by wealth led aside,
 ‘Forget my Alonzo the Brave,
 • God grant that, to punish my falsehood and pride,
 • Your ghost at my marriage may sit by my side:
 • May tax me with perjury, claim me as bride,
 ‘And bear me away to the grave!’

To Palestine hasten'd the hero so bold;
 His love she lamented him sore:—
 But scarce had a twelvemonth elaps'd when, behold,
 A baron, all cover'd with jewels and gold,
 Arriv'd at fair Imogine's door.

His treasure, his presents, his spacious domain
 Soon made her untrue to her vows:
 He dazzled her eyes, he bewilder'd her brain;
 He caught her affections, so light and so vain,
 And carry'd her home as his spouse!

And

And now had the marriage been blest by the priest ;
 The revelry now was begun ;
 The tables they groan'd with the weight of the feast ;
 Nor yet had the laughter and merriment ceas'd,
 When the bell at the castle toll'd—ONE !

Then first, with amazement, fair Imogine found
 That a stranger was plac'd by her side !—
 His air was terrific ; he utter'd no sound ;
 He spoke not, he mov'd not, he look'd not around,
 But earnestly gaz'd on the bride !

His vizor was clos'd, and gigantic his height ;
 His armour was fable to view :—
 All pleasure and laughter were hush'd at his sight ;
 The dogs, as they ey'd him, drew back in affright ;
 The lights in the chamber burn'd blue !

His presence all boloms appear'd to dismay ;
 The guests sat in silence and fear ;
 At length spoke the bride, while she trembl'd, “ I pray,
 Sir Knight, that your helmet aside you would lay,
 And deign to partake of our cheer !”

The lady is silent : the stranger complies ;
 His vizor he slowly unclos'd.—
 Oh, God, what a sight met fair Imogine's eyes !
 What words can express her dismay and surprise,
 When a skeleton's head was expos'd !

All present then utter'd a terrify'd shout ;
 All turn'd with disgust from the scene ;
 The worms they crept in, and the worms they crept out,
 And sported his eyes and his temples about,
 While the spectre address'd Imogine :—

“ Behold me, thou false one ; behold me !” he cry'd :
 “ Remember Alonzo the Brave !
 “ God grants, that, to punish thy falsehood and pride,
 “ My ghost at thy marriage should sit by thy side ;
 “ Should tax thee with perjury, claim thee as bride,
 “ And bear thee away to the grave !”

Thus saying, his arms round the lady he wound,
 While loudly she shriek'd in dismay ;
 Then sunk with his prey thro' the wide-yawning ground !
 Nor never again was fair Imogine found,
 Or the spectre who bore her away.

Not long liv'd the Baron ; and none since that time
To inhabit the castle presume ;
For chronicles tell, that, by order sublime,
There Imogine suffers the pain of her crime,
And mourns her deplorable doom.

At midnight four times in each year does her sprite,
When mortals in slumber are bound,
Array'd in her bridal apparel of white,
Appear in the hall with the skeleton-knight,
And shriek as he whirls her around !

While they drink out of skulls newly torn from the grave,
Dancing round them the spectres are seen :
Their liquor is blood ; and this horrible stave
They howl,—“ To the health of Alonzo the Brave,
And his consort, the false Imogine !”

A BALLAD. BY ROBERT BURNS. — *Tune, Humours of Glen.*

THEIR groves o' sweet myrtle let foreign lands reckon,
Where bright beaming summers exalt the perfume ;
Far dearer to me yon lone glen o' green breckan,
With the burn stealing under the lang yellow broom ;
Far dearer to me yon humble broom-bowers,
Where the blue bell and gowan lurk lowly unseen ;
For there, lightly tripping amang the wild flowers,
A list'ning the linnet, aft wanders my Jean.
Tho' rich is the breeze, in their gay funny valleys,
And cauld Caledonia's blast on the wave ;
Their sweet-scented woodlands that skirt the proud palace,
What are they ?—the haunt o' the tyrant and slave !
The slave's spicy forests, and gold-bubbling fountains,
The brave Caledonian views-wi' disdain ;
He wanders as free as the wind on his mountains,
Save love's willing fetters,—the chains of his Jean.

MODERN NOVELS. (Inscribed to the Author of the Monk)
From my Night-Gown and Slippers. BY G. COLEMAN.

TOM, Dick, and Will, were little known to fame—
No Matter :
But to the alehouse oftentimes they came
To chatter.
It was the custom of these three
To sit up late
And, o'er the embers of the alehouse fire,
When steadier customers retire,
The choice triumviri, d'ye see,
Held a debate.

Held

- " But how to cure the evil? You will say,
 " My recipe is laughing it away.
 " Lay bare the weak farrago of those men
 " Who fabricate such visionary schemes,
 " As if the night-mare rode upon their pen,
 " And troubl'd all their ink with hideous dreams.
 " For instance, when a solemn ghost stalks in,
 " And through a mystic tale, is busy,
 " Strip me the gentleman into his skin,
 " What is he?
 " Truly ridiculous enough:
 " Mere trash,—and very childish stuff."

LODGINGS FOR SINGLE GENTLEMEN:—*A Tale.*

From the same.

WHO has e'er been in London, that overgrown place,
 Has seen *Lodgings to Let* stare him full in the face.
 Some are good, and let dearly; while some, 'tis well known,
 Are so dear and so bad, they are best let alone.

Derry down.

Will Waddle, whose temper was studious and lonely,
 Hired lodgings that took single gentlemen only;
 But Will was so fat he appear'd like a ton;—
 Or like two single gentlemen roll'd into one.

He enter'd his rooms; and to bed he retreated,
 But, all the night long, he felt fever'd and heated;
 And, though heavy to weigh, as a score of fat sheep,
 He was not, by any means, heavy to sleep.

Next night 'twas the same;—and the next;—and the next;
 He perspir'd like an ox; he was nervous and vex'd.
 Week pass'd after week; till, by weekly succession,
 His weakly condition was past all expression.

In six months his acquaintance began much to doubt him;
 For his skin, "like a lady's loose gown," hung about him.
 He sent for a Doctor; and cry'd, like a ninny,
 "I have lost many pounds—make me well—there's a guinea."

The Doctor look'd wise;—"a slow fever," he said:
 Prescrib'd sudorifics, and going to bed.—
 "Sudorifics in bed," exclaim'd Will, "are humbugs;"
 "I've enough of them there, without paying for drugs."

Will kick'd out the Doctor:—but when ill indeed,
 E'en dismissing the Doctor don't *always* succeed;
 So, calling his host, he said, "Sir, do you know,
 "I'm the fat single gentleman, six months ago?"

"Look'e

"Look'e, landlord, I think," argu'd Will, with a grin,
 "That with honest intentions you first *took me in* ;"
 "But from the first night (and to say it I'm bold).
 "I have been so damn'd hot, that I'm sure I caught cold."

Quoth the landlord, 'Till now, I ne'er had a dispute ;
 'I've let lodgings ten years ;—I'm a baker to boot.
 'In airing your sheets, Sir, my wife is no sloven ;
 'And your bed is immediately—over my oven.'

"The oven!!!" says Will. Says the host, 'why this passion ?'
 'In that excellent bed dy'd three people of fashion.
 'Why so crusty, good Sir?' "Zounds!" cries Will in a taking,
 'Who wou'd'nt be crusty with half a year's baking!'"

Will paid for his rooms. Cry'd the host, with a sneer,
 "Well, I see you've been *going away* half a year :"
 'Friend, we can't well agree'—"yet no quarrel," Will said;
 "For one man may die where another makes bread."

ON THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY. — *A Poem by the Dean of Waterford, which obtained the late Chancellor's Prize at Oxford some Years since; the Original never appeared in Print but in an interpolated State.—From the Gentleman's Magazine.*

YE souls illustrious, who, in days of yore,
 With peerless might the British target bore ;
 Who, clad in wolf-skin, from the scythed car,
 Frown'd on the iron brow of mailed war,
 And dar'd your rudely-painted limbs oppose
 To Chalybean steel, and Roman foes !
 And ye of later age, tho' not less fame
 In tilt and tournament, the princely game
 Of Arthur's barons, wont by hardiest sport
 To claim the fairest guerdon of the court,—
 Say, holy shades, did e'er your gen'rous blood
 Roll through your nobler sons in quicker flood
 Than late *, when George bade gird on ev'ry thigh
 The myrtle-braided sword of Liberty ?
 Say, when the high-born Druid's magic strain
 Rous'd on old Mona's top a female train
 To madness, and with more than mortal rage,
 Bade them like furies in the fight engage ;
 Frantic when each unbound her bristling hair,
 And shook a flaming torch, and yell'd in wild despair ;

* These lines were written soon after an installation at Windsor.

Or when on Cressy's field the fable might
 Of Edward dar'd four monarchs to the fight;
 Say, holy shades, did patriotic heat
 In your big hearts with quicker transports beat
 Than in your sons, when forth like storms they pour'd,
 In Freedom's cause, the fury of the sword?
 Who rul'd the main, or gallant armies led,
 With Hawke who conquer'd, or with Wolfe who bled?
 Poor is his triumph, and disgrac'd his name,
 Who draws the sword for empire, wealth, or fame:
 For him though wealth be blown on ev'ry wind,
 Though fame announce him mightiest of mankind,
 Though twice ten nations crouch beneath his blade,
 Virtue disowns him, and his glories fade;
 For him no pray'rs are pour'd, no pæans sung,
 No blessings chanted from a nation's tongue;
 Blood marks the path to his untimely bier;
 The curse of orphans, and the widow's tear,
 Cry to high Heav'n for vengeance on his head;
 Alive, deserted; and accurst when dead.
 Indignant of his deeds, the Muse, who sings
 Undaunted truth, and scorns to flatter kings,
 Shall shew the monster in his hideous form,
 And mark him as an earthquake, or a storm.
 Not so the patriot chief, who dar'd withstand
 The base invader of his native land;
 Who made her weal his noblest, only end,
 Rul'd but to serve her, fought but to defend:
 Her voice in council, and in war her sword,
 Lov'd as her father, as her God ador'd;
 Who firmly virtuous, and severely brave,
 Sunk with the freedom that he could not save.
 On worth like this the Muse delights to wait,
 Reverses alike in triumph and defeat;
 Crowns with true glory and with spotless fame;
 And honours Paoli's more than Fred'ric's name.
 Here let the Muse withdraw the blood-stain'd veil,
 And shew the boldest son of public zeal.
 Lo, Sidney leaning o'er the block! his mien,
 His voice, his hands, unshaken, clear, serene.
 Yet no harangue, proudly declaim'd aloud,
 To gain the plaudit of a wayward crowd;
 No specious vaunt, Death's terrors to defy,
 Still death deferring as afraid to die:
 But sternly silent, down he bows, to prove
 How firm his virtuous, though mistaken love.
 Unconquer'd patriot! form'd by ancient lore
 The love of ancient freedom to restore,

Who nobly acted what he boldly thought,
 And seal'd by death the lesson that he caught.
 Dear is the tie that links the anxious fire
 To the fond babe that prattles round his fire;
 Dear is the love that prompts the gen'rous youth
 His fire's fond cares and drooping age to soothe;
 Dear is the brother, sister, husband, wife;
 Dear all the charities of social life:
 Nor wants firm friendship holy wreaths to bind
 In mutual sympathy the faithful mind:
 But not th'endearing strings that fondly move
 To filial duty, or parental love,
 Nor all the ties that kindred bosoms bind,
 Nor all in friendship's holy wreaths entwin'd,
 Are half so dear, so potent to controul
 The gen'rous workings of the patriot soul,
 As is that holy voice that cancels all
 Those ties that bids him for his country fall.
 At this high summons, with undaunted zeal,
 He bares his breast, invites th'impending steel,
 Smiles at the hand that deals the fatal blow,
 Nor heaves one sigh for all he leaves below.
 Nor yet doth Glory, though her part be bold,
 Her aspect radiant, and her tresses gold,
 Guide through the walks of Death alone her car,
 Attendant only on the dint of War:
 She ne'er disdains the gentle vale of Peace,
 Or olive shades of philosophic ease,
 Where Heav'n-taught minds to woo the Muse resort,
 Create in colours, or with sounds transport;
 More pleas'd on Isis' silent marge to roam
 Than bear in pomp the spoils of Minden home.
 To read with Newton's ken the starry sky,
 And God the same in all his orbs descry;
 To lead forth Merit from her humble shade;
 Extend to rising Arts a patron's aid;
 Build the nice structure of the gen'rous Law,
 That holds the free-born mind in willing awe;
 To swell the sail of Trade; the barren plain
 To bid with fruitage blush, and wave with grain;
 O'er pale Misfortune drop, with anxious sigh,
 Pity's mild balm, and wipe Affliction's eye;
 These, these are deeds Britannia must approve,
 Must nurse their growth with all a parent's love:
 These are the deeds that Public Virtue owns,
 And (just to Public Virtue) Glory crowns.

WALLACE'S ADDRESS TO HIS ARMY.

BY ROBERT BURNS.

SCOTS, wha hae wi' Wallace bled;
 Scots, wham Bruce has aften led,
 Welcome to your gory bed,
 Or to glorious victorie!

Now's the day, and now's the hour;
 See the front o' battle lour;
 See approach proud Edward's pow'r!
 Edward! chains and slaverie!

Wha will be a traitor knave?
 Wha can fill a coward's grave?
 Wha sae base as be a slave?
 Traitor! coward! turn and flie!

Wha for Scotland's King and Law,
 Freedom's sword will strongly draw;
 Freeman stand, or freeman fa',
 Caledonian! on wi' me!

By Oppression's woes and pains!
 By your sons in servile chains!
 We will drain our dearest veins,
 But they shall, they shall be free!

Lay the proud usurpers low!
 Tyrants fall in ev'ry foe!
 Liberty's in ev'ry blow!
 Forward! let us go, or die!

SONNETS.

ATTEMPTED IN THE MANNER OF 'CONTEMPORARY WRITERS.'

From the Monthly Magazine.

SONNET I.

PENSIVE, at eve, on the hard world I mus'd,
 And my poor heart was sad: so at the moon
 I gaz'd,—and sigh'd,—and sigh'd!—For ah! how soon
 Eve darkens into night. Mine eye perus'd
 With fearful vacancy, the *damp* grafs,
 Which wept and glitter'd in the paly ray:
 And I did pause me on my lonely way,
 And mus'd me on those wretched ones who pass
 O'er the black heath of sorrow. But, alas!
 Most of MYSELF I thought: when it befell;
 That the sooth SPIRIT of the breezy wood
 Breath'd in mine ear, 'All this is very well;
 But much of *me* thing is for *no* thing good.'
 Ah! my poor heart's inexplicable swell!

NEREMIAH HIGGINBOTTOM.

SONNET

SONNET II. — TO SIMPLICITY.

O ! I do love thee, meek *Simplicity* !
 For of thy lays the lulling simpleness
 Goes to my heart, and sooths each small distress ;
 Distress though small, yet haply great to me !
 'Tis true on lady Fortune's gentlest pad
 I amble on ! yet, though I know not why,
 So sad I am ! But should a friend and I
 Grow cool and *miff*, () ! I am *very* sad !
 And then with sonnets and with sympathy
 My dreamy bosom's mystic woes I pall ;
 Now of my false friend plaining plaintively,
 Now raving at mankind in general ;
 But whether sad or fierce, 'tis simple all,
 All very simple, meek **SIMPLICITY** !

NEHEMIAH HIGGINBOTTOM.

SONNET III. — ON A RUINED HOUSE IN A
ROMANTIC COUNTRY.

AND this rest house is that the which he built,
 Lamented Jack ! And here his malt he pil'd,
 Cautious in vain ! These rats that squeak so wild,
 Squeak not unconscious of their father's guilt.
 Did ye not see her gleaming through the glade !
 Belike 'twas she, the maiden all forlorn ;
 What though she milk no cow with crumpled horn,
 Yet aye she haunts the dale where erst she stray'd ;
 And aye beside her stalks her amorous knight !
 Still on his thighs their wonted brogues are worn,
 And through those brogues still tatter'd and betorn,
 His hindward charms gleam an unearthly white ;
 As when thro' broken clouds, at night's high noon
 Peeps in fair fragments forth the full-orb'd harvest-moon !

NEHEMIAH HIGGINBOTTOM.

Account of Books for 1797.

Memoirs of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, by Charles M'Cormick, LL. B. 4to, 1797.

THIS work, which might with greater propriety be entitled *Memoirs of and Strictures on the Political Conduct of Mr. Burke*, gives us but little information respecting Mr. Burke's youth; and of his education, his habits, and his propensities, scarcely anything. For these deficiencies it, however, in some measure, compensates, by a very ample detail of Mr. Burke's public life, of his parliamentary speeches, and of the corresponding history of political parties.

Having already in our Chronicle given the prominent features of the character and fortunes of Mr. Burke, we shall content ourselves now with giving a few extracts from Mr. M'Cormick's book; reserving for a future volume, when we shall be furnished with ampler documents, a fuller account of this illustrious man, who claims particular regard from us as having been, during the space of one-and-thirty years, the principal conductor of the present undertaking; of which circumstance Mr. M'Cormick takes notice in the following words:—

“ Mr. Burke admired the diversity of talents so conspicuous in the

labours of Hume and Robertson, but did not lose in that admiration the consciousness of his own. His emotions on reading their works very much resembled those of Correggio, who, after examining Raphael's master-piece with silent rapture at length exclaimed *Ed io anche sono pittore* — “ And I too am a painter.” Animated by this sentiment, he began to write memoirs of his own time; and having laid a sketch of his plan before the elder Doddsley, he received from that discerning and spirited bookseller the most liberal encouragement to carry it into execution. “ The Annual Register for the year 1758,” accordingly made its appearance; and it is but a faint echo of the national voice to assert, that no periodical work had ever before been presented to the world in so masterly and so interesting a form, or had so well deserved the applause it everywhere met with. The beams of public favour did not relax but invigorate the writer's efforts; and for more than thirty years the increase of merit and the increase of reputation were kept up by the continual display of new and extraordinary powers. In the year 1789, Mr. Burke declined this task, and transferred it to other hands.”

Of Mr. Burke's connexion with
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Sir Joshua Reynolds, the result, according to Mr. M'Cormick, was highly advantageous, though in different ways to both parties. In a word, Sir Joshua rose by borrowed wings to high literary fame, by his "Discourses to the Royal Academy," which Mr. Burke is said to have composed for him, while Sir Joshua repaid the obligation by very liberal pecuniary disbursements.

Mr. M'Cormick, after closing the short and unsatisfactory anecdotes of Mr. Burke's private life, and previous to the period of his political importance, presents us with the following character of him:—

"In every circle where he appeared, an interesting sweetness and sensibility of countenance disposed even strangers to form at first sight a favourable idea of his character; and this impression was afterwards strengthened by the delicacy of his behaviour and the numberless charms of his conversation. He was not indeed remarkable for a dignity of aspect, nor did any lightning ever flash from his eye; but though he wanted those external marks of an elevated soul, or of the commanding orator, he possessed the softer graces of good humour and serenity. It was the clash of parliamentary debate and the violent collisions of party which afterwards struck out the latent fire of his soul, and betrayed those fatal weaknesses; that extreme irritability of temper, that uncontrolled and almost frantic vehemence of passion, which became the cause of such frequent vexation to his friends, and exposed him so often to the attacks of his enemies. Before the commencement of his political warfare, nothing but the milk of good-nature seemed to flow from his lips; he

replied to the harshest contradictions in a tone of soft persuasion; he heard impertinence and absurdity without a frown. Master of every stile, from Bolingbroke to Bunyan, his language was always suited to the occasion. The richness of his fancy enabled him to scatter flowers over a barren subject, while the fallies of his wit enabled him to enliven the most serious discussions. It cannot be a matter of just surprise, much less of reproach, that low images and strokes of vulgar pleasantries were sometimes found in the exuberance of his entertaining remarks. Instead of expressing an ill-natured disgust at such little blemishes, we should rather compare the impetuous rush of his ideas to the rapidity of Peruvian torrents, which, in washing down gold from the tops of the mountains, mingle the precious ore with common sand."

These Memoirs throughout abound with violent invectives against Mr. Burke's political apostacy; against which Mr. M'Cormick declaims with more acrimony than becomes the impartiality of a biographer:

Another biographical account of this extraordinary man, from the pen of Dr. Bisset, has been lately announced, which we shall notice in our next volume.

An authentic Account of the Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China; including cursory Observations made, and Information obtained, in travelling through that ancient Empire, and a small Part of Chinese Tartary: together with a Relation of the Voyage undertaken on the Occasion by his Majesty's Ship the Lion, and the Ship Hindostan in the East

East India Company's Service, to the Yellow Sea and Gulph of Pekin; as well as of their Return to Europe: with Notices of the several Places where they stopped in their Way out and home. Taken chiefly from the Papers of his Excellency the Earl of Macartney, Knight of the Bath, his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Emperor of China; Sir Erasmus Gower, Commander of the Expedition, and of other Gentlemen in the several Departments of the Embassy. By Sir George Staunton, Baronet, Honorary Doctor of Laws of the University of Oxford, F. R. S. his Majesty's Secretary of Embassy to the Emperor of China, and Minister Plenipotentiary in the Absence of the Ambassador. In Two Volumes, 4to, with Engravings; besides a Folio Volume of Plates. 4l. 4s. Boards. — On large Paper, 6l. 6s. Boards. Nicol. 1797.

THIS is one of those performances that will characterise, under more views than one, the liberal spirit of the age itself. It may indeed truly be said that we are here presented with much important and multifarious information concerning the greatest empire of the world. Sir George Staunton enjoyed peculiar advantages for describing with accuracy the physical as well as moral state of China. The embassy was accompanied by gentlemen versed in the most useful branches of natural and nautical knowledge: the transactions in which the heads of it were employed, with the emperor and his ministers, were well calculated to exhibit the views, dispositions, and talents of the Chinese court; and the established characters of the narrators, in respect to probity and good sense, give a degree of au-

thenticity to their reports, which former descriptions of China are not thought to possess.

The first and second chapters are employed in explaining the occasion of the embassy, and the preparations for executing it with success. The author then proceeds, throughout the greater part of the first volume, to describe the voyage to China, by the way of Madeira, the Canaries, Rio de Janeiro, Tristan D'Acunha in the southern part of the Atlantic, and the Isles of St. Paul and Amsterdam in the Indian Ocean. A most interesting part of the voyage then follows, through the Straits of Sunda and Banca, to Pulo Condore, a small island near the coast of Cambodia; thence to Turon Bay, a desirable place of refreshment in Cochin-China; and from Turon Bay to the Chu-san isles, above a thousand miles beyond Canton, and on the same eastern coast. At Chu-san, the Lion man of war and Hindostan Indiaman had reached the utmost boundary of recorded navigation by Europeans. The sea thence to the port nearest to Pekin, extending upwards of ten degrees of latitude, was totally unknown, except to those who dwell around its shores. Into this sea flow the waters of the great Whong-ho; which, in its long and circuitous course, carries with it such quantities of yellow mud, that it receives the name of the Yellow River, and communicates the same quality and the same appellation to the adjoining sea.

The accurate examination of this unknown sea is not one of the least benefits derived from the embassy. The British vessels conveying the embassy, its attendants, and presents, were furnished each with a Chinese pilot,

pilot at Chu-san. These pilots brought with them two marine compasses; but they were unprovided with charts, or any instrument for ascertaining latitudes. They trusted entirely to their local knowledge and observation; as did the nations of old surrounding the Mediterranean; which the Chinese seas nearly resemble, both in the narrowness of their boundaries, and in the numerous islands with which every part of them is studded.

The track of the Lion and Hindostan, in navigating the Yellow Sea, is carefully laid down in the charts accompanying the work; and on these charts are marked not only the soundings, but the state of the marine barometer, and of Fahrenheit's thermometer, in the shade, every day at noon: a precaution which renders unnecessary the continual repetition of those observations in the body of the work.

In the course of the Hindostan, when separated from the Lion, she perceived on Sunday the 14th of July, 1793, a small square-rigged European vessel. This was the Endeavour brig, Captain Proctor, belonging to the East India Company, and sent by the Company's commissioners at Canton, through whom the design of the embassy had been communicated to the Chinese court, with dispatches for the ambassador. In the neighbourhood of Tsung-ming, and along the coast of China, Captain Proctor met several small junks, cruising with mandarins on board, to find out and welcome the ambassador, as well as to conduct him into port: but they seldom went out of the depth of two fathoms, not aware that the ship which had his Excellency on board, drew about double that quantity of water.

The Squadron, consisting of the Lion, Hindostan, and Jackall tender, came to anchor in seven fathoms water in a broad bay, a few miles distant from the city of Tenchoo-foo; the last syllable of which word always denotes a city of the first order, having several middling and small towns within its jurisdiction.

As soon as the governor of Tenchoo-foo was informed that the ambassador was on board the Lion, he sent to him a present, consisting of fresh provisions and fruit; and afterwards came on board to visit him. The governor was attended by a great number of persons; one of whom having had occasion to speak to him as he was passing along the ship's deck, immediately threw himself upon his knees, and, in that posture, communicated his business, to the great surprise of the English spectators: a surprise that was heightened by the undisturbed countenance of the governor, as if accustomed to be accosted in that manner. The governor of Tenchoo-foo, in his interview with the ambassador, testified not only great politeness, but much ease and affability; and it was apparent upon this occasion, as well as from what was observed at Chu-san, that the solemnity of behaviour, attributed in many accounts of this country as a general character to the Chinese, was only an appearance assumed by them in the presence of those whom they considered as their inferiors.

The governor gave an invitation (which was declined) to the ambassador and his suite to entertainments and plays on shore, as indeed had done the governor of Chu-san, in order, in some small degree, to correspond, as they expressed it, with
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the splendid reception which it was understood their sovereign intended for his Excellency, when he should arrive at the imperial court.

The eclat of such a reception was, no doubt, likely to operate upon the minds of the people of China, who look with more than an ordinary degree of reverence to the throne. It might tend to impress them with a general sense of consideration for the English nation, of which the agents of the English East India Company at Canton might experience effects conducive to their benefit and comfort.

The shallowness of the water obliged the Lion to come to anchor on the 25th of July, about four leagues from the Chinese coast, which at the north-west extremity of the Gulph of Peking, consists of a low and sandy beach. From this anchorage, the river Pei-ho, which comes from Tien-sing, was found to be fifteen miles distant. A bar crossed the mouth of the river, which did not materially obstruct the navigation of Chinese ships, though of three and four hundred tons burden; while the Jackall, an English vessel of 100 tons, followed them with much difficulty. Having entered the river,

The Jackall was soon accosted by Chinese soldiers in a boat, desiring her to anchor, and wait the arrival of a mandarin, who had inquiries to make about her. This gentleman made his appearance presently, with several attendants, upon the Jackall's deck. As soon as he was satisfied that she belonged to the expected embassy, he made many inquiries about the ambassador, and the presents brought for his Imperial Majesty. As the an-

swers were general, he, after a little time, endeavoured to obtain a more particular account by changing the manner and form of his questions; and he seemed to exert no little address to obtain his object. Though the motion of the brig and smell of the tar were offensive to him, yet he continued long on board to collect information as to the size and strength of the ships attending the ambassador, and the number of men and guns on board; while one of his attendants was busy writing all the time of the conference, as if taking notes of every thing that passed. The mandarin concluded by declaring, that the Emperor had issued orders for the reception and accommodation of the embassy, and offered to supply whatever might be wanted. The brig being obliged to wait in the river for the return of the tide next day, Captain Campbell and Mr. Hunter were invited on shore, where they were hospitably treated; but in a manner cross-examined, and the former questions repeated to them. Particular inquiries were also made as to the species of nutriment to which the ambassador and his suite had been accustomed, and how his Excellency wished to travel, observing that gentlemen in China travelled either in sedan-chairs, or in two-wheeled carriages by land, or in commodious boats by water; which latter method was generally preferred wherever practicable; but adding, that his Excellency and his suite were to be accommodated whichever way they wished. The mandarins spoke also about the articles of merchandize which they supposed were brought for sale to Peking, and said they might be safely deposited in the four christian churches.

chies in that city, where they might be sold to great advantage. The idea of trade was so associated with that of Englishmen, in the minds of the Chinese, who knew them only as venders and purchasers of goods, that they could scarcely give credit to the assertion, that the persons composing the embassy were not merchants, and that the ships of war never carried goods for sale, or that there was little, beside what was intended for presents for the court, in any of the vessels. The proposal, made with so little ceremony, of converting churches into shops for the retail of merchandize, which appeared singular to an European ear, was perfectly familiar to the Chinese, whose places of worship are occasionally made to answer every purpose of utility to which they may be applied. The building in which this conversation took place, was itself a temple; and in the crowd were some of the bonzes, or priests, who ministered in it; and were remarkable for the contrast between their grey beards and their robes of rose-coloured silk.

The mandarins, who were informed that the English ships could not cross the bar, immediately conceived their size to be immense, and formed a proportionate idea of the quantity of presents necessary to fill them. They gave orders for preparing junks to bring those presents, as well as the passengers and baggage, on shore. A considerable building near the river's mouth was provided for the reception of the ambassador, where it was expected he would remain some days, to recover from the fatigues of so long a voyage. And it was observed, that he need not precipitate his journey to the capital, as the Emperor's

birth-day was yet at a considerable distance: — these people not imagining that an embassy could be any thing more than a visit, or message of high compliment to their sovereign on that anniversary, or on the occasion of some other solemn festival.

This information had not been long communicated on board the *Lion*, when several Chinese vessels brought a supply of live stock, fruit, and other vegetables, in such profusion, that the ships could only contain a part of it, and the overplus was necessarily sent back. Among other articles were 20 bullocks, 120 sheep, 120 hogs, 160 bags of flour, 1000 water-melons, 3000 musk-melons, 10 chests of candles, and 3 baskets of porcelaine. The hospitality, and indeed the attentions of every other kind, which the embassy and squadron experienced on all occasions, were such as strangers seldom meet with, except in the eastern parts of the world. Two mandarins, one civil and the other military, came to congratulate the ambassador on his safe arrival: they told him that they were appointed to attend him to the imperial court; and that it was the express will of their sovereign to render his journey safe and agreeable to him.

These gentlemen were received on board the *Lion* with attention and cordiality. Much of the stiffness which generally accompanies a communication through the medium of an interpreter, was removed by the good humour of the parties, and the ardent desire they felt of making out one another's meaning. Their discourse by no means partook of the guarded intercourse of strangers suspicious of each other. Sometimes, before the explanation

was given of the expressions used, the occasion itself suggested what was intended to be said; and gesture often came in aid of words. There was, however, so much employment for the Chinese interpreter, that a trial was now made of the skill of two persons belonging to the embassy, to whom the Chinese missionaries had endeavoured to communicate some knowledge of their language, ever since they had left Naples together, above a year before. One of these persons applied to this study with the uninterrupted diligence of mature age, but had the mortification of finding that as yet he could scarcely understand a word of what was said to him by these new-comers, to whom his pronunciation was equally unintelligible; while the other, a youth who certainly took less pains, but whose senses were more acute, and whose organs were more flexible, proved already a tolerably good interpreter. Many words, it seems, of the Chinese tongue, of however opposite a signification, frequently differ from each other, in the utterance, only in some slight variation of accent or intonation; and which is susceptible of being more quickly caught, and more accurately rendered by those who learn in early life, than by any who begin to attempt it after being advanced in years. So close is the approximation sometimes in the inflexions of the voice, in uttering Chinese words of different meanings, that it is not uncommon, even among the natives, in order to avoid mistakes in conversation, to add the principal terms used, the nearest synonyms in sense, by way of explanation. The necessity of doing so arises from the use of monosyllables only in the

Chinese language, which must be less distinct as admitting fewer combinations, as well as from the exclusion of some of the harsher sounds of other nations, among which the difference in the pronunciation of words is consequently more perceptible.

The two mandarins enquired if the letter brought for the Emperor by the ambassador was translated into Chinese; and requested at any rate to know the purport of it. A compliance with this request was not urged as an etiquette prescribed by the imperial court; nor yet did it appear to have been asked from the indiscreet eagerness of curiosity, but rather was considered as a matter of ordinary course; and which might enable those mandarins more completely to fulfil the object they had in view, of obtaining and conveying to their sovereign every information relative to the embassy. It was, however, thought more prudent, and perhaps more decent, to reserve the communication of his Majesty's letter at least until the arrival of the ambassador at the capital; and therefore an answer was given, that the original, with the translations of it, were locked up in a golden box, to be delivered into the Emperor's hands.

Concerning the presents, the mandarins were peculiarly solicitous to enquire; and a list of them was formally demanded, to be sent to his Imperial Majesty. The same demand had, indeed, been made by every Chinese who had any intercourse with the ambassador, or with the commissioners at Canton, on the subject of the embassy: and it appeared from the beginning how much curiosity had been excited respecting them. A common catalogue, containing

taining the names of those on board the Hindostan, would not convey any idea of their qualities or intrinsic worth, or indeed be understood by any effort of translation. They would, likewise, suffer by being confounded with the mere curiosities sent usually for sale; which, however expensive, or even ingenious, were more glittering than useful. It was necessary, therefore, to make out, somewhat in the oriental style, such a general description of the nature of the articles now sent, as appeared likely to render them acceptable; measuring their merit by their utility, and endeavouring even to derive some credit from the omission of splendid trifles.

On the 5th of August, 1793, the ambassador and his suite prepared to quit the Lion and Hindostan, which drew too much water to pass the bar of the Pei-ho river. The presents and baggage, accompanied by the servants, musicians, and other attendants, were shipped on board of junks; while the gentlemen of the embassy embarked in the Clarence, Jackall, and Endeavour brigs. Proceeding with a favourable breeze and a spring-tide, they crossed the bar in a few hours. The river immediately within the bar is about five hundred yards wide, and was almost entirely covered with vessels. On its southern bank is the village of Tun-coo, with a military post; where the troops were drawn up in compliment to the Ambassador. The vessels in their progress soon passed another village, called See-coo: and they reached, on the same evening, the town of Ta-coo.

At Ta-coo large covered barges were provided, to convey the em-

bassy up the river Pei-ho, towards Peking. The barge destined for the reception of the ambassador contained an anti-chamber, a saloon, a bed-chamber, and a closet. Boats attended with provisions and cooks. Sixteen other yachts, most of them of a larger size than that of the ambassador, conveyed his suite. Many of these vessels were eighty feet long, and very capacious; yet they were built of such light wood, and were so constructed, that they did not draw more than eighteen inches of water, though they were lofty above it. An equal number of vessels, resembling our river lighters, were employed in conveying the baggage and presents.

Chow-ta-zhin and Van-ta-zhin, the conductors of the route, waited frequently on the ambassador, in order to take his commands; and likewise made visits of civility to the principal gentlemen of the embassy. Inferior mandarins attended all the vessels for the distribution of provisions; proceeding from yacht to yacht in small boats, so constructed that they could neither sink nor be overset. The meats most plentiful were beef and pork. Among the most expensive articles were the nests of a particular species of swallow, and the fins of sharks, both of which afford rich and fattening juices. Wheat grows in many provinces of China; but boiled rice is commonly used for bread. The wine was generally muddy, of little flavour, and soon grew sour. The tea was often too fresh for an English palate; and it was not unusual to hear a wish expressed for London tea.

The direct progress of the embassy up the Pei-ho was very slow; the course of that river being re-

markable

markably serpentine. The banks are elevated considerably above the adjacent plains, extending as far as the eye can reach ; which circumstance, together with the windings of the river, made the vessels sailing on it appear to move in every direction over the adjoining fields. These fields were generally covered with the *holcus sorghum*, or tallest of the vegetables producing excellent grain, vulgarly called Barbades Millet. It grows to the height of ten or twelve feet ; and the lowest calculation of its increase is an hundred fold.—When night came on, the banks were illuminated by lanterns, the transparent sides of which were made of differently coloured paper ; while the number of lanterns hoisted on the mast-heads of the various vessels in the river denoted the respective ranks of the passengers on board ; all which produced a moving and party-coloured illumination, a species of magnificence much affected by the Chinese. The night was nearly as noisy as the day, to which contributed not a little the shrill sounds of the loo or gong, on every occasion of conveying signals.

On one side of the river was a large grove of high and wide-spreading pines ; the other was crowded with pyramids or stacks of salt, brought annually from the southern provinces in 2000 vessels of 200 tons each ; and sufficient for the annual consumption of thirty millions of people. The pyramids of salt were within sight of the great port called Tien-sing, or the heavenly spot ; an appellation claimed by its genial climate, fertile soil, dry air, and serene sky. The town is situated on an eminence, at the confluence of two rivers, and is the general em-

porium for the northern provinces of China. One of the rivers near to Tien-sing is expressed by a word meaning the “ Grain-bearing River ;” and even at this early stage of the expedition, the travellers found that the Chinese names were not mere arbitrary sounds, but served to denote the nature and qualities of things : a circumstance which proves this country to have been possessed always by the same race, without any considerable mixture with foreign nations. The crowds of spectators were immense ; yet, in all the ardour of curiosity, the people preserved order and regularity, without the aid of soldiers or constables : and for the sake of mutual accommodation, none of the common Chinese who usually wear straw-hats, kept them on their heads, though thus exposed to a scorching sun. The fleet conveying the embassy anchored nearly in the centre of the city, opposite to a pavilion in which the viceroy of the province waited for the ambassador. There the latter was informed that the Emperor was in his country-residence of Zhe-hol, in Tartary, where he intended to celebrate the anniversary of his birth-day on the 17th of September. It was proposed, in consequence, that the embassy, after having reached Tong-shoo by water, within twelve miles of Peking, should proceed by land directly to Zhe-hol : but before we accompany the travellers thither, the following circumstance at Tien-sing ought to be noticed.

‘ Among other instances of the Viceroy’s attention to the Ambassador, a temporary theatre was erected opposite to his Excellency’s yacht. The outside was adorned with a variety of brilliant and lively colour ;

colours; by the proper distribution of which, and sometimes by their contrast, it is the particular object of an art among the Chinese to produce a gay and pleasing effect. The inside of the theatre was managed, in regard to decorations, with equal success; and the company of actors successively exhibited, during the whole day, several different pantomimes and historical dramas. The performers were habited in the ancient dresses of the Chinese at the period when the personages represented were supposed to have lived. The dialogue was spoken in a kind of recitative, accompanied by a variety of musical instruments; and each pause was filled up by a loud crash, in which the loo bore no inconsiderable part. The band of music was placed in full view, immediately behind the stage, which was broad, but by no means deep. Each character announced, on his first entrance, what part he was about to perform, and where the scene of action lay. Unity of place was apparently preserved, for there was no change of scene during the representation of one piece. Female characters were performed by boys or eunuchs.

One of the dramas, particularly, attracted the attention of those who recollected scenes somewhat similar upon the English stage. The piece represented an Emperor of China and his Empress living in supreme felicity, when on a sudden his subjects revolt, a civil war ensues, battles are fought, and at last the arch-rebel, who was a general of cavalry, overcomes his sovereign, kills him with his own hand, and routes the imperial army. The captive Empress then appears upon the stage in all the agonies of de-

spair naturally resulting from the loss of her husband and of her dignity, as well as the apprehension for that of her honour. Whilst she is tearing her hair, and rending the skies with her complaints, the conqueror enters, approaches her with respect, addresses her in a gentle tone, soothes her sorrows with his compassion, talks of love and adoration, and, like Richard the Third with Lady Anne, in Shakespeare, prevails, in less than half an hour, on the Chinese princess to dry up her tears, to forget her deceased consort, and yield to a consoling wooer. The piece concludes with the nuptials and a grand procession.

When passing through Tien-sing, the vessels conveying the ambassador and suite had an opportunity of observing that great city, which appeared to be nearly as long as London. The account given by the mandarins of the place, made its population amount to 700,000 persons. The houses of Tien-sing are of brick, of a leaden blue colour; and many of them are, contrary to the common mode of building, two stories high. In consequence of the patriarchal custom, retained by the Chinese, of having all the succeeding generations of the same family under a single roof, it is computed that nearly ten men fit to bear arms are commonly found in every Chinese house. The junks, covering the waters which divide this commercial city, contained many thousand inhabitants: for the wives and families of the sailors reside with them constantly on board; and there many of them are born, and all of them spend their lives. Every shore is to them foreign, and the earth an element with which they are only occasionally connected.

Few carriages were seen on the road, and none with more than two wheels, for conveying either travellers or goods. Gentlemen travel generally on horseback, or in sedan-chairs, or chair-palanquins; and ladies are mostly carried in close litters, suspended between mules or horses. The custom mentioned by Milton,

“When Chineses drive
With sails and wind their cany waggons
light.”

is still retained. Those cany waggons are small carts formed of bamboo; and when the wind favours the progress of such a cart, a sail is hoisted, made of mat, and fastened to two poles in the opposite sides of the cart.

The travellers did not see even a hillock between them and the horizon, until the fourth day of their departure from Tien-sing, when some blue mountains were observed rising from the north-west; and they indicated the approach to Peking, beyond which they are situated. Two days afterwards, on the 10th of August, the yachts anchored off the city of Tong-choo-foo, at the distance of about twelve miles from that great capital.

Peking stands at the western extremity of an immense plain, probably formed by alluvial land brought down by torrents from the neighbouring mountains. The route lay through it to the autumnal palace of the Emperor, called Yuen-min-vuen, or garden of perpetual verdure, where such of the presents as could not be transported with safety to Zhe-hol were to be deposited.

Amongst all the crowds assembled near Tong-choo-foo, or those

which the approach of the embassy had attracted in other places, since its entrance into China, not one person in the habit of a beggar had been seen, or any one observed to solicit charity. No small portion of the people seemed, it is true, to be in a state approaching indigence; but none driven to the necessity, or enured to the habit, of craving assistance from a stranger. The present was not, indeed, one of those seasons of calamity which destroys or diminishes the usual resources of the peasant, and drives him sometimes even into criminal excesses, to procure subsistence. In such times, however, the Emperor of China always comes forward; he orders the granaries to be opened; he remits the taxes to those who are visited by misfortunes; he affords assistance to enable them to retrieve their affairs; he appears to his subjects as standing almost in the place of Providence, in their favour: he is perfectly aware by how much a stronger chain he thus maintains his absolute dominion, than the dread of punishments would afford. He has shewn himself so jealous of retaining the exclusive privilege of benevolence to his subjects, that he not only rejected, but was offended at, the proposal once made to him by some considerable merchants, to contribute towards the relief of a suffering province. He accepted, at the same time, the donation of a rich widow of Tien-sing, towards the expences of the Thibet war. But independently of any general evil, which every wise government is attentive to remedy or alleviate, accidental causes of distress, or indi-

vidual failures of the means to procure subsistence, give occasion, at all times, in most other countries, to the affecting spectacle of human beings dependent for their existence, on the precarious aid of those whom they may chance to meet, but who have the power of withholding it.

In travelling through China, the spectator observes fewer public buildings than might be expected in so ancient a kingdom; the reason of which is, that hitherto the cruel policy of every dynasty, or new family mounting the throne of China, has been not only to destroy the remaining branches of the former race, but to level the edifices dedicated to their memory. Of those circular and lofty buildings termed Pagodas, there are several kinds, and dedicated to several uses: but none, as commonly supposed, to religious worship. The temples consecrated to this purpose differ little in height from common dwelling-houses.

There is in China no state-religion. None is paid, preferred, or encouraged by it. The Emperor is of one faith; many of the mandarins of another; and the majority of the common people of a third, which is that of Fo. This last class, the least capable, from ignorance, of explaining the phenomena of nature, and the most exposed to wants which it cannot supply by ordinary means, is willing to recur to the supposition of extraordinary powers, which may operate the effects it cannot explain, and grant the requests which it cannot otherwise obtain.

No people are, in fact, more superstitious than the common Chinese. Besides the habitual offices of devotion on the part of the priests and females, the temples are parti-

cularly frequented by the disciples of Fo, previously to any undertaking of importance:—whether to marry, or go a journey, or conclude a bargain, or change situation, or for any other material event in life, it is necessary first to consult the superintendent deity. This is performed by various methods. Some place a parcel of consecrated sticks, differently marked and numbered, which the consultant, kneeling before the altar, shakes in a hollow bamboo until one of them falls on the ground; its mark is examined, and referred to a correspondent mark in a book which the priest holds open; and sometimes even it is written upon a sheet of paper pasted upon the inside of the temple. Polygonal pieces of wood are by others thrown into the air. Each side has its particular mark; the side that is uppermost when fallen on the floor, is in like manner referred to its correspondent mark in the book or sheet of fate. If the first throw be favourable, the person who made it prostrates himself in gratitude, and undertakes afterwards, with confidence, the business in agitation. But if the throw should be adverse, he tries a second time; and the third throw determines, at any rate, the question. In other respects the people of the present day seem to pay little attention to their priests. The temples are, however, always open for such as choose to consult the decrees of Heaven. They return thanks when the oracle proves propitious to their wishes. Yet they oftener cast lots, to know the issue of a projected enterprize, than supplicate for its being favourable; and their worship consists more in thanksgiving than in prayer.

Few Chinese are said to carry the objects to be obtained by their devotion beyond the benefits of this life. Yet the religion of Fo professes the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and promises happiness to the people on conditions which were, no doubt, originally intended to consist in the performance of moral duties; but in lieu of which are too frequently substituted those of contributions towards the erection or repair of temples, the maintenance of priests, and a strict attention to particular observances. The neglect of these is announced as punishable, by the souls of the defaulters passing into the bodies of the meanest animals, in whom the sufferings are to be proportioned to the transgressions committed in the human form.

While the embassy remained at Tong-choo-foo, some of the English gentlemen were supplied with horses to ride about the neighbourhood. The animals are strong, bony, and many of them spotted as regularly as a leopard*. The riders met several Chinese on horseback, who alighted, on approaching, in civility to the strangers. As China is the prototype of fashions and customs to neighbouring countries, this custom has been extended to other parts of the east; and, in the same manner, the yellow colour, which is the favourite distinction of the Emperor of China, is equally affected by every sovereign in the eastern part of Asia.

The houses of the peasants are scattered about, instead of being united into villages. They are clean and comfortable; and without fence-

es, gates, or other apparent precaution against thieves or wild beasts. The wives of the peasantry cultivate silk-worms, and spin cotton; and women are almost the sole weavers throughout the empire. Yet few of them fail to injure their active powers by sacrificing (in imitation of females of superior rank) to the prejudice in favour of little feet.

Notwithstanding all the merit of these helpmates to their husbands, the latter arrogate an extraordinary dominion over them, and hold them at such a distance, as not always to allow them to sit at table; behind which, in such case, they attend as handmaids. This dominion is tempered, indeed, by the maxims of mild conduct in the different relations of life, inculcated from early childhood amongst the lowest, as well as highest classes of society. The old persons of a family live generally with the young. The former serve to moderate any occasional impetuosity, violence, or passion of the latter. The influence of age over youth is supported by the sentiments of nature, by the habit of obedience, by the precepts of morality engrafted in the law of the land, and by the unremitted policy and honest arts of parents to that effect. They who are past labour deal out the rules which they had learned, and the wisdom which experience taught them, to those who are rising to manhood, or to those lately arrived at it. Plain sentences of morals are written up in the common hall, where the male branches of the family assemble. Some one, at least, is capable of reading them to the rest. In almost

* Beans, and the finer kind of straw cut small, compose a great proportion of the food for horses.

every house is hung up a tablet of the ancestors of the persons then residing in it. References are often made, in conversation, to their actions. Their example, as far as it was good, serves as an incitement to travel in the same path. The descendants from a common stock visit the tombs of their forefathers together, at stated times. This joint care, and indeed other occasions, collect and unite the most remote relations. They cannot lose sight of each other; and seldom become indifferent to their respective concerns. The child is bound to labour, and to provide for his parents maintenance and comfort; and the brother for the brother and sister that are in extreme want; the failure of which duty would be followed by such detestation, that it is not necessary to enforce it by positive law. Even the most distant kinsman, reduced to misery by accident or ill-health, has a claim on his kindred for relief. Manners, stronger far than laws, and indeed inclination, produced and nurtured by intercourse and intimacy, secure assistance for him. These habits and manners fully explain the fact already mentioned, which unhappily appears extraordinary to Europeans, that no spectacles of distress are seen to excite the compassion, and implore the casual charity of individuals. It is to be added, that this circumstance is not owing to the number of institutions of public benevolence. The wish, indeed, of the Persian monarch is not realized in China, that none should be in want of the succour administered in hospitals; but those establishments are rendered little necessary, where the link which unites all the branches of a family, brings

aid to the suffering part of it without delay, and without humiliation.

The presents and heavy baggage of the embassy were to be conveyed beyond Peking to the Emperor's autumnal palace. On calculating the means necessary to this end, the mandarins ordered ninety small waggons, forty small hand-carts, or barrows, 200 horses, and 3000 labouring men to serve in different capacities, besides those modes of conveyance which were necessary for themselves and their attendants. The road forms a magnificent avenue to Peking; and the central part of it, to the breadth of twenty feet, is paved with flags of granite.

Peking exhibited, on the entrance into it, an appearance contrary to that of European cities, in which the streets are often so narrow, and the houses so lofty, that from one extremity of a street the houses appear at the other to be leaning towards and closing upon each other. Here few of the houses were higher than one story; none more than two; while the width of the street which divided them was considerably above one hundred feet. It was airy, gay, and lightsome.

The first street extended in a line directly to the westward, until it was interrupted by the eastern wall of the imperial palace, called the yellow wall, from the colour of the small roof of varnished tiles with which the top of it is covered. Various public buildings seen at the same time, and considered as belonging to the Emperor, were covered in the same manner. Those roofs, uninterrupted by chimnies, and indented in the sides and ridges into gentle curves, with an effect more pleasing than would be produced

duced by long straight lines, were adorned with a variety of figures, either in imitation of real objects, or more commonly as mere works of fancy; the whole shining like gold under a brilliant sun, immediately caught the eye with an appearance of grandeur in that part of buildings where it was not accustomed to be sought for. Immense magazines of rice were seen near the gate:—and looking from it to the left, along the city-wall, was perceived an elevated edifice, described as an observatory erected, in the former dynasty, by the Emperor Yong-loo, to whom the chief embellishments of Pekin are said to be owing.

In front of most of the houses in this main-street were shops painted, gilt, and decorated like those of Tong-choo-foo, but in a grander style. Over some of them were broad terraces, covered with shrubs and flowers. Before the doors several lanterns were hung, of horn, muslin, silk, and paper, fixed to frames: in varying the form of which the Chinese seemed to have exercised their fancy to the utmost. Outside the shops, as well as within them, was displayed a variety of goods for sale.

Several circumstances, independently of the arrival of strangers, contributed to throng so wide a street. A procession was moving towards the gate, in which the white, or bridal colour, according to European ideas, of the persons who formed it, seemed at first to announce a marriage-ceremony; but the appearance of young men overwhelmed with grief, shewed it to be a funeral, much more indeed than the corse itself, which was contained in a handsome square case,

shaded with a canopy, painted with gay and lively colours, and preceded by standards of variegated silks. Behind it were sedan chairs covered with white cloth, containing the female relations of the deceased; the white colour denoting in China the affliction of those who wear it, is sedulously avoided by such as wish to manifest sentiments of a contrary kind: it is therefore never seen in the ceremony of nuptials (met soon afterwards) where the lady (as yet unseen by the bridegroom) is carried in a gilt and gaudy chair, hung round with festoons of artificial flowers, and followed by relations, attendants, and servants, bearing the paraphernalia, being the only portion given with a daughter, in marriage, by her parents. The crowd was not a little increased by the mandarins of rank appearing always with numerous attendants; and still more by circles of the populace round auctioneers, venders of medicines, fortune-tellers, singers, jugglers, and story-tellers, beguiling their hearers of a few of their chen, or copper money, intended probably for other purposes. Among the stories that caught, at this moment the imagination, the embassy was said to furnish no inconsiderable share. The presents brought by it to the Emperor were asserted to include whatever was rare in other countries, or not known before to the Chinese. Of the animals that were brought, it was gravely mentioned that there was an elephant of the size of a monkey, and as fierce as a lion; and a cock that fed on charcoal. Every thing was supposed to vary from what had been seen in Pekin before, and to possess qualities different from what had been there

there experienced in the same substances. The sight of the strangers bringing such extraordinary curiosities, disturbed, as they passed along, the several occupations of the people. They pressed forwards in great numbers. Chinese soldiers, who were employed like constables to keep them off, used long whips, with which they seemed to aim at the foremost rank; but with a mildness, which disposition and the long habit of authority that takes, sometimes, away from any enjoyment in exerting it, had inspired. They generally, in fact, only struck the ground.

As soon as the persons belonging to the embassy had arrived at the eastern side of the yellow wall, they turned along it to the right, and found on its northern side much less bustle than in the former street. Instead of shops, all were private houses, not conspicuous in the front. Before each house was a wall or curtain, to prevent passengers from seeing the court into which the street-door opened. This wall is called the Wall of Respect. A halt was made opposite the treble gates, which are nearly in the centre of this northern side of the palace-wall. It appeared to inclose a large quantity of ground. It was not level, like all the lands without the wall: some of it was raised into hills of steep ascent: the earth taken to form them left broad and deep hollows, now filled with water. Out of these artificial lakes, of which the margins were diversified and irregular, small islands rose with a variety of fanciful edifices, interspersed with trees. On the hills of different heights the principal palaces for the Emperor were erected. The whole had somewhat

the appearance of enchantment. On the summit of the highest eminences were lofty trees surrounding summer-houses, and cabinets contrived for retreat and pleasure. One of these was pointed out as the last shocking scene of the existence of that race of emperors who had built and beautified the whole of this magnificent palace. A man, whom fortune seemed for a while to favour, as if destined to become the head of a new dynasty in China, availed himself, towards the middle of the last century, of the weakness and luxury of the court, and of that indolence which, more than even luxury, had brought the former dynasties to ruin. With an army of Chinese, first collected under the hope of bringing about better times, and kept together afterwards by the tempting bait of plunder, he marched to the gates of Peking. The ill-fated monarch, too slightly supported, and possessed of too little energy to resist; but with sentiments too elevated to brook submission to an enemy who had been his subject, and determined to save his offspring from the danger of dishonour, stabbed his only daughter, and put an end to his own life with a cord, in one of those edifices abovementioned, which had been erected for far other purposes. The plate (No. 29) in the folio volume, is a view of the mount which was the scene of this melancholy event.

The route was continued westerly through the city. The dwelling-house of some Russians was pointed out; and what was more singular, a library of foreign manuscripts, one of which was said to be an Arabic copy of the Koran. Some Mahometans were seen, distinguish-

ed by red caps. Among the spectators of the novel sight, some women were observed. The greatest number were said to be natives of Tartary, or of a Tartar race. Their feet were not cramped, like those of the Chinese; and their shoes with broad toes, and soles above an inch in thickness, were as clumsy as those of the original Chinese ladies were diminutive. A few of the former were well dressed, with delicate features, and their complexions heightened by the aid of art. A thick patch of vermilion on the middle of the lower lip, seemed to be a favourite mode of using paint. Some of them were sitting in covered carriages, of which, as well as of horses, there are several to be found for hire in various parts of the town. A few of the Tartar ladies were on horseback, and rode astride, like men. Tradesmen with their tools, searching for employment, and pedlars offering their wares for sale, were everywhere to be seen. Several of the streets were narrow, and at the entrance of them gates were erected, near which guards were stationed, it was said to quell any occasional disturbances in the neighbourhood. Those gates are shut at night, and opened only in cases of exigence. The train of the embassy crossed a street which extended north and south, the whole length of the Tartar city, almost four miles, and is interrupted only by several pai-loos, or triumphal fabrics; and passing by many temples, or other capacious buildings and magazines, they reached, in little more than two hours from their entrance on the eastern side, to one of the western city gates, of which the plate (No 20) of the folio volume is a view. Near this

gate, and along the outside of the western wall, ran the small rivulet (here widened into a considerable ditch) which, after almost surrounding Pekin, runs towards Tong-choofoo, and falls into the Pei-ho. The suburb beginning at this western gate, being more extensive than that through which they had entered into the city, took to traverse it upwards of twenty minutes.

Pekin bears not in size the same proportion to China that most capitals do to their respective countries. The principal part of it is called the Tartar city, being laid out in the thirteenth century, during the first Tartar dynasty. It has the form of a parallelogram, the four walls facing the four cardinal points; including an area of fourteen square miles, in the centre of which is the imperial palace, occupying at least one square mile. The Tartar city is about one-third larger than London; and adjoining to it is another, called, by way of distinction, the Chinese city, including within its walls a space of nine miles square: but only a small part of this latter is occupied by buildings. Much of it is in cultivation; and hither the Emperor repairs, every spring, to perform the exemplary ceremony of directing the plough with his own hand through a small field, thus doing honour to the profession of the husbandman.

In China there are properly but three classes of people: men of letters, from whom the mandarins are selected; cultivators of the ground; and mechanics, including merchants. The highest degrees of literature are conferred in the capital; and among such graduates the principal civil offices are distributed by the Emperor. The candidates

candidates for such degrees are those who have already succeeded in the provincial cities; and the candidates for degrees in the latter are those who have succeeded in the inferior towns. The examinations are everywhere carried on with great solemnity and apparent fairness. A successful competitor is always rewarded by offices of dignity proportional to that of the class in which his success has been attained. Military rank is likewise given to those who are found, on competition, to excel in the military art and in war-like exercises. The supreme councils of state are always held in the capital: which, according to the best information given to the embassy, contains about three millions of inhabitants. The low houses of Peking seem scarcely sufficient for so vast a population; but in those houses there are no superfluous apartments. A Chinese dwelling is generally surrounded by a wall, six or seven feet high; and within this inclosure a whole family of three generations, with their respective wives and children, will frequently be found. One small room is made to serve for the individuals of each branch of the family, sleeping in different beds, divided only by mats hanging from the ceiling. One common room is used for eating.—With the poor, marriage is a measure of prudence, because the children are bound to maintain their parents; and, to corroborate filial obedience, the laws of the empire leave a man's offspring entirely within his power.

The embassy left Peking on the 2d of September, 1793, Lord Macartney travelling in an English post-chaise, which was probably the first that ever rolled on the road to

Tartary, and which was drawn by four Tartar horses, conducted by two persons of his Excellency's guard, who had formerly been accustomed to that occupation. He took occasionally some of the mandarins into his carriage, who were at first somewhat startled, fearing lest it should overturn; but, being assured of its perfect safety, they became inexpressibly delighted with its easiness, lightness, and rapidity. About twenty miles from the capital, the country towards Tartary began to rise. A few miles farther on, the travellers stopped for the day at one of the Emperor's palaces, surrounded with a park and pleasure-grounds. Beyond it, some of the rising hills were planted, and some left naked. The different objects seemed in their natural state, and as if assembled here only by a fortunate chance: for a Chinese gardener is the faithful painter of nature. In the progress of the third day's journey, the population seemed considerably to diminish; and on the morning of the fourth, a prominent line was descried, which, on a nearer survey, assumed its real form of a wall with battlements. This was the famous wall of China, which is not so remarkable for its antiquity, remounting to three centuries beyond the Christian æra, nor for its extent of 1500 miles, as for the wonderful appearance of the mountains over which it is carried, and which are apparently inaccessible.

As the travellers advanced into Tartary, the roads became more rugged, the mountains less richly clothed, and the trees (besides different sorts of pines of no great size) were chiefly stunted oaks, aspen, elm, hazel, and walnut-trees diminished

nished to the size of shrubs. During the seventh and last day's journey, the mountains, receding a little from each other, opened to the view of the travellers the valley of Zhe-hol. Here his Imperial Majesty retires in summer from his Chinese dominions, to a palace and pleasure-grounds; the former called the Seat of grateful coolness, and the latter the Garden of innumerable trees. The road near to Zhe-hol is perceptible from an eminence in the Emperor's gardens; and from that spot, as was afterward learnt, his Imperial Majesty had the curiosity to view the procession of the embassy. It was received with military honours amid a crowd of spectators on horseback and on foot. The suite of edifices destined for the embassy was situated on the gentle slope of a hill, at the southern extremity of the town of Zhe-hol. On the north side of that town, which, except the houses of mandarins, consisted of miserable hovels, the imperial gardens, the palaces, and the temples, displayed much grandeur; magnificence and wretchedness knew no medium. Two mandarins of rank waited on the ambassador soon after his arrival, with compliments from his Imperial Majesty, and from the Colao, or first minister. The ambassador being indisposed, Sir G. Staunton, as Minister Plenipotentiary in his absence, waited on the Colao, whom he found in a small apartment of the imperial palace, seated on a platform covered with silk, between two Chinese and two Tartar mandarins of state. A chair was brought for the English minister. The Colao demanded the object of the English embassy, which demand was easily satisfied by delivering to him

a copy of his Majesty's letter to the Emperor, in Chinese. Difficulties arose about the ceremony of introduction to the Emperor, which were probably heightened by the Viceroy of Canton, an enemy to the English, and who was now come to court; and also by the Tartar Legate, who from the beginning had attended the ambassador, and who from prejudice and interest had been hostile to his views. Instead of the servile ceremony of prostration, it was finally settled that the Emperor should be satisfied with the same form of respectful obeisance from the English which they were accustomed to pay to their own sovereign. It was whispered that the good sense and liberality of the Emperor himself rendered him much more inclined than any of his advisers to dispense with a formality from which no deviation had ever been before made, even in a single instance. This was a triumph for the embassy: and it confirmed the conclusion that the mere pleas of custom, however usually and strongly urged by the Chinese, would not always stand against reason, accompanied by temper and perseverance. The 14th of September was fixed for the reception of the British embassy.

On the day of the ambassador's presentation to the Emperor, most of his family attended. No marked preference was perceptible, or extraordinary respect shewn to any of them above the rest. On that morning the ambassador and gentlemen of the embassy went before daylight, as was announced to be proper, to the garden of the palace of Zhe-hol. In the middle of the garden was a spacious and magnificent tent, supported by gilded, or painted

ed and varnished pillars. The canvas of which it was composed did not follow the obliquity of the cords along their whole length to the pegs fastened in the ground; but about midway was suffered to hang perpendicularly down, while the upper part of the canvas constituted the roof. Within the tent was placed a throne, such as has been described in a former chapter, with windows in the sides of the tent, to throw light particularly upon that part of it. Opposite to the throne was a wide opening, from whence a yellow fly tent projected to a considerable distance. The furniture of the tent was elegant, without glitter or affected embellishments. Several small round tents were pitched in front, and one of an oblong form immediately behind. The latter was intended for the Emperor, in case he should choose to retire to it from his throne. It had a sofa or bed at one extremity. The remainder was adorned with a variety of musquets and sabres, European and Asiatic. Of the small tents in front, one was for the use of the embassy while it was in waiting for the Emperor. Some of the others were destined, in the same manner, for the several tributary princes of Tartary, and delegates from other tributary states, who were assembled at Zhe-hol on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday; and who attended, on this day, to grace the reception of the English ambassador. Some tents also were intended for the male branches of the Emperor's family, and the principal officers of state. In the great tent, his Imperial Majesty was to receive, seated on his throne, as a particular distinction, the delegate from the King of Great Britain.

Soon after day-light the sound of several instruments, and the confused voices of men at a distance, announced the Emperor's approach. He soon appeared from behind a high and perpendicular mountain, skirted with trees, as if from a sacred grove, preceded by a number of persons busied in proclaiming aloud his virtues and his power. He was seated in a sort of open chair, or triumphal car, borne by sixteen men; and was accompanied and followed by guards, officers of the household, high flag and umbrella bearers, and music. His approach to the tent of audience is delineated in the 25th plate of the folio volume. He was clad in plain dark silk, with a velvet bonnet, in form not much different from the bonnet of Scotch Highlanders; on the front of it was placed a large pearl, which was the only jewel or ornament he appeared to have about him.

On his entrance into the tent he mounted immediately the throne by the front steps, consecrated to his use alone. Ho-choong-taung, and two of the principal persons of his household, were close to him, and always spoke to him upon their knees. The princes of his family, the tributaries and great officers of state being already arranged in their respective places in the tent, the president of the tribunal of rites conducted the Ambassador, who was attended by his page and Chinese interpreter, and accompanied by the Minister Plenipotentiary, near to the foot of the throne, on the left hand side, which, according to the usages of China, so often the reverse of those of Europe, is accounted the place of honour. The other gentlemen of the embassy, together with a great number of manda-

mandarins and officers of inferior dignity, stood at the great opening of the tent, from whence most of the ceremonies that passed within could be observed.

His Excellency was habited in a richly embroidered suit of velvet, adorned with a diamond badge and star, of the Order of the Bath. Over the suit he wore a long mantle of the same order, sufficiently ample to cover the limbs of the wearer. An attention to Chinese ideas and manners, rendered the choice in dress of some importance; and accounts for this mention of it. The particular regard, in every instance, paid by that nation to exterior appearances, affects even the system of their apparel, which is calculated to inspire gravity and reserve. For this purpose, they use forms the most distant from those which discover the naked figure. Indeed, among the most savage people, few or none are to be found to whom an interior sentiment, unconnected with any caution against inclemency of weather, does not suggest the propriety of covering some portion of the human frame. This sentiment, to which is given the name of decency, as pointing out what is becoming to do, increases generally with the progress of civilization and refinement; and is carried nowhere perhaps so far as among the Chinese, who hide, for the most part in their loose and flowing robes, the bulk and form of their limbs. In this respect there is scarcely any difference between the dresses of the two sexes. Even the imitation by art of the human figure, either naked or covered only with such vestments as follow and display the contour of the body, is offensive to Chinese delicacy: a delicacy which

has retarded the progress of painting and sculpture, as far at least as relates to such subjects in that country. It has also led to the obligation imposed upon the missionaries to adopt the dress of the natives, as being more chaste and decent than the close and short clothes of modern Europe.

The broad mantle which, as a Knight of the Bath, the Ambassador was entitled to wear, was somewhat upon the plan of dress most pleasing to the Chinese. Upon the same principle, the Minister Plenipotentiary, who being an Honorary Doctor of Laws of the University of Oxford, wore the scarlet gown of that degree, which happened also to be suitable in a government where degrees in learning lead to every kind of political situation. The Ambassador, instructed by the president of the tribunal of rites, held the large and magnificent square box of gold, adorned with jewels, in which was inclosed his Majesty's letter to the Emperor, between both hands lifted above his head; and in that manner ascended the few steps that led to the throne, and bending on one knee, presented the box, with a short address, to his Imperial Majesty; who, graciously receiving the same with his own hands, placed it by his side, and expressed the satisfaction he felt at the testimony which his Britannic Majesty gave to him of his esteem and good-will, in sending him an embassy, with a letter, and rare presents: that he, on his part, entertained sentiments of the same kind towards the sovereign of Great Britain, and hoped that harmony should always be maintained among their respective subjects.

This mode of reception of the repre-

representative of the King of Great Britain, was considered by the Chinese court as particularly honourable and distinguished: ambassadors being seldom received by the Emperor on his throne, or their credentials delivered by them into his own hands, but into that of one of his courtiers. These distinctions, so little material in themselves, were however understood by this refined people as significant of a change in the opinions of their government in respect to the English; and made a favourable impression on their minds.

His Imperial Majesty, after a little more conversation with the ambassador, gave, as the first present from him to his Imperial Majesty, a gem, or precious stone, as it was called by the Chinese, and accounted by them of high value. It was upwards of a foot in length, and curiously carved into a form intended to resemble a sceptre, such as is always placed on the Imperial throne, and considered as emblematic of prosperity and peace.

The Chinese etiquette requiring that ambassadors should, besides the presents brought in the name of the sovereign, offer others on their own part, his Excellency and the Minister, or, as the Chinese called him, inferior ambassador, respectfully presented theirs; which his Imperial Majesty condescended to receive, and gave in return others to them. Those presents were probably, on both sides, less valuable in the estimation of the receivers than in that of the donors; but were mutually acceptable, upon the consideration of being tokens of respect on the one part, and of favour and good-will upon the other.

During the ceremonies, his Im-

perial Majesty appeared perfectly unreserved, cheerful, and unaffected.—The frontispiece to the first volume of this work, is a portrait of him, from a drawing by Mr. Alexander, one of the draughtsmen to the embassy. It was made under unfavourable circumstances; yet the person, dress, and manner, are perfectly like the original; but the features of the face, which were taken by stealth, and at a glance, bear a less strong resemblance. This, of all the drawings made by Mr. Alexander throughout the route, the gentlemen of the embassy, who had an opportunity of comparing them with the originals, thought the only one which was defective. To the facility and truth with which he caught with his pencil the most striking objects, and *costume* of the country, as the embassy passed rapidly along, this work is principally indebted for the ornamental part of it, in which every plate is a faithful copy after nature.

To render the portrait of his Imperial Majesty more correct, it might have been proper to draw the eye more full and clear, and the countenance more open and cheerful. Such at least it was during the interview with the Ambassador, which was lengthened by interpreting whatever was said by either party.

His Imperial Majesty, adverting to the inconvenience arising from such a circumstance, inquired from Ho-choong-taung, whether any person of the embassy understood the Chinese language; and being informed that the ambassador's page, a boy then in his thirteenth year, had alone made some proficiency in it, the Emperor had the curiosity to have the youth brought up to the throne, and desired him to speak Chinese. Either what he said, or his

his modest countenance, or manner, was so pleasing to his Imperial Majesty, that he took from his girdle a purse, hanging from it for holding areca nut, and presented it to him.

Throughout the day, the Emperor's attention to his European guests did not abate. A banquet being served, he sent to them several dishes from his own table. Soon after the Ambassador's return, he received from the Emperor presents of silks, porcelaine, and tea, for himself and all the gentlemen of his suite. The next example of civility was an invitation to his Excellency and his suite to see the pleasure-grounds of Zhe-hol. The appointment of any courtier of rank to attend the Ambassador in his tour might have appeared a sufficient honour: but his Excellency was not a little surprised when he found that the prime minister himself had been ordered to give up some portion of his time from the calls of government, to accompany a stranger in a tour of pleasure and curiosity. The grounds of Zhe-hol included the utmost variety of surface; some parts bearing the hardy oaks of northern hills, and others the tender plants of southern vallies. The whole seemed calculated to exhibit the striking contrast of rugged wildness and cultivated softness."

The return of the embassy is said to have been hastened by the desire of bringing safe from China, under convoy of the Lion, the fleet of Indiamen, which was endangered by the breaking out of the war with the French Republic. With this purpose, the following observations, suggested by a friendly person who was thoroughly acquainted with the

court of Peking, powerfully co-operated.

"The Chinese had no other idea of an embassy than that of a visit with presents on some solemn festival, and to last only during the continuance of the latter; that accordingly, of the many embassies sent to them in the past and present century, none of them were suffered to pass that period; that in the present reign the ambassador of the Portugueze, the most favoured nation, was dismissed in thirty-nine days; that the Chinese had little notion of entering into treaties with foreign countries; but whatever business it might be desirable to transact with them, must, after a favourable foundation for it, laid by the compliment of an embassy, be afterwards prosecuted to effect by slow degrees; for that much might be obtained from them by time and management, but nothing suddenly. That it was true the oppressions by the inferior officers and others who had to deal with strangers at Canton, had been augmenting gradually; and, unless curbed by power, must in the course of time become so heavy, as to leave no alternative but that of giving up the trade entirely, or of sending at last an embassy to remonstrate against them; that the sooner, therefore, it had been undertaken, the better; that had the present arrived sooner, and before the troubles in France had indisposed the Chinese ministry and tribunals against the smallest innovation, it would have had fewer difficulties to encounter in the outset; but that the present mission had made such an impression throughout the empire, as must lead to beneficial consequences in favour of the English, notwithstanding any momentary

momentary obstructions; and that henceforward the oppressions would at least be at a stand: that such was the nature and practice of the Chinese government, that however adverse in the beginning to any new propositions, lest it should be surprized into an undue concession or improper regulation, the same matters might be brought again, when the offensive novelty of the idea was over, into a more serious and dispassionate consideration; that this event might be accelerated by the means of letters sent from one sovereign to the other by the annual ships, which might be done without impropriety, now that the communication had been opened between them in a fit manner. He concluded by advising against persisting to continue any longer at Peking."

The embassy returned to England on the 6th of September, 1794, having been absent just two years. Of this space of time, upwards of five months were spent in China; in which country, from Zhe-hol to Canton, they travelled on their return chiefly by canals, nearly thro' twenty degrees of latitude.

The seventh chapter contains an account of the residence of the embassy at Canton and Macao; and it may be considered as the last that properly appertains to China, since the eighth is entirely employed in describing the return homeward.

The first volume is embellished with seven engravings; and the second with twenty-eight; bearing a reference chiefly to the arts, manners, and mythology of the Chinese. There is also a folio volume of plates accompanying the text, which are forty-four in number; representing, besides similar subjects

with those exhibited by the other engravings, charts of the coasts and islands of China, with tracks of the ships from England, and various views of the interior country thro' which the embassy was conducted. Three of them peculiarly attracted our attention;—the tower of the thundering winds, on the borders of the lake See-Hoo: the great wall of China, near the pass of Cou-pe-koo; of which wall the masonry and brick-work in the towers alone exceed in quantity those of all London: and thirdly, the scoop-wheel of China, for lifting water on the banks of rivers, for agricultural purposes. These wheels, which are very common in the southern provinces, are made entirely of bamboo, are put together without a nail, and are from fifteen to forty feet in diameter. A wheel forty feet in diameter will lift, in the course of twenty-four hours, nearly seventy thousand gallons of water.

The volumes want an alphabetical index.

An Account of Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodchester, near Minching-Hampton, in the County of Gloucester. By Samuel Lysons, F. R. S. and A. S. Folio. Price 10 Guineas. 1797.

A WANT of such magnificent remains of Roman arts as those which enrich the southern regions of Europe, has confined, in too great a degree, the researches of the English antiquary to the much less interesting productions of the darker age; and though far from depreciating what is generally, tho' improperly, called Gothic architecture, yet, from an association of ideas connected with the grandeur of the

Roman name, we are irresistibly led to contemplate the works of those masters of the world with greater curiosity and satisfaction than can be excited by the more modern fabrics of monkish ingenuity. Amphitheatres, aqueducts, temples, and triumphal arches, in all probability decorated this island, as well as many other of the conquered provinces; and we have only to lament that they no longer exist to claim our respect, and excite our admiration. There have not hitherto been discovered more perfect traces of a Roman dwelling than this splendid volume affords; and the public are indebted to Mr. Lysons for the accuracy and industry of his investigation, as well as for the peculiar excellence of the plates which constitute the most important part of the book, and which were chiefly executed by himself from the plans he had made on the spot. The work consists of a map of the Roman stations, roads, and buildings, within fifteen miles of Woodchester,—three views of Woodchester and the adjacent country,—two plans of the Roman building discovered at Woodchester,—fifteen coloured plates, or fac similes of the Mosaic pavements,—three plates of plans and sections of flues and hypocausts for warming the different apartments,—three plates, containing a view and plans and sections of the substructure of a laconicum, or sweating-room, of singular construction and perfect preservation,—eight plates of fragments of columns, stucco, pottery, and various utensils found among the ruins,—four plates of fragments of small statues of Parian marble, found in the same place;—and some of which carry the appearance of hav-

ing been of Grecian workmanship.—The most important of these remains are the Mosaic pavements, which are well preserved. It is a difficult task for us to give an adequate idea of a work which, to be properly appreciated, requires to be seen:—the letter-press is judiciously confined to little more than is essentially necessary to serve as an explanation of the plates; but the author has introduced into his notes a variety of classical illustrations from Vitruvius, Pliny, and other writers, which shew Mr. Lysons's extensive knowledge of whatever is connected with his subject; and at the same time convey to the readers much general information on the subject of Roman Architecture; and for the present credit of the country, it may with truth be asserted that no similar remains on the Continent have been more faithfully or more elegantly delineated. A French translation of his description is added by Mr. Lysons:—and a work that does so much honour to our national taste and spirit, will, we doubt not, be sufficiently applauded by the artists and virtuosi of other countries.

The State of the Poor, or an History of the Labouring Classes in England, from the Conquest to the present Period; in which are particularly considered their Domestic Economy with respect to Diet, Dress, Fuel, and Habitation; and the various Plans which, from time to time, have been proposed and adopted for the Relief of the Poor; together with Parochial Reports relative to the Administration of Workhouses, and Houses of Industry; the State of Friendly Societies and other Public Institutions in several Agricultural, Commercial, and Manufacturing

manufacturing Districts; with a large Appendix, containing a Comparative and Chronological Table of the Prices of Labour, of Provisions, and of other Commodities; an Account of the Poor in Scotland; and many original Documents on Subjects of National Importance, by Sir Frederic Morton Eden, Bart. in three volumes 4to. London, 1797.

OF this excellent and interesting publication, we are sorry our narrow limits will not permit us to give such a detailed account as the magnitude and importance of the subject justly demands. Sir Frederic Eden, in the work before us, presents such variety of useful information, in so elegant and perspicuous a manner, as to blend amusement with instruction, and to throw much additional light on a subject so highly interesting, as well to the historian, the moralist, and the statesman, as to every sincere friend and well-wisher to the prosperity and happiness of this country.

The plan and nature of the book, and its general object, will be best collected from the words of the author, in his preface, which he begins by observing, that

“The difficulties which the labouring classes experienced from the high price of grain, and of provisions in general, as well as of clothing and fuel, during the years 1794 and 1795, induced me, from motives both of benevolence and personal curiosity, to investigate their condition in various parts of the kingdom. As I advanced in my enquiries, the subject became so interesting, that I persuaded myself the result would be acceptable to the public, if I should be able to
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lay before them accurate details respecting the present state of the labouring part of the community, as well as the actual poor. To collect them, however, to any good purpose (though to those who have given such an undertaking, but a superficial consideration, it may perhaps seem nothing more than the stating clearly, plain, and obvious matters of fact) was by no means easy. Private opinion and passions will, in spite of us all, too often interfere, and bias and influence the most honest and intelligent mind in their judgments respecting even matters of fact. Aware of this, I have myself actually visited several parishes, and procured on the spot (from persons the least likely to be misinformed, or to mislead) the substance of several of the reports recorded in the ensuing pages. But as it was impossible that an individual (engaged in professional avocations) should find leisure himself to visit as many districts as were necessary to form a complete view of the subject, I was happy to find it in my power to prevail on a few respectable clergymen and others to favour me with many accurate, and I trust valuable communications. To other parishes and districts not thus accessible to me, I sent a remarkably faithful and intelligent person, who has spent more than a year in travelling from place to place, for the express purpose of obtaining exact information, agreeably to a set of queries with which I furnished him; and that my object in instituting these inquiries, as well as the progress I have made in accomplishing it, may be more obvious to the reader, a copy of these queries is here subjoined.”

H h

Parish

Parish of —

Extent and population?

Number of houses that pay the house or window tax, distinguishing double tenements?

Number of houses exempted?

Occupations of parishioners, and whether in agriculture, commerce, or manufactures?

What manufactures?

Price of provisions?

Wages of labour?

Rent of land, and land-tax on the net rental?

What sect of religion?

Tithes, how taken?

Number of inns, or alehouses?

Farms large or small? What is the most useful tenure? Principal articles of cultivation?

Commons and waste lands?

Number of acres inclosed (if easily obtainable) in any of the last 40 years?

How are the poor maintained? by farming them? in houses of industry? or otherwise?

Houses of industry (if any) their state, numbers therein, annual mortality, diet, expences and profit since their establishment? baptisms, burials, and marriages (distinguishing the sex) and of the poor's rates (distinguishing the net sum expended on the poor since the year 1680) from the parish books?

Number and state of friendly societies?

How many of them have had their rules confirmed by magistrates?

Usual diet of labourers?

Earnings and expences of a labourer's family for a year; distinguishing the number and ages of the family, and the price and quantity of their articles of consumption?

Miscellaneous observations.

Sir F. Eden, after giving at some length his reasons for proposing the preceding queries, makes the following apology for not enlarging their number.

"It may possibly yet be asked, why the queries have been so few? and why they did not also comprehend other parochial concerns, no less interesting than births, burials, and poor's rates? Had the author undertaken the history of a single parish, omissions respecting its natural history, its antiquities, or its agriculture, would have been inexcusable: but when it is considered that the object of this work was to trace the progress of the poor laws, and to examine the condition of those principally concerned in them, it will be obvious that a minute attention to particular places, pursued with more time, more labour, and more expence, must have incapacitated him from exhibiting a general view of the subject. The reader will, therefore, have the candour to consider each part in the proportion, only, which it bears to the whole; nor will he expect that the outlines of a general map of the country can admit of the colouring of a miniature picture. Much, no doubt, may have been omitted, that bears on the present subject; but in literature, as well as in manufactures (and the author might have added in agriculture) division of labour is to be attended to. He who wishes either to acquire or to communicate useful knowledge, will only cultivate a corner of the field."

It is obvious that answers to questions on the various branches of political œconomy, investigated in this work, will naturally lead to

many

many important observations, and many practical conclusions: the author however adds,

“I have purposely, and almost wholly, abstained from drawing conclusions from the facts * here presented to the public. To offer detailed plans of reform in that branch of political economy which concerns the poor, much exceeds my abilities; nor am I inclined to enter the lists in which I should find so many competitors. I shall therefore pursue a very different method from that usually followed by writers on the poor; who voluntarily impose upon themselves the task, so much and so justly complained of by the Israelites, of making bricks without straw; and raise their specious systems, without well authenticated facts to support them. The edifice of political knowledge cannot be reared without its “hewers of stone” and “drawers of water.” I am content to work among them: and, whilst others prefer (and there never will be wanting many who will prefer) the more arduous task of architectural decoration, to assist in digging the foundation, or in dragging the rough block from the quarry. The glory of the builder may be more enviable, but the drudgery of the mason is practically more useful. The one may embellish the fabric; but without the labours of the other it would never be reared at all. The industry of

the peasant, and the ingenuity of the manufacturer, are the brick and mortar of the political structure; the raw materials which the statesman must work with. He will always do well to recollect, that the “jutting frieze” and the “Corinthian capital” generally owe their strength and solidity to the solid brick-work behind them.

“For the inelegancies of style which may be found in this work, I deem it unnecessary to make any apology. I have endeavoured to be plain, simple, and perspicuous; but have never wasted that time in polishing a sentence, which I thought could be better employed in ascertaining a fact; and even in matters of fact, thus brought forward, there will, I more than doubt, be too often found something to object to as inaccurate. Errors there are, and must be, in a work whose object is so extensive, and whose details are so circumstantial. Even parliamentary enquiries concerning the state of the poor are not infallible.

“Of the utility and tendency of such a work, the public will be better judges than its author. I hope, however, that I may be permitted, without incurring the imputation of arrogance, to observe, that if these Researches should exhibit increased and increasing comfort in the circumstances of those whose unremitting labour best entitles them to receive it, it should check

* I will not assert that my queries are the best calculated even to acquire the information I wanted: “l’art d’interroger n’est pas si facile qu’on pense. C’est bien plus l’art des maîtres que des disciples; il faut avoir déjà appris beaucoup de choses pour savoir demander ce qu’on ne sait pas. ‘Le savant sait, et s’enquiert,’ dit un proverbe Indien; ‘mais l’ignorant ne sait pas même de quoi s’enquérir.’” *Rousseau La Nouvelle Héloïse*, iv. lett. 3.

the repinings which casual and temporary calamities have excited; and should convince us, that national distress exists only in the misconceptions of the ignorant, or the cavils of the discontented. If, on the contrary, the picture should be a gloomy one, the display of a declining and unprosperous state of society will not be without its use. To point out an evil, is frequently, not only in morals but in politics, the shortest road to amendment. Even where the calamity is insurmountable, a knowledge of the causes which render it so, are consoling; since it may teach us to bear patiently what we cannot cure, and to discriminate perfectly between the errors of establishment and the imperfections of human nature."

The first volume is divided into two books; one of which treats of the poor, from the Conquest to the present period; and the other of national establishments for the maintenance of the poor; of the English poor system; proposed amendments; of the diet, dress, fuel, and habitation of the labouring classes in Great Britain; and of friendly societies.

After some general remarks on the importance of that class whose condition it is his object to investigate, Sir Frederic Eden enters on an enquiry into the domestic economy of the great mass of the people at the early periods of English history. He minutely traces their condition under the different gradations of situation they have undergone, from their wretched servitude and oppression under the feudal system, to their present state of amelioration and comparative happiness.

Having delineated the origin and

progress of the poor laws, and pointed out the various modifications of them which have, from time to time, been recommended to the attention of the legislature, and noticed such circumstances recorded by our historians, as more peculiarly refer to the condition and circumstances of the labouring classes of the community, he concludes his first book with the following observations:

"Whether the indigent classes at this day are more numerous than they were at the Revolution, I cannot take upon me, peremptorily, to decide: but viewing the comparative facility with which the exigencies of the state have in modern times been provided for, and connecting the ease of the labourer with the increased demand for labour, I feel no difficulty in persuading myself that the beneficial effects of national opulence have been diffused through every order of the state. Grateful, indeed, I am for the blessings which were conferred on this country by the Revolution; and fully sensible that we owe to the force of character and energetic resolution, which distinguished our forefathers at that interesting period, the commencement of a new era, in which the bounds of prerogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of government more thoroughly examined and understood, and the rights of the subject more explicitly guarded by legal provisions, than in any other period of English history; but I much doubt whether the abilities of the "master-workman" (as Mr. Burke calls King William) or of those who strenuously co-operated with him in rescuing the nation from despotism, raised that class, whose manual

nual labour is their only support, to an immediate unexampled pitch of ease and comfort. They, indeed, laid the foundations of future greatness; but could not confer directly, on the humble occupations of the artizan or husbandman, those domestic gratifications and social enjoyments which can be expected only from slow and imperceptible improvement. That they, however, gave that tone and energy to the nation which are necessary to fit them for industrious exertion, is abundant praise. Admitting, what seems to be the fact, that this important epoch in our annals did not produce any alteration in the constitution; yet, if (as it has been justly observed) "it changed the maxims of administration, which have everywhere so great an influence on the condition of the governed;" if it inspired the great mass of the nation with that spirit of thinking and acting which have been conducive towards rendering them more happy and independent, the evils arising from the funding system (which has (I think unjustly) been ascribed to the policy of our great deliverer and its adherents) have been more than fully compensated. It is not my intention to enter into a comparative estimate of the resources of the nation at the close of the last, and at different times in the present, century; but I cannot avoid observing, that, at no period since the death of King William, has this country ever exhibited those alarming symptoms which have ever been thought to indicate an enfeebled and declining industry, as it did in those years immediately subsequent to the Revolution.

"It is not an unfair mode of

judging of the earnings, and consequently of the thriving condition of the workman, to ascertain the quantity of the work annually performed by him. — More work is done now than was performed at the Revolution; and, if we admit Dr. Price's supposition, that our population has declined since that period, it will follow, that with fewer hands we are more industrious, and (if the comforts of labourers depend on the demand for labour) more comfortable. And the same argument will hold in a proportionable degree, if we suppose, what is probably the case, that the population of Great Britain, though greater than it was a century ago, has not kept pace with increasing commerce and improving manufactures.

"It is unreasonable to suppose that the effects of good government and the accumulations of industry are confined to enriching the monied capitalist and the landed proprietor; to swelling the emoluments of office, and increasing the splendor of a devouring metropolis: — the humblest peasant, in the remotest province of the kingdom, is not uninterested in that improving state of society which creates new wants and new dependencies: the cultivation of the useful arts, even of those which are not immediately connected with his occupation, is ultimately beneficial to him. The invigorating rays of commerce and manufactures, though most dazzling and resplendent in the capital, extend their genial influence to the hamlet:

"The self-same sun, that shines upon the court,
Hides not his visage from the cottage, but
Looks on all alike." *Shaks. Winter's Tale.*

Great and burthensome as the
H h 3 poor's

poor's rate may appear at the present time, its rise has not kept pace with other branches of national expenditure, or even with our increased ability to pay it."

In the second book, Sir F. Eden proceeds to discuss the various arguments for national provision for the poor; the author then passes to the opposite side of the question, to which he seems himself to incline.

On several topics (particularly apprenticeships) legislative interference seems to meet his disapprobation, as will appear from the following animated passage:

"It seems very problematical whether a government ever attempted directly to regulate the course of industry without producing considerable mischief. The excellence of legislation may, perhaps, be best estimated according as it leaves the individual exertion more or less unshackled. It is this exertion (and not the superintending power of the state which is so often, unthinkingly, extolled as the immediate cause of social good, and as often unjustifiably condemned as the immediate cause of social evil) which, by its patient plodding labours, crests the edifice of national grandeur: it, however, works but by slow and imperceptible degrees; and, like the genial dew from heaven, which, drop by drop, invigorates and matures all vegetable nature, exhibits, at length, that happy order of society, which is felt to be

"—— not the hasty product of the day,
But the well-ripen'd fruit of wise delay."

Nor does it follow from this that a government is excluded from active duties. To prevent the strong from oppressing the weak; to protect the acquisitions of industry, and to check the progress of vice

and immorality, by pointing out and encouraging the instruction of the rising generation in the social and religious duties; to maintain the relations which commerce has created with foreign countries, are duties which require that delegated authority should be exerted by public force and the vindictive dispensations of pains and penalties.

"Beyond this, all interference of the state in the conduct and pursuits of society, seems of very doubtful advantage."

In chapter ii. of book 2, are many original details concerning the relative advantages enjoyed by the labouring classes in different parts of the kingdom, in the important articles of diet, dress, fuel, and habitation; and in his last chapter of the first volume we find a very interesting detail of the rise, progress, and present state of friendly societies, or benefit clubs, concluding with the following judicious remarks on the danger of parliamentary interference with them.

"If any farther regulation of them is attempted, the inclination of the labouring classes to enter into them will be greatly damped, if not entirely repressed. The acts already passed, although they are known, and generally understood to have been framed with the most benevolent intentions, and do really confer substantial benefits on these institutions, have created much alarm. Nay, they have certainly annihilated many societies. At the same time, it is but fair to confess that they may have raised others. This, however, is more difficult to ascertain. Any farther favours from parliament would irretrievably lessen the confidence which is still entertained by the members of most benefit clubs, that the legislature will

will not interfere in controuling associations which do not appear, from any evidence which has as yet been laid before the public, to be adverse to economy, good morals, or public tranquillity. I have, indeed, more than once heard it insinuated, That friendly societies are apt to degenerate into debating clubs; and that convivial meetings on a Saturday might become the aptest vehicles for disseminating principles subversive of subordination and submission to the laws of our country. I have also heard it asserted, that the members of friendly societies, from being accustomed to assemble at ale-houses, are not only stimulated by interested landlords, but encouraged by the contagion of ill examples, in the habits of drunkenness; that the money which is spent on a club-night, is entirely lost to a labouring family; and that there are various ways in which the earnings of industry might be applied more advantageously to the morals of the labourer and the comforts of his family. Friendly societies, it is true, like all other human contrivances, have their defects. It is, however, though a short, a sufficient answer to such objections as I have noticed, and to some others which it is unnecessary to enumerate, that these institutions do not aim at perfection, but improvement. They are not intended to be

“That faultless monster which the world ne’er saw.”

But it is a sufficient proof of their excellence, that they are congenial to the social latitudes and prejudices of the labourer; and that, if they cannot correct the inclination (which is too often caused by hard labour) for conviviality and dissipation, they, at least, convert a vi-

cious propensity into an useful instrument of economy and industry, and secure to their members (what can seldom be purchased at too dear a rate) subsistence during sickness, and independence in old age.”

The whole of the second, and nearly a half of the third volume, are taken up with 181 parochial reports, the result of his enquiries; the other half of the last volume consists of a voluminous appendix, containing a great variety of important and authentic documents. On the whole, we cannot but congratulate the public on a work, the result of so much labour and unwearied industry, which is calculated to do a great deal of good, and reflects great honour on the author.

Thoughts on the Structure of the Globe; and the Scriptural History of the Earth, and of Mankind; compared with the Cosmogonies, Chronologies, and original Traditions of ancient Nations; an Abstract and Review of several modern Systems; with an Attempt to explain Philosophically, the Mosaiical Account of the Creation and Deluge, and to deduce from this last Event, the Causes of the actual Structure of the Earth. In a Series of Letters, with Notes and Illustrations, by Philip Howard, Esq. 4to, 1797.

THE substance of this work was, as we are informed, by the author, published in two letters in the French language, toward the end of the year 1786: he has since revised, corrected, and considerably enlarged it. In it we are brought acquainted with the outlines of those scientific systems which, keeping pace with numerous publications in every path of literature, were calculated to tear up in the

public mind every remaining attachment to Christianity. Among the principal supporters of these destructive systems, Mr. Howard points out the names of Buffon and Bailly; the former of whose cosmogonical writings appear sufficiently to substantiate his charge. With a zeal worthy of his cause, he detects the fallacies of these celebrated men, and most ably employs both distinguished talents and erudition in proving the compatibility of the scriptural narrative with the principles of modern philosophy, and in casting additional light on the obscure traces of ancient chronology. Each letter is followed by explanatory notes; in which he brings forward the proofs necessary for him, either to confute the arguments of his opponents, or to support his own. These display profound learning, and great ingenuity. To make extracts from a work of this nature, is scarcely possible, within the compass of these pages: we must therefore take our leave of this powerful advocate for the scriptural account of the creation of the world, with the following spirited account of the rise, progress, and consequences of the frightful combination formed by the Encyclopedists against all religion.

“Mr. Bailly was not only an astronomer of great celebrity, but a very elegant writer. He was the distinguished disciple of Mr. de Buffon, who, in conjunction with Voltaire, d’Alembert, Condorcet, and others, was at the head of the whole philosophic sect and men of wit in France, by whom a real plot had been formed, and was carried on for forty years, to root out Christianity. Religion of any kind, it seems, shackled both their inclinations and their genius. Each agreed, in his sepa-

rate department, to contribute to the glorious work. For many years, in France, to be a man of science or letters was a distinct profession, and a distinguished title, which introduced the assumer to the noble circles of profligate dissipation, and to the tables of ignorant and still more profligate publicans, stationed on the spoils of the people. The luxurious repasts of the rich were not complete without the presence of some of these sons of Epicurus. There, amidst their admiring auditors, and a crowd of gaping valets, they expounded in sallies of wit and sarcasms on religion, their pernicious doctrines, interlarding them with sentimental phrases of philanthropy and humanity. How much of these was in their hearts, they have since fully shown during the fatal reign of their philosophy. At the houses of every lady, young or old, whose ambition it was to be celebrated for wit, they held their conventicles; where they still more freely discussed their philosophical principles, and expatiated on the abuses of religion and governments. Whoever coincided not with them was, by universal acclamation, held up as a man devoid of sense or wit. The effect of this general cry is scarcely to be conceived: — with youth it was all-powerful, and with the more advanced in age it required very solid principles to be withstood. They had actually by degrees excluded from all the academies whoever dared not to be of their opinion. Though co-operating with these conspirators against religion, Mr. Bailly was distinguished as a man of benevolence, of modest and placid manners. He has been lately still better known to all Europe as the first mayor of Paris in 1789. The spirit of party probably

bably carried him beyond his natural bent; but he became a fellow-labourer with the heads of the constituent assembly, who, under a shadow of monarchy, called in the mob, whom they acknowledged the sole sovereign; and enforced the success of their revolution by calumny, terror, and partial murders, by the demolition of property, and the confiscation of churchlands. At last, with every other chief of that faction who saved not himself by timely flight, Mr. Bailly fell a victim to more atrocious villains who had made use of these as tools, and to the ungovernable fury of that populace whose bloody reign they had established, in order to pull down regal authority, and level with the dust the religion and morality of their country. Many were, no doubt, surprised to hear of Pagan festivals and rites instituted by the convention, in honour of the supposed goddess of Nature, represented by a female; but the surprise will cease when they are informed that these rites were, thirty years ago, secretly practised by a society of philosophers, to whom France owes what they have been pleased to style its regeneration.

“Warned by the fatal effects these seducers have produced in one great kingdom, it is to be hoped that those who shall hereafter aspire to the respectable name of Philosophers, will henceforth abjure these insidious attacks on the principles of religion; and that governments will be cautious how they countenance or patronize those who shall thus aim to poison the truest source of public and private happiness. Without religion, that virtue which sophists wish to isolate from it, is a mere abstract idea, which has nei-

ther base nor real end: without it, no curb on vice remains, either over sovereigns, or over the headstrong multitude. Wisdom itself, without it, is only egotism well understood; and for the understanding of it the passions are the judges. Religion will ever be the sole solid support and strength of laws and public order; counterpoise to the inevitable inequalities amongst men, consolation of the poor and weak; it can alone dignify poverty, and subdue the pride of riches and of grandeur. Ever ready to pour its healing balm on the wounds of the body or of the mind, it is the surest solace of the afflicted, and the last refuge of the culpable. In vain would sophists seek to sap foundations rooted in the very inmost recesses of human nature; the intimate sense of every man of rectitude, and the heart of every man of sensibility, will, at times at least, triumph over their acutest reasonings.

“Fulminate, ye philosophers (we will applaud you) religious persecution and restraint of consciences; with you true religion reprobates them. If every predominant sect of Christians has at some period invoked their aid, either under the pretext of danger to the state, or on the specious pretence of guarding from corruption the weaker part of the flock, none has dared to approve them in direct terms, because they are clearly repugnant to the spirit and doctrines of their divine legislator. As the judicious Dr. Paley observes, the erroneous judgments of intemperate zeal, almost ever originating in human passions, have too often produced intolerance and persecution, nowise chargeable on Christianity: but the unbeliev-

ing.

ing rulers of France have proved that, in order to be a persecutor, it is not necessary to be a bigot—that, in rage and cruelty, in mischief and destruction, fanaticism itself can be outdone by infidelity. — Amidst equal horrors, one essential difference is also to be remarked between these two kinds of persecutors. By the one, all the connections which bind mankind together are not dissolved:—the ties of blood are sometimes trodden under foot; but against adverse tenets all his rage is directed; towards the brethren of his creed, the bonds of amity, fidelity, and benevolence are strengthened. The other knows no brother; and every man who stands in the way of his idol passions, is alike sacrificed with stoical indifference.

“ If philosophers wish to combat the most fatal and destructive error of mankind, it is against warlike phrenzy that it becomes them to employ their strongest arguments; and their most touching eloquence to eradicate from the minds both of princes and of people, that rage of mutual destruction for senseless jealousies and mistaken interests. It was the Christian religion which first taught man to love man, without distinction of race or country, by shewing all men to be the equally cherished children of one common father. Simple but sublime doctrine! which, if ancient philosophers ever felt, they never durst produce. — Let philosophy unite to its mild voice the force of reason, to make the whole world listen to the lessons of true philanthropy. Whilst religion reveals to each individual eternal felicity attached to the accomplishment of this great precept of love, let it de-

monstrate to nations temporal happiness and prosperity, dependent on universal concord.”

The Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knight, late President of the Royal Academy; containing his Discourses, Idlers, a Journey to Flanders and Holland, and his Commentary on Du Fresnoy's Art of Painting, printed from his revised Copies (with his last Corrections and Additions) in Three Volumes; to which is prefixed an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, by Edmund Malone, Esq. one of his Executors. 1797.

THIS elegant edition of the works of that admirable artist and amiable man, Sir Joshua Reynolds, contains no matter that has not before met the public eye, except the journey to Flanders and Holland, which was performed by Sir Joshua, in company with his friend Mr. Metcalf, in July, 1781, for the purpose of viewing the most celebrated productions of the Flemish and Dutch schools: it contains a very pleasing account of their journey, with remarks on the pictures preserved in the various churches and cabinets that he visited; to which he has subjoined a character of Rubens, done in so masterly a manner, that we cannot resist giving it to our readers at length.

“ The works of men of genius alone, where great faults are united with great beauties, afford proper matter for criticism. Genius is always eccentric, bold, and daring; which, at the same time that it commands attention, is sure to provoke criticism. It is the regular, cold, and timid composer who es-

capes

rapes censure, and deserves no praise.

“The elevated situation on which Rubens stands in the esteem of the world, is alone sufficient reason for some examination of his pretensions.

“His fame is extended over a great part of the Continent, without a rival; and it may be justly said that he has enriched his country, not in a figurative sense only, by the great examples of art which he left, but by what some would think a more solid advantage, the wealth arising from the concourse of strangers whom his works continually invite to Antwerp, which would otherwise have little to reward the visit of a connoisseur.

“To the city of Dusseldorf he has been an equal benefactor. The gallery of that city is considered as containing one of the greatest collection of pictures in the world; but if the works of Rubens were taken from it, I will venture to assert, that this great repository would be reduced to at least half its value.

“To extend his glory still farther, he gives to Paris one of its most striking features, the Luxembourg gallery: and if to these we add the many towns, churches, and private cabinets, where a single picture of Rubens confers eminence, we cannot hesitate to place him in the first rank of illustrious painters.

“Though I still entertain the same general opinion both in regard to his excellencies and his defects, yet, having now seen his greatest compositions, where he had more means of displaying those parts of his art in which he particularly excelled, my estimation of his genius is of course raised. It is

only in large compositions that his powers seem to have room to expand themselves; for they really increase in proportion to the size of the canvas on which they are to be displayed. His superiority is not seen in easel pictures, nor even in detached parts of his greater works, which are seldom eminently beautiful. It does not lie in an attitude, or in any peculiar expression, but in the general effect—in the genius which pervades and illuminates the whole.

“I remember to have observed, in a picture of Diatrece, which I saw in a private cabinet at Brussels, the contrary effect. In that performance there appeared to be a total absence of this pervading genius; though every individual figure was correctly drawn, and to the action of each as careful an attention was paid as if it were a set Academy figure. Here seemed to be nothing left to chance; all the nymphs (the subject was the bath of Diana) were what the ladies call in attitudes; yet, without being able to censure it for correctness, or any other defect, I thought it one of the coldest and most insipid pictures I ever beheld.

“The works of Rubens have that peculiar property always attendant on genius to attract attention and enforce admiration, in spite of all their faults. It is owing to this fascinating power that the performances of those painters with which he is surrounded, though they have perhaps fewer defects, yet appear spiritless, tame, and insipid;—such as the altar-pieces of Crayer, Schutz, Segers, Heydens, Tyfens, Van Bulen, and the rest. They are done by men whose hands, and indeed all their faculties, appear

to have been cramped and confined; and it is evident, that every thing they did was the effect of great labour and pains. The productions of Rubens, on the contrary, seem to flow with a freedom and prodigality, as if they cost him nothing; and to the general animation of the composition, there is always a correspondent spirit in the execution of the work. The striking brilliancy of his colours, and their lively opposition to each other, the flowing liberty and freedom of his outline, the animated pencil with which every object is touched, all contribute to awaken and keep alive the attention of the spectator; awaken in him, in some measure, correspondent sensations, and make him feel a degree of that enthusiasm with which the painter was carried away. To this we may add the complete uniformity in all the parts of the work, so that the whole seems to be conducted and grow out of one mind; every thing is of a piece, and fits its place. Even his taste of drawing and of form, appears to correspond better with his colouring and composition than if he had adopted any other manner, though that manner, simply considered, might be better. It is here as in personal attractions; there is frequently found a certain agreement and correspondence in the whole together, which is often more captivating than mere regular beauty.

“Rubens appears to have had that confidence in himself which it is necessary for every artist to assume when he has finished his studies, and may venture in some measure to throw aside the fetters of authority; to consider the rules as subject to his controul, and not himself

subject to the rules; to risk and to dare extraordinary attempts without a guide, abandoning himself to his own sensations, and depending upon them. To this confidence must be imputed that originality of manner by which he may be truly said to have extended the limits of the art.—After Rubens had made up his manner, he never looked out of himself for assistance: there is consequently very little in his works that appears to be taken from other masters. If he has borrowed any thing, he has had the address to change and adapt it so well to the rest of his work, that the theft is not discoverable.

“Beside the excellency of Rubens in these general powers, he possessed the true art of imitating. He saw the objects of Nature with a painter's eye; he saw at once the predominant feature by which every object is known and distinguished; and as soon as seen, it was executed with a facility that is astonishing: and, let me add, this facility is to a painter, when he closely examines a picture, a source of great pleasure.—How far this excellence may be perceived or felt by those who are not painters, I know not: to them certainly it is not enough that objects be truly represented; they must likewise be represented with grace; which means here, that the work is done with facility, and without effort. Rubens was, perhaps, the greatest master in the mechanical part of the art; the best workman with his tools that ever exercised a pencil.

“This part of the art, though it does not hold a rank with the powers of invention, of giving character and expression, has yet in it what may be called Genius. It is certainly

certainly something that cannot be taught by words, though it may be learned by a frequent examination of those pictures which possess this excellence. It is felt by very few painters; and it is as rare at this time among the living painters, as any of the higher excellencies of the art.

“This power, which Rubens possessed in the highest degree, enabled him to represent whatever he undertook, better than any other painter. His animals, particularly lions and horses, are so admirable, that it may be said they were never properly represented but by him. His portraits rank with the best works of the painters who have made that branch of the art the sole business of their lives; and of those he has left a great variety of specimens. The same may be said of his landscapes; and though Claude Lorrain finished more minutely, as becomes a professor in any particular branch, yet there is such an airiness and facility in the landscapes of Rubens, that a painter would as soon wish to be the author of them as those of Claude, or any other artist whatever.

“The pictures of Rubens have this effect on the spectator, that he feels himself in nowise disposed to pick out and dwell on his defects. The criticisms which are made on him are, indeed, often unreasonable. His style ought no more to be blamed for not having the sublimity of Michael Angelo, than Ovid should be censured because he is not like Virgil.

“However, it must be acknowledged that he wanted many excellencies which would have perfectly united with his style. Among those we may reckon beauty in his

male characters: sometimes indeed they make approaches to it; they are healthy and comely women, but seldom, if ever, possess any degree of elegance. The same may be said of his young men and children. His old men have that sort of dignity which a bushy beard will confer; but he never possessed a poetical conception of character. In his representations of the highest characters in the christian or the fabulous world, instead of something above humanity, which might fill the idea which is conceived of such beings, the spectator finds little more than mere mortals, such as he meets with every day.

“The incorrectness of Rubens, in regard to his outline, oftener proceeds from haste and carelessness than from inability. There are, in his great works, to which he seems to have paid more particular attention, naked figures, as eminent for their drawing as for their colouring. He appears to have entertained a great abhorrence of the meagre dry manner of his predecessors, the old German and Flemish painters; to avoid which, he kept his outline large and flowing: this, carried to an extreme, produced that heaviness which is so frequently found in his figures. Another defect of this great painter is, his inattention to the foldings of his drapery, especially that of his women: it is scarcely ever cast with any choice or skill.

“Carlo Maratti and Rubens are, in this respect, in opposite extremes; one discovers too much art in the dispositions of drapery, and the other too little. Rubens's drapery, besides, is not properly historical; the quality of the stuff of which it is composed, is too accurately

curately distinguished; resembling the manner of Paul Veronese. This drapery is less offensive in Rubens than it would be in many other painters, as it partly contributes to that richness which is the peculiar character of his style, which we do not pretend to set forth as of the most simple and sublime kind.

“The difference of the manner of Rubens from that of any other painter before him, is in nothing more distinguishable than in his colouring, which is totally different from that of Titian, Corregio, or any of the great colourists. The effect of his pictures may be not improperly compared to clusters of flowers; all his colours appear as clear and as beautiful: at the same time he has avoided that tawdry effect which one would expect such gay colours to produce; in this respect resembling Barocci more than any other painter. What was said of an ancient painter may be applied to those two artists,—That their figures look as if they fed upon roses.

“It would be a curious and a profitable study for a painter to examine the difference, and the cause of that difference, of effect in the works of Corregio and Rubens, both excellent in different ways. The preference probably would be given according to the different habits of the connoisseur. Those who had received their first impressions from the works of Rubens, would censure Corregio as heavy; and the admirers of Corregio would say Rubens wanted solidity of effect. There is a lightness, airiness, and facility in Rubens, his advocates will urge, and, comparatively, a laborious heaviness in Corregio;

whose admirers will complain of Rubens’s manner being careless and unfinished, whilst the works of Corregio are wrought to the highest degree of delicacy; and what may be advanced in favour of Corregio’s breadth of light, will, by his censurers, be called affected and pedantic. It must be observed that we are speaking solely of the manner, the effect of the picture; and we may conclude, according to the custom in pastoral poetry, by bestowing on each of these illustrious painters a garland, without attributing superiority to either.

“To conclude, I will venture to repeat in favour of Rubens, what I have before said in regard to the Dutch school,—that those who cannot see the extraordinary merit of this great painter, either have a narrow conception of the variety of art, or are led away by the affectation of approving nothing but what comes from the Italian school.”

Mr. Malone has prefixed to this edition, an account of the life and writings of Sir Joshua Reynolds, drawn up in plain and unassuming language; from which we shall extract the following sketch:—

“Joshua Reynolds was born at Plympton, Devonshire, July 16th, 1723; the son of Samuel Reynolds and Theophila Potter. He was on every side connected with the church; for both his father and grandfather were in holy orders; and his mother and maternal grandmother were daughters of clergymen. Having in childhood manifested a disposition for drawing, his father placed him, at seventeen, under Hudson, the most eminent English portrait-painter of that time; with whom he remained about three years. — In 1749, he went

went to Italy, where he studied during nearly three years. Mr. Reynolds, who was no musician, relates a circumstance that will confirm the story which every one has heard of the natives of Switzerland, in a foreign country, being seized with the *Maladie du pais*, on their hearing a vulgar national melody played, called the *Ranz des vaches*, a cow-keeper's tune. He says,

“ When he was at Venice, in compliment to the English gentlemen then residing there, the manager of the opera one night ordered the band to play an English ballad-tune. Happening to be the popular air which was played or sung in almost every street just at the time of their leaving London, by suggesting to them that metropolis, with all its connexions and endearing circumstances, it immediately brought tears into our author's eyes, as well as into those of his countrymen who were present.

“ Very soon after his return from

Italy, his acquaintance with Dr. Johnson commenced, which soon mellowed into a close and uninterrupted friendship, as durable as their lives. His first residence in London, after his travels, was in Newport-street. — In 1759, he first began to exercise his pen, by furnishing his friend Johnson with three essays for the *Idler*, in the form of letters, on the subject of painting. — In 1761, he removed to Leicester-square, where he continued till the time of his death. — In 1769, on the institution of the Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, Mr. Reynolds, holding unquestionably the first rank in his profession, was nominated president, and soon afterward received the honour of knighthood. His situation in the academy gave birth to his admirable discourses, which have gained him nearly as much reputation in literature as the productions of his pencil obtained for him in painting*.”

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* In allusion to Mr. McCormick's assertion of Mr. Burke's being the author of these discourses, as mentioned in his *Life of Burke*, which we have noticed in page 557 of this volume, Mr. Malone inserts the following note:—“ A new hypothesis has been lately suggested; and, among many other statements concerning the late Mr. Burke, which I know to be erroneous, we have been confidently told that they were written by that gentleman.

“ The readers of poetry are not to learn, that a similar tale has been told of some of our celebrated English poets. According to some, Denham did not write his admired *Cooper's Hill*; and, with a certain species of critics, our great moral poet tells us,

“ ————Most authors steal their works, or buy;

“ Garth did not write his own *DISPENSARY*.”

“ Such insinuations, however agreeable to the envious and malignant, who may give them a temporary currency, can have but little weight with the judicious and ingenious part of mankind, and therefore, in general, only merit silent contempt. But that Mr. Burke was the author of all such parts of his discourses *as do not relate to painting and sculpture* (what these are, the discoverer of this pretended secret has not informed us) has lately been so peremptorily asserted, and so particular an appeal has been made on this occasion to their editor, that I think it my duty to refute this injurious calumny, lest posterity should be deceived and misled by the minuteness of uncontradicted misrepresentation, delivered to the world with all the

Soon after the publication of his first seven discourses, collectively, "He had the honour to receive from the late Empress of Russia, a gold box with a *basso relievo* of her Imperial Majesty in the lid, set round with diamonds, accompanied with a note within, written with her own hand, containing these words:—*Pour le Chevalier Reynolds, en*

temoignage du contentment que j'ai ressentie à la lecture de ses excellens Discours sur la Peinture.' Before he received this mark of her Imperial Majesty's favour, he had been commissioned to paint an historical picture for her, on any subject that he thought fit. The subject which he chose was, the infant Hercules strangling the serpents. For this picture, which

the confidence of truth. Fortunately I am able to give a more decisive testimony on this subject than would reasonably be expected from any one man concerning the writings of another.

"To the question, then, whether I have not found among my late friend's papers, several of his discourses in the hand-writing of Mr. Burke, or of some other *unnamed* person, I answer that I never saw any one of his discourses in the hand-writing of that illustrious statesman, or of any other person whatsoever, except Sir Joshua Reynolds: and, secondly, I say, that I am as firmly persuaded that the whole body of those admirable discourses was composed by Sir Joshua Reynolds, as I am certain that I am at this moment employing my pen in vindication of his fame. I do not mean to assert that he did not avail himself of the judgment of his critical friends, to render them as perfect as he could; or that he was above receiving from them that species of literary assistance which every candid literary man is willing to receive, and which even that transcendent genius Mr. Burke, in some instances, did not disdain to accept. Of the early discourses, therefore, I have no doubt that some were submitted to Dr. Johnson, and some to Mr. Burke, for their examination and revision; and probably each of those persons suggested to their author some minute verbal improvements. Four of the latter discourses, in his own hand-writing, and warm from the brain, the author did me the honour to submit to my perusal; and with great freedom I suggested to him some verbal alterations, and some new arrangements in each of them, which he very readily adopted. Of one, I well remember, he gave me the general outline in conversation as we returned together from an excursion to the country, and before it was yet committed to paper. He soon afterwards composed that discourse, conformably to the plan which he had crayoned out, and sent it to me for such remarks on the language of it as should occur to me. When he wrote his last discourse, I was not in London; and that discourse, I know, was submitted to the critical examination of another friend; and that friend was not Mr. Burke. Such was the mighty aid that our author received from those whom he honoured with his confidence and esteem!

"The reader has before him the testimony of Sir Joshua Reynolds himself, as far as this calumny relates to Dr. Johnson; he has the decisive testimony of Mr. Burke, both in a passage already quoted, and in a further extract from one of his letters to the editor, which will be found in a subsequent page; and if such high authorities can admit of any additional confirmation, he has (whatever it may be worth) the testimony of the editor also. Let this plain tale, therefore, for ever seal up the lips of those who have presumed most unjustly to sully and depreciate the literary reputation of a man who is acknowledged, by the unanimous voice of his contemporaries, to have been a signal ornament of the age in which he lived; who was not less profound in the theory than excellent in the practice of his art; and whose admirable works of each kind, will transmit his name, with unfading lustre, to the latest posterity."

is now at St. Petersburg, his executors received from her Imperial Majesty fifteen hundred guineas."

Though nothing remarkable occurred between 1770 and 1780, the productions of his pencil will sufficiently acquit him from the charge of indolence or inactivity during that period.

The years between 1769 and 1790, inclusive, he exhibited at the Royal Academy two hundred and forty-four pictures; at the exhibitions previous to the institution of the academy, between 1760 and 1768, twenty-five: total 269. In the whole of this period, the year 1767 was the only one in which he exhibited nothing.

The single portraits of this indefatigable artist are innumerable; and in the higher style of history-painting and fancy pieces, Mr. Malone has given a list of nearly 100; with which, he truly observes, not only various cabinets at home have been enriched, but the fame of the English school extended to foreign countries.

In July 1781, in order to view the most celebrated productions of the Flemish and Dutch schools, in company with his friend Mr. Metcalfe, he made a tour to the Netherlands and Holland.

In 1783, Mr. Mason having finished his elegant translation of Du Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*, our author enriched that work with a very ample and ingenious commentary. In 1784, on the death of Mr. Ramsay, in the following year, our author was sworn principal painter in ordinary to his Majesty; which office he possessed to his death.

Mr. Malone has inserted an edit-

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ed fragment of an intended discourse, in which his friend designed to comprise a history of his mind; which, indeed, all his printed discourses seem to have done so completely, as far as his art is concerned, that nothing is left to his biographer's ingenuity and penetration on the subject. The ingenuous manner in which Sir Joshua confesses, in this fragment, his inconstancy and frequent failures in colouring, is characteristic of the frankness and probity of his nature.

For a very long period, Sir Joshua Reynolds enjoyed an uninterrupted state of good health, to which his custom of painting, standing (a practice which, we believe, he first introduced) may be supposed in some degree to have contributed; at least by this means he escaped those disorders which are incident to a sedentary life. He was indeed, in the year 1782, distressed for a short time by a slight paralytic affection; which, however, made so little impression on him, that in a few weeks he was perfectly restored, and never afterwards suffered any inconvenience from that malady. But in July 1789, when he had very nearly finished the portrait of Lady Beauchamp (now Marchioness of Hertford) the last female portrait he ever painted, he for the first time perceived his sight so much affected, that he found it difficult to proceed; and in a few months afterwards, in spite of the aid of the most skilful oculists, he was entirely deprived of the sight of his left eye.

After some struggles, lest his remaining eye should be also affected, he determined to paint no more; which to him was a very serious

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misfortune,

misfortune, since he was thus deprived of an employment that afforded him constant amusement, and which he loved much more for its own sake than on account of the great emoluments with which the practice of his art was attended. Still, however, he retained his usual spirits; was amused by reading, or hearing others read to him; and partook of the society of his friends with the same pleasure as formerly: but in October, 1791, having strong apprehensions that a tumor, accompanied with an inflammation, which took place over the eye that had perished, might affect the other also, he became somewhat dejected. Meanwhile he laboured under a much more dangerous disease, which deprived him both of his wonted spirits and his appetite, though he was wholly unable to explain to his physicians the nature or seat of his disorder. During this period of great affliction to all his friends, his malady was by many supposed to be imaginary; and it was conceived that, if he would but exert himself, he could shake it off. This instance, however, may serve to shew, that the patient best knows what he suffers; and that few long complain of bodily ailments without an adequate cause; for at length (but not till about a fortnight before his death) the seat of his disorder was found to be in his liver, the inordinate growth of which, as it afterwards appeared, had incommoded all the functions of life; and of this disease, which he bore with the greatest fortitude and patience, he died, after a confinement of near three months, at his house in Leicester-Fields, on Thursday evening, February 23d, 1792.

Dissertations and Miscellaneous Pieces relating to the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia. By the late Sir William Jones, and others. Vols. 3 and 4, London.

IN the third volume of this publication, are extracted the most useful and entertaining dissertations contained in the Asiatic Researches; among which the editors have done justice to their own taste, and to that of the public, by a well-judged partiality to the essays of the late learned and ingenious Sir William Jones. They have also inserted his admirable preface to the Hindu law, though not contained in the volume from which the other pieces are selected.

The fourth volume, from the difficulty and expence of obtaining books from India, is reprinted verbatim from the Calcutta quarto edition; and does infinite credit to the industry and learning of our countrymen in the East Indies; whose ardour in the pursuit of useful knowledge has not been relaxed by the loss of their late amiable and ever to be lamented president.

To enumerate all the articles that compose these volumes would be tedious; to mention the best, invidious: we can only say that the perusal of them cannot but afford great pleasure to every class of readers, from the variety of subjects treated on, and from the general interest that must be excited by the accounts of the manners and customs of a people, though distant, yet living under the same happy government as ourselves.

We think we cannot pay a better tribute to the memory of Sir William Jones, than by giving our readers

readers an account of his various studies and publications, extracted from the eulogium on his life and writings pronounced by his successor Sir John Shore, on the 22d of May, 1794, and addressed to a meeting of the Society.

“To define with accuracy the variety, value, and extent of his literary attainments, requires more learning than I pretend to possess; and I am therefore to solicit your indulgence for an imperfect sketch, rather than expect your approbation for a complete description of the talents and knowledge of your late and lamented president.

“I shall begin with mentioning his wonderful capacity for the acquisition of languages, which has never been excelled. In Greek and Roman literature, his early proficiency was the subject of admiration and applause; and knowledge of whatever nature once obtained by him, was ever afterwards progressive. The more elegant dialects of modern Europe, the French, the Spanish, and the Italian, he spoke and wrote with the greatest fluency and precision; and the German and Portuguese were familiar to him. At an early period of life, his application to oriental literature commenced; he studied the Hebrew with ease and success; and many of the most learned Asiatics have the candour to avow, that his knowledge of Arabic and Persian was as accurate and extensive as their own: he was also conversant in the Turkish idioms; and the Chinese had even attracted his notice so far as to induce him to learn the radical characters of that language, with a view perhaps to farther improvements. It was to be expected, af-

ter his arrival in India, that he would eagerly embrace the opportunity of making himself master of the Sanscrit; and the most enlightened professors of the doctrines of Brahma confess with pride, delight, and surprise, that his knowledge of their sacred dialect was most critically correct and profound. The Pundits, who were in the habit of attending him, when I saw them after his death at a public Durbar, could neither suppress their tears for his loss, nor find terms to express their admiration of the wonderful progress he had made in their sciences.

“Before the expiration of his twenty-second year, he had completed his Commentaries on the Poetry of the Asiatics, although a considerable time afterwards elapsed before their publication; and this work, if no other monument of his labours existed, would at once furnish proofs of his consummate skill in the oriental dialects, of his proficiency in those of Rome and Greece, of taste and erudition far beyond his years, and of talents and application without example.”

But the judgment of Sir William Jones was too discerning to consider language in any other light than as the key of science; and he would have despised the reputation of a mere linguist. Knowledge and truth were the object of all his studies; and his ambition was to be useful to mankind. With these views he extended his researches to all languages, nations, and times.

Such were the motives that induced him to propose to the government of this country, what he justly denominated a work of national utility and importance, the compilation of a copious Digest of Hindu

Hindu and Mahomedan Law, from Sanscrit and Arabic originals, with an offer to superintend the compilation, and with a promise to translate it. He had foreseen, previous to his departure from Europe, that, without the aid of such a work, the wise and benevolent intentions of the legislature of Great Britain, in leaving to a certain extent the natives of these provinces in possession of their own laws, could not be completely fulfilled; and his experience, after a short residence in India, confirmed what his sagacity had anticipated, that, without principles to refer to in a language familiar to the judges of the courts, adjudications amongst the natives must too often be subject to an uncertain and erroneous exposition, or wilful misinterpretation of their laws.

“To the superintendence of this work, which was immediately undertaken at his suggestion, he assiduously devoted those hours which he could spare from his professional duties. After tracing the plan of the Digest, he prescribed its arrangement and mode of execution, and selected from the most learned Hindus and Mahomedans fit persons for the task of compiling it. Flattered by his attention, and encouraged by his applause, the Pundits prosecuted their labours with cheerful zeal to a satisfactory conclusion. The Molavees have also nearly finished their portion of the work; but we must ever regret, that the promised translation, as well as the meditated preliminary dissertation, have been frustrated by that decree, which so often intercepts the performance of human purposes.”

During the course of this compi-

lation, and as an auxiliary to it, he was led to study the works of Menu, reputed by the Hindus to be the oldest and holiest of legislators; and finding them to comprise a system of religious and civil duties, and of law in all its branches, so comprehensive and minutely exact, that it might be considered as the institutes of Hindu law, he presented a translation of them to the government of Bengal. During the same period, deeming no labour excessive or superfluous that tended in any respect to promote the welfare or happiness of mankind, he gave the public an English version of the Arabic text of the Sirajiyah, or Mahomedan law of inheritance, with a commentary. He had already published in England, a translation of a tract on the same subject by another Mahomedan lawyer, containing, as his own words express, ‘a lively and elegant epitome of the law of inheritance of Zaid.’

The vanity and petulance of Anquetil du Perron, with his illiberal reflections on some of the learned members of the university of Oxford, extorted from him a letter in the French language, which has been admired for accurate criticism, just satire, and elegant composition. A regard for the literary reputation of his country, induced him to translate, from Persian original, into French, the life of Nadir Shah, that it might not be carried out of England with a reflection, that no person had been found in the British dominions capable of translating it. The students of Persian literature must ever be grateful to him for a grammar of that language, in which he has shown the possibility of combining taste and elegance with

with the precision of a grammarian; and every admirer of Arabic poetry must acknowledge his obligations to him for an English version of the seven celebrated poems, so well known by the name of *Moallakat*, from the distinction to which their excellence had entitled them, of being suspended in the temple of Mecca.

“Of his lighter productions, the elegant amusements of his leisure hours, comprehending hymns on the Hindu mythology, poems, consisting chiefly of translations from the Asiatic languages, and the version of *Sacotala*, an ancient Indian drama, it would be unbecoming to speak in a style of importance which he did not himself annex to them. They show the activity of a vigorous mind, its fertility, its genius, and its taste. Nor shall I particularly dwell on the discourses addressed to this Society, which we have all perused or heard, or on the other learned and interesting dissertations which form so large and valuable a portion of the records of our researches. Let us lament that the spirit which dictated them is to us extinct, and that the voice, to which we listened with improvement and rapture, will be heard by us no more.

“But I cannot pass over a paper, which has fallen into my possession since his demise, in the hand-writing of Sir William Jones himself, entitled *Desiderata*, as more explanatory than any thing I can say of the comprehensive views of his enlightened mind. It contains, as a perusal of it will show, whatever is most curious, important, and attainable in the sciences and histories of India, Arabia, China, and Tartary; subjects which he had already most amply discussed in the

disquisitions which he laid before the Society.

“I have hitherto principally confined my discourse to the pursuits of our late president in oriental literature, which from their extent might appear to have occupied all his time; but they neither precluded his attention to professional studies, nor to science in general. Amongst his publications in Europe, in polite literature, exclusive of various compositions in prose and verse, I find a Translation of the Speeches of *Isæus*, with a learned comment; and in law, an Essay on the Law of Bailments. Upon the subject of this last work, I cannot deny myself the gratification of quoting the sentiments of a celebrated historian: “Sir William Jones has given an ingenious and rational Essay on the Law of Bailments. He is perhaps the only lawyer equally conversant with the year-books of Westminster, the Commentaries of Ulpian, the Attic Pleadings of *Isæus*, and the sentences of Arabian and Persian Cadhis.”

“His professional studies did not commence before his twentieth year; and I have his own authority for asserting, that the first book of English jurisprudence which he ever studied, was Fortescue's Essay in Praise of the Laws of England.

“His addresses to the jurors were not less distinguished for philanthropy and liberality of sentiment, than for just expositions of the law, perspicuity, and elegance of diction; and his oratory was as captivating as his arguments were convincing.

“In an Epilogue to his Commentaries on Asiatic Poetry, he bids farewell to polite literature, without relinquishing his affection for it:

and



and concludes with an intimation of his intention to study law, expressed in a wish, which we now know to have been prophetic.

*Mihi sit, oro, non inutilis toga,
Nec indiferta lingua, nec turpis manus !*

“ I have already enumerated attainments and works, which, from their diversity and extent, seem far beyond the capacity of the most enlarged minds ; but the catalogue may yet be augmented. To a proficiency in the languages of Greece, Rome, and Asia, he added the knowledge of the philosophy of those countries, and of every thing curious and valuable that had been taught in them. The doctrines of the Academy, the Lyceum, or the Portico, were not more familiar to him than the tenets of the Vedas, the mysticism of the Sufis, or the religion of the ancient Persians ; and whilst, with a kindred genius, he perused with rapture the heroic, lyric, or moral compositions of the most renowned poets of Greece, Rome, and Asia, he could turn with equal delight and knowledge to the sublime speculations or mathematical calculations of Barrow and Newton. With them also he professed his conviction of the truth of the Christian religion ; and he justly deemed it no inconsiderable advantage that his researches had corroborated the multiplied evidence of revelation, by confirming the Mosaic account of the primitive world.

“ There were, in truth, few sciences in which he had not acquired considerable proficiency ; in most, his knowledge was profound. The theory of music was familiar to him : nor had he neglected to make himself acquainted with the interesting discoveries lately made in chemistry ; and I have heard him assert,

that his admiration of the structure of the human frame had induced him to attend, for a season, to a course of anatomical lectures delivered by his friend the celebrated Hunter :

“ We all recollect, and can refer the following sentiments in his Eighth Anniversary Discourse.

“ Theological enquiries are no part of my present subject ; but I cannot refrain from adding, that the collection of truths which we call, from their excellence, the scriptures, contain, independently of a divine origin, more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, purer morality, more important history, and finer strains both of poetry and eloquence, than could be collected within the same compass from all other books that were ever composed in any age, or in any idiom. — The two parts, of which the scriptures consist, are connected by a chain of compositions, which bear no resemblance in form or style to any that can be produced from the stores of Grecian, Indian, Persian, or even Arabian learning ; the antiquity of those compositions no man doubts, and the unstrained application of them to events long subsequent to their publication, is a solid ground of belief that they were genuine predictions, and consequently inspired.”

His last and favourite pursuit was the study of botany, which he originally began under the confinement of a severe and lingering disorder, which with most minds would have proved a disqualification from any application. It constituted the principal amusement of his leisure hours.

“ It cannot be deemed useless or superfluous to inquire by what
arts

arts or method he was enabled to attain to a degree of knowledge almost universal, and apparently beyond the power of man, during a life little exceeding forty-seven years.

“The faculties of his mind, by nature vigorous, were improved by constant exercise; and his memory, by habitual practice, had acquired a capacity of retaining whatever had once been impressed upon it. To an unextinguished ardour for universal knowledge, he joined a perseverance in the pursuit of it, which subdued all obstacles. His studies began with the dawn, and, during the intermissions of professional duties, were continued throughout the day:—reflection and meditation strengthened and confirmed what industry and investigation had accumulated. It was a fixed principle with him, from which he never voluntarily deviated, not to be deterred by any difficulties that were surmountable, from prosecuting to a successful termination what he had once deliberately undertaken.

“But what appears to me more particularly to have enabled him to employ his talents so much to his own and the public advantage, was the regular allotment of his time, and a scrupulous adherence to the distribution which he had fixed. Hence all his studies were pursued without interruption or confusion. Nor can I here omit remarking, what may probably have attracted your observation as well as mine, the candour and complacency with which he gave his attention to all persons, of whatsoever quality, talents, or education: he justly concluded, that curious or important information might be gained even

from the illiterate; and wherever it was to be obtained, he sought and seized it.

“Of the private and social virtues of our lamented president, our hearts are the best records. To you who knew him, it cannot be necessary for me to expatiate on the independence of his integrity, his humanity, probity, or benevolence, which every living creature participated; on the affability of his conversation and manners, or his modest, unassuming deportment: nor need I remark that he was totally free from pedantry, as well as from arrogance and self-sufficiency, which sometimes accompany and disgrace the greatest abilities. His presence was the delight of every society, which his conversation exhilarated and improved; and the public have not only to lament the loss of his talents and abilities, but that of his example.

“To him, as the founder of our institution, and whilst he lived its firmest support, our reverence is more particularly due. Instructed, animated, and encouraged by him, genius was called forth into exertion, and modest merit was excited to distinguish itself. Anxious for the reputation of the Society, he was indefatigable in his own endeavours to promote it, whilst he cheerfully assisted those of others. In losing him, we have not only been deprived of our brightest ornament, but of the guide and patron, on whose instructions, judgment, and candour, we could most implicitly rely.

“But it will, I trust, be long, very long before the remembrance of his virtues, his genius, and abilities lose that influence over the mem-
bers

bers of this Society, which his living example had maintained; and if, previous to his demise, he had been asked by what posthumous honours or attentions we could best show our respect for his memory, I may venture to assert, he would have replied, "By exerting yourselves to support the credit of the Society;" applying to it perhaps the dying wish of Father Paul, "*Est perpetua.*"

THE FOLLOWING EPITAPH WAS WRITTEN BY
SIR WILLIAM DUNKIN.

Gulielmus Jones, Eq. Cur: sup: in Bengal ex Judicibus unu
Legum peritus, fidusque Interpres,
Omnibus benignus,
Nullius Fautor,
Virtute, Fortitudine, Suavitate Morum
Nemini secundus,
Seculi eruditi longæ primus
Ibat ubi solum plura cognoscere Fas est
27^o Apr. 1794.

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